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The American Historical Review appears in February, April, June, October, and December of each year. It is published by the American Historical Association, 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003 (202-544-2422) and is printed and mailed by Byrd Press, 2901 Byrdhill Road, Richmond, Virginia 23228. The editorial offices are located at 914 Atwater, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana 47405 (812) 855-7609.

The AHR is sent to members of the American Historical Association and to institutions holding subscriptions. Membership dues: For incomes of \$60,000 and above, \$85.00 annually; \$50,000–\$59,999, \$75.00; \$40,000–\$49,999, \$65.00; \$30,000–\$39,999, \$55.00; \$20,000–\$29,999, \$45.00; below \$20,000, students, and joint memberships \$25.00; associate (nonhistorian) \$35.00; life \$1,200; teachers of K-12 \$70.00, K-12 without *The Review* \$45.00. The proportion of dues allocated to the *AHR* is \$17.00. Subscription rates effective for volume 97: Class I, *American Historical Review* only, United States \$48.00, foreign \$56.00. Further information on membership, subscriptions, and the ordering of back issues is contained on the two pages—1(a) and 2(a)—immediately preceding the advertisements.

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Postmaster: Please send notification (Form 3579) regarding undelivered journals to: American Historical Association, 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. Publication identification number: *American Historical Review* (ISSN 0002-8762).

The *AHR* disclaims responsibility for statements, either of fact or opinion, made by contributors.

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Second-class postage paid at Washington, D.C., and at additional mailing offices

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In This Issue

Does popular culture function in some of the same ways as folk culture and therefore act as a form of folk culture for people living in urban industrial societies? **Lawrence W. Levine** raises this question in the lead essay of this issue's *AHR Forum*, and he answers it in the affirmative. He argues that we should focus as much on the consumers of popular culture and the process of its acquisition as on its creators. The audiences for radio programs and other mass media products engaged in a dialogue with the creators and made interpretive choices that invested the texts of popular culture with meaning. The text became the audience's, not just the creator's. Mass media may have weakened a sense of community, but it could also foster that sense. Audiences, in Levine's view, encountered popular culture actively and in groups, and historians can find its meaning only by examining the responses generated by a cultural artifact. It is not enough to limit investigation to the content of the cultural product and the motives of its creators.

Robin D. G. Kelley suggests that Levine should take his analysis further and rethink the very concept of an authentic "folk" culture. He believes that Levine underestimates the degree to which "folk" culture is an amalgam of cultural forms that then become categorized in a racially or ethnically coded aesthetic hierarchy. Kelley also notes the importance of examining not only the challenges that the appropriation of popular culture poses to a dominant ideology but also the ways in which audiences reproduce that ideology.

Natalie Zemon Davis points to a number of analogies between Levine's understanding of popular culture and that of historians studying oral and widely disseminated written genres in the late medieval and early modern periods. She sees drawbacks in the use of the term "popular culture," such as its conceptual weakness in dealing with cultural hybrids and its tendency to ignore marginal forms. Davis wants historians to examine the process by which a cultural artifact is created, be it a medieval sermon or a twentieth-century film, and regards this exercise as an important source of discovery.

T. J. Jackson Lears contends that Levine's particular cultural and generational position significantly influences his views of popular culture, and Lears acknowledges the equal importance of his very different personal situation for his own understandings. He recommends a move away from both the Marxist rhetoric of "resistance" and the functionalist idiom of "coping" and, instead, a greater emphasis on the confusion and irrationality as well as the agenda-setting powers of the producers of culture. As for the audiences, more attention should be paid to the element of play or playful refashioning of cultural products by their consumers. Lears believes that such an approach can take scholars beyond the opposition of the thinkers of the Frankfurt School and their populist critics, without losing the Frankfurt School's proper concern for the connection between mass-produced culture and bureaucratic structures of domination.

Lawrence Levine offers a brief rebuttal.

Jeffrey Brooks also addresses questions of popular culture. He looks at Russia's mass-circulation newspapers during the reigns of Lenin and Stalin to assess the balance between news items that expressed openness toward things foreign and those that expressed hostility toward them. Brooks argues that even when the government took an official stance against foreign ideas and contacts in the early Stalin period, Russian public culture retained a strong interest in the outside world, particularly Western Europe and America.

Did a fire destroy the great ancient library of Alexandria during Julius Caesar's campaign of 48/47 B.C., as Plutarch reported? Or did the library survive and continue as a center of learning for centuries after? **Diana Delia** believes that the library survived and contends that Plutarch's inclination to embellish a story and the modern conception of a library as a separate building for housing books (ancient libraries were book stacks located within temple precincts) have misled scholars. In addition to Plutarch's romantic story of the library's demise, there is a moralistic Islamic version telling of its torching by the Arabic conqueror 'Amr in 642. Delia sorts out the material and written evidence of the gradual decline of this ancient center of learning.

Pamela Kyle Crossley reviews seven new studies on rulership in China. She explains several instructive new approaches to understanding the evolution of the monarchy ("emperors") in China and the struggles between the monarchy and the bureaucracy.

Contents

VOLUME 97 • NUMBER 5 • DECEMBER 1992

AHR Forum

- The Folklore of Industrial Society: Popular Culture and Its Audiences
BY LAWRENCE W. LEVINE 1369
- Notes on Deconstructing "The Folk"
BY ROBIN D. G. KELLEY 1400
- Toward Mixtures and Margins
BY NATALIE ZEMON DAVIS 1409
- Making Fun of Popular Culture
BY T. J. JACKSON LEARS 1417
- Levine Responds
BY LAWRENCE W. LEVINE 1427

Articles

- Official Xenophobia and Popular Cosmopolitanism
in Early Soviet Russia
BY JEFFREY BROOKS 1431
- From Romance to Rhetoric: The Alexandrian Library
in Classical and Islamic Traditions
BY DIANA DELIA 1449

Review Article

- The Rulerships of China
BY PAMELA KYLE CROSSLEY 1468

Reviews of Books

GENERAL

- BROOK THOMAS.** *The New Historicism and Other Old-Fashioned Topics.*
By Patrick Brandlinger 1484
- DIDIER ERIBON.** *Michel Foucault.*
By Paul Robinson 1485
- GEOFFREY HAWTHORN.** *Plausible Worlds: Possibility and Understanding in History and the Social Sciences.*
By Allan Megill 1486
- WILLIAM D. PHILLIPS, JR. and CARLA RAHN PHILLIPS.** *The Worlds of Christopher Columbus.*
By Foster Provost 1486
- BERNARD VINCENT.** 1492: "L'Année admirable."
By William S. Maltby 1487
- JACK A. GOLDSTONE.** *Revolution and Rebellion in the Early Modern World.*
By Geoffrey Parker 1488
- ANTOINE PROST and GÉRARD VINCENT, editors.** *A History of Private Life. Volume 5, Riddles of Identity in Modern Times.*
By John R. Gillis 1489
- ROBERT JAN VAN PELT and CARROLL WILLIAM WESTFALL.** *Architectural Principles in the Age of Historicism.*
By Karsten Harries 1490
- STEPHEN POLCARI.** *Abstract Expressionism and the Modern Experience.*
By Serge Guilbaut 1491
- DAVID J. SCHALK.** *War and the Ivory Tower: Algeria and Vietnam.*
By David Farber 1491

ANCIENT

- FRANÇOISE DUNAND and CHRISTIANE ZIVIE-COCHE.** *Dieux et hommes en Égypte, 3000 av. J.-C.-395 apr. J.-C.: Anthropologie religieuse.*
By Whitney Davis 1492
- JAMES WHITLEY.** *Style and Society in Dark Age Greece: The Changing Face of a Pre-Literate Society 1100-700 B.C.*
By Jack Martin Balcer 1493
- THOMAS J. FIGUEIRA.** *Athens and Aigina in the Age of Imperial Colonization.*
By Thomas W. Gallant 1494
- JEAN-LOUIS FERRARY.** *Philhellenisme et imperialisme: Aspects idéologiques de la conquête romaine du monde hellénistique, de la seconde guerre de Macédoine à la guerre contre Mithridate.*
By Eleanor G. Huzar 1495
- JOHN HAYWOOD.** *Dark Age Naval Power: A Re-assessment of Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Seafaring Activity.*
By Steven Fanning 1495
- BOUDEWIGN SIRKS.** *Food for Rome: The Legal Structure of the Transportation and Processing of Supplies for the Imperial Distributions in Rome and Constantinople.*
By Bruce W. Frier 1496
- BERNARD MCGINN.** *The Presence of God: A History of Western Christian Mysticism. Volume 1, The Foundations of Mysticism.*
By Karl F. Morrison 1497

- JOYCE E. SALISBURY.** *Church Fathers, Independent Virgins.*
By Joseph H. Lynch 1498

MEDIEVAL

- NORMAN F. CANTOR.** *Inventing the Middle Ages: The Lives, Works, and Ideas of the Great Medievalists of the Twentieth Century.*
By Bennett D. Hill 1499
- WALTER PAKTER.** *Medieval Canon Law and the Jews.*
By Jeremy Cohen 1500
- SVERRE BAGGE.** *Society and Politics in Snorri Sturluson's Heimskringla.*
By Elizabeth Ashman Rowe 1501
- ALAN FOREY.** *The Military Orders: From the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Centuries.*
By William Urban 1502
- CATIA GALATARIOTOU.** *The Making of a Saint: The Life, Times and Sanctification of Neophytos the Recluse.*
By Aristides Papadakis 1503
- DANIEL WALEY.** *Siena and the Sienese in the Thirteenth Century.*
By Reinhold Schumann 1503
- ELLEN E. KITTELL.** *From Ad Hoc to Routine: A Case Study in Medieval Bureaucracy.*
By Bryce Lyon 1504
- CAROL LANSING.** *The Florentine Magnates: Lineage and Faction in a Medieval Commune.*
By Julius Kirshner 1505
- PAULA C. CLARKE.** *The Soderini and the Medici: Power and Patronage in Fifteenth-Century Florence.*
By Anthony Molho 1506
- RALPH A. GRIFFITHS.** *King and Country: England and Wales in the Fifteenth Century.*
By Cynthia J. Neville 1507
- SIMON PAYLING.** *Political Society in Lancastrian England: The Greater Gentry of Nottinghamshire.*
By Michael Altschul 1507
- DOROTHY J. CLAYTON.** *The Administration of the County Palatine of Chester 1442-1485.*
By L. M. Hill 1508

MODERN EUROPE

- J. H. BURNS, editor.** *The Cambridge History of Political Thought, 1450-1700.*
By Mark Hulliung 1509
- DONALD R. KELLEY.** *Renaissance Humanism.*
By John Monfasani 1510
- MICHEL JEANNERET.** *A Feast of Words: Banquets and Table Talk in the Renaissance.*
By Charles L. Stinger 1511
- PIETER SPIERENBURG.** *The Prison Experience: Disciplinary Institutions and Their Inmates in Early Modern Europe.*
By John K. Brackett 1511
- KENNETH M. SETTON.** *Venice, Austria, and the Turks in the Seventeenth Century.*
By Jonathan W. Zophy 1512

- PETER MATHIAS and SIDNEY POLLARD, editors. *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe. Volume 8, The Industrial Economies: The Development of Economic and Social Policies.*
By C. Knick Harley 1513
- KARL W. SCHWEIZER. *Frederick the Great, William Pitt, and Lord Bute: The Anglo-Prussian Alliance, 1756–1763.*
By Charles R. Middleton 1514
- ANSELM DOERING-MANTEUFFEL. *Vom Wiener Kongress zur Pariser Konferenz: England, die deutsche Frage und das Mächtesystem 1815–1856.*
By James G. Chastain 1515
- JOACHIM HOFFMANN. *Kaukasien 1942/43: Das deutsche Heer und die Orientvölker der Sowjetunion.*
By Aleksandr M. Nekrich 1515
- JOHN COSTELLO. *Ten Days to Destiny: The Secret Story of the Hess Peace Initiative and British Efforts to Strike a Deal with Hitler.*
By William R. Rock 1516
- JOHN BOSSY. *Giordano Bruno and the Embassy Affair.*
By Thomas F. Mayer 1517
- ROBERT E. RODES, JR. *Law and Modernization in the Church of England: Charles II to the Welfare State.*
By Josef L. Altholz 1518
- JOHN SPURR. *The Restoration Church of England, 1646–1689.*
By Tim Harris 1519
- LOWELL GALLAGHER. *Medusa's Gaze: Casuistry and Conscience in the Renaissance.*
By Camille Wells Slights 1519
- CHRISTINE MCGLADDERY. *James II.*
By Maurice Lee, Jr. 1520
- TESSA WATT. *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640.*
By C. John Sommerville 1521
- MURRAY G. H. PITTOCK. *The Invention of Scotland: The Stuart Myth and the Scottish Identity, 1638 to the Present.*
By Arthur Williamson 1521
- GARLAND CANNON. *The Life and Mind of Oriental Jones: Sir William Jones, the Father of Modern Linguistics.*
By David Spadafora 1522
- DAVID TURLEY. *The Culture of English Antislavery, 1780–1860.*
By James A. Rawley 1523
- STEFAN COLLINI. *Public Moralists: Political Thought and Intellectual Life in Britain, 1850–1930.*
By Reba N. Soffer 1524
- E. D. STEELE. *Palmerston and Liberalism, 1855–1865.*
By Bruce L. Kinzer 1525
- PAMELA HORN. *Victorian Countrywomen.*
By Sandra J. Peacock 1526
- RHODRI WILLIAMS. *Defending the Empire: The Conservative Party and British Defence Policy, 1899–1915.*
By R. J. Q. Adams 1527
- JAMES D. STARTT. *Journalists for Empire: The Imperial Debate in the Edwardian Stately Press, 1903–1913.*
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- LAWRENCE W. MCBRIDE. *The Greening of Dublin Castle: The Transformation of Bureaucratic and Judicial Personnel in Ireland, 1892–1922.*
By David W. Miller 1528
- NICHOLAS MANSERGH. *The Unresolved Question: The Anglo-Irish Settlement and Its Undoing, 1912–72.*
By John Kendle 1528
- MICHÈLE FOGEL. *Les Cérémonies de l'information dans la France du XVI^e au XVIII^e siècle.*
By Sarah Hanley 1529
- JEFFREY K. SAWYER. *Printed Poison: Pamphlet Propaganda, Faction Politics, and the Public Sphere in Early Seventeenth-Century France.*
By Dale K. Van Kley 1530
- WENDY GIBSON. *Women in Seventeenth-Century France.*
By Carolyn C. Lougee 1531
- MARTINE SEGALÉN. *Fifteen Generations of Bretons: Kinship and Society in Lower Brittany, 1720–1980.*
By James R. Lehning 1532
- ROBERT DARNTON. *Édition et sédition: L'univers de la littérature clandestine au XVIII^e siècle.*
By Frank A. Kafker 1533
- NICOLE DE BLOMAC. *La Gloire et le jeu: Des hommes et des chevaux (1766–1866).*
By Robert J. Bezucha 1533
- R. S. ALEXANDER. *Bonapartism and Revolutionary Tradition in France: The Fédérés of 1815.*
By Robert B. Holtman 1534
- ANN RIGNEY. *The Rhetoric of Historical Representation: Three Narrative Histories of the French Revolution.*
By Stanley Mellon 1535
- JOHN M. MERRIMAN. *The Margins of City Life: Explorations on the French Urban Frontier, 1815–1851.*
By Eugen Weber 1535
- DANIEL J. SHERMAN. *Worthy Monuments: Art Museums and the Politics of Culture in Nineteenth-Century France.*
By James A. Leith 1536
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- IAN R. DOWBIGGIN. *Inheriting Madness: Professionalization and Psychiatric Knowledge in Nineteenth-Century France.*
By Harvey G. Simmons 1538
- DENISE JODELET. *Madness and Social Representations: Living with the Mad in One French Community.*
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- RICHARD GRIFFITHS. *The Use of Abuse: The Polemics of the Dreyfus Affair and Its Aftermath.*
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- PAULA E. HYMAN. *The Emancipation of the Jews of Alsace: Acculturation and Tradition in the Nineteenth Century.*
By Lee Shai Weissbach 1540
- CATHERINE ROLLET-ÉCHALIER. *La politique à l'égard de la petite enfance sous la III^e République.*
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- JOHN E. DREIFORT. *Myopic Grandeur: The Ambivalence of French Foreign Policy toward the Far East, 1919–1945.*
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- RENÉ RÉMOND et al. *Paul Touvier et l'Église.*
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- ADRIAN SHUBERT. *A Social History of Modern Spain.*
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- SVENBJÖRN KILANDER. *Den nya staten och den gamla: En studie i ideologisk förändring [The New State and the Old: A Study in Ideological Change].*
By Niilo Kauppi 1546
- TIMO MYLLYNTAUS. *Electrifying Finland: The Transfer of a New Technology into a Late Industrialising Economy.*
By Andre Millard 1547
- CHRISTOPH HALSTRICK. *Das Recht des Papiermacherhandwerkes im deutschsprachigen Raum in der Zeit von 1400 bis 1800: Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Organisation der Papiermacher.*
By Steven Rowan 1548
- JAMES M. STAYER. *The German Peasants' War and Anabaptist Community of Goods.*
By Kyle C. Sessions 1549
- CLAUDIA SCHNURMANN. *Kommerz und Klüngel: Der Eng-landhandel Kölner Kaufleute im 16. Jahrhundert.*
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- JOST HERMAND. *Grüne Utopien in Deutschland: Zur Geschichte des ökologischen Bewusstseins.*
By Raymond H. Dominick 1550
- SYLVIA PALETSCHEK. *Frauen und Dissens: Frauen im Deutschkatholizismus und in den freien Gemeinden, 1841–1852.*
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By Frank Eyck 1551
- PETER KRIEDTE. *Eine Stadt am seidenen Faden: Haushalt, Hausindustrie und soziale Bewegung in Krefeld in der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts.*
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- ECKHARDT TREICHEL. *Der Primat der Bürokratie: Bürokratischer Staat und bürokratische Elite im Herzogtum Nassau 1806–1866.*
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- FRANZ J. BAUER. *Bürgerwege und Bürgerwelten: Familienbiographische Untersuchungen zum deutschen Bürgertum im 19. Jahrhundert.*
By Geoff Eley 1553
- CHARLES E. MCCLELLAND. *The German Experience of Professionalization: Modern Learned Professions and Their Organizations from the Early Nineteenth Century to the Hitler Era.*
By Geoffrey Cocks 1554
- EBERHARD KOLB. *Der Weg aus dem Krieg: Bismarcks Politik im Krieg und die Friedensanbahnung 1870/71.*
By D. E. Showalter 1555
- AGNES BETTING and HARTMUT BICKELMANN. *Auswanderungsagenturen und Auswanderungsvereine im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert.*
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- RALF ROTH. *Gewerkschaftskartell und Sozialpolitik in Frankfurt am Main: Arbeiterbewegung vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg zwischen Restauration und liberaler Erneuerung.*
By David F. Crew 1557
- DORIT-MARIA KRENN. *Die christliche Arbeiterbewegung in Bayern vom Ersten Weltkrieg bis 1933.*
By Ellen L. Evans 1557
- ROBERT CITINO. *Germany and the Union of South Africa in the Nazi Period.*
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- KLAUS-MICHAEL MALLMANN and GERHARD PAUL. *Herrschaft und Alltag: Ein Industrieviertel im Dritten Reich.*
By Rudy Koshar 1559
- JAMES HANKINS. *Plato in the Italian Renaissance.*
By Dilwyn Knox 1559
- JOHN K. BRACKETT. *Criminal Justice and Crime in Late Renaissance Florence, 1537–1609.*
By Thomas Kuehn 1560
- VINCENZO G. PACIFICI. *Angelo Annaratone (1844–1922): La condizione dei Prefetti nell'Italia liberale.*
By Richard Camp 1561
- GIULIANO PANCALDI. *Darwin in Italy: Science across Cultural Frontiers.*
By Alfred Kelly 1562
- MICHAEL L. BLIM. *Made in Italy: Small-Scale Industrialization and Its Consequences.*
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- GALE STOKES. *Politics as Development: The Emergence of Political Parties in Nineteenth-Century Serbia.*
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- GEORGIY BAIDUKOV. *Russian Lindbergh: The Life of Valery Chkalov.*
By Robert Wohl 1569
- JAMES RIORDAN. *Sport, Politics, and Communism.*
By Alfred Erich Senn 1569

NEAR EAST

- MADAWI AL RASHEED. *Politics in an Arabian Oasis: The Rashidi Tribal Dynasty.*
By William Ochsenwald 1570
- JOSEPH B. GLASS and RUTH KARK. *Sephardi Entrepreneurs in Eretz Israel: The Amzalak Family 1816–1918.*
By Norman A. Stillman 1570
- DEREK J. PENSLAR. *Zionism and Technocracy: The Engineering of Jewish Settlement in Palestine, 1870–1918.*
By Ylana N. Miller 1571

AFRICA

- ROLAND OLIVER. *The African Experience*.
By Jay Spaulding 1572
- LAMIN SANNEH. *The Jakhanké Muslim Clerics: A Religious and Historical Study of Islam in Senegambia*.
By Lansiné Kaba 1573
- JONATHAN CRUSH *et al.* *South Africa's Labor Empire: A History of Black Migrancy to the Gold Mines*.
By Robert Kubicek 1574

ASIA

- VALERIE HANSEN. *Changing Gods in Medieval China, 1127–1276*.
By Ann Waltner 1574
- DERK BODDE. *Chinese Thought, Society, and Science: The Intellectual and Social Background of Science and Technology in Pre-modern China*.
By Willard J. Peterson 1575
- JAMES REARDON-ANDERSON. *The Study of Change: Chemistry in China, 1840–1949*.
By Steven A. Leibo 1576
- JOANNA WALEY-COHEN. *Exile in Mid-Qing China: Banishment to Xinjiang, 1758–1820*.
By Vivien W. Ng 1576
- ZHU WEIZHENG. *Coming Out of the Middle Ages: Comparative Reflections on China and the West*.
By John W. Witek 1577
- NICHOLAS R. CLIFFORD. *Spoilt Children of Empire: Westerners in Shanghai and the Chinese Revolution of the 1920s*.
By Suzanne Wilson Barnett 1578
- EDWARD FRIEDMAN *et al.* *Chinese Village, Socialist State*.
By Arif Dirlik 1579
- STEIN TØNNESSEN. *The Vietnamese Revolution of 1945: Roosevelt, Ho Chi Minh and de Gaulle in a World at War*.
By William J. Duiker 1580
- J. S. GREWAL. *The New Cambridge History of India*. Volume 2, part 3, *The Sikhs of the Punjab*.
By J. Royal Roseberry, III 1581
- STEPHEN P. BLAKE. *Shahjahanabad: The Sovereign City in Mughal India, 1639–1739*.
By Thomas R. Metcalf 1581
- B. B. MISRA. *The Unification and Division of India*.
By Laurence W. Preston 1582
- PAMELA KANWAR. *Imperial Simla: The Political Culture of the Raj*.
By Judith Walsh 1583
- B. R. NANDA. *Gandhi, Pan-Islamism, Imperialism, and Nationalism in India*.
By Sugata Bose 1583

UNITED STATES

- JAMES MACGREGOR BURNS and STEWART BURNS. *A People's Charter: The Pursuit of Rights in America*.
By Stanley N. Katz 1584
- PATRICIA MORTON. *Disfigured Images: The Historical Assault on Afro-American Women*.
By Sheila L. Skemp 1585
- PHILIP L. BARLOW. *Mormons and the Bible: The Place of the Latter-day Saints in American Religion*.
By Kenneth H. Winn 1585
- JOYCE D. GOODFRIEND. *Before the Melting Pot: Society and Culture in Colonial New York City, 1664–1730*.
By Paul A. Gilje 1586

- DAVID G. HACKETT. *The Rude Hand of Innovation: Religion and Social Order in Albany, New York, 1652–1836*.
By Randolph Roth 1586
- RICHARD WHITE. *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815*.
By Peter C. Mancall 1587
- LOUIS LEONARD TUCKER. *Clio's Consort: Jeremy Belknap and the Founding of the Massachusetts Historical Society*.
By Robert Middlekauff 1588
- JENNIFER NEDELSKY. *Private Property and the Limits of American Constitutionalism: The Madisonian Framework and Its Legacy*.
By Herbert A. Johnson 1589
- STEPHEN B. PRESSER. *The Original Misunderstanding: The English, the Americans, and the Dialectic of Federalist Jurisprudence*.
By David Thomas Konig 1590
- G. EDWARD WHITE. *History of the Supreme Court of the United States*. Volumes 3 and 4, *The Marshall Court and Cultural Change, 1815–35*.
By H. J. Bourguignon 1590
- PAUL K. CONKIN. *Cane Ridge: America's Pentecost*.
By Ruth Alden Doan 1591
- PETER B. KNUFFER. *The Union as It Is: Constitutional Unionism and Sectional Compromise, 1787–1861*.
By Robert W. Johannsen 1592
- JOAN E. CASHIN. *A Family Venture: Men and Women on the Southern Frontier*.
By Sarah Deutsch 1593
- CAROLYN C. COOPER. *Shaping Invention: Thomas Blanchard's Machinery and Patent Management in Nineteenth-Century America*.
By John M. Staudenmaier, S.J. 1593
- JOEL H. SILBEY. *The American Political Nation, 1838–1893*.
By Jean H. Baker 1594
- JONATHAN A. GLICKSTEIN. *Concepts of Free Labor in Antebellum America*.
By Sean Wilentz 1594
- JEFFREY S. ADLER. *Yankee Merchants and the Making of the Urban West: The Rise and Fall of Antebellum St. Louis*.
By Leonard P. Curry 1595
- ROBIN L. EINHORN. *Property Rules: Political Economy in Chicago, 1833–1872*.
By Jeffrey S. Adler 1596
- WILLIAM C. DAVIS. *Jefferson Davis: The Man and His Hour*.
By Steven E. Woodworth 1597
- CHARLES ROYSTER. *The Destructive War: William Tecumseh Sherman, Stonewall Jackson, and the Americans*.
By William S. McFeely 1598
- JAMES W. GEARY. *We Need Men: The Union Draft in the Civil War*.
By Michael Barton 1598
- C. ROBERT HAYWOOD. *Cowtown Lawyers: Dodge City and Its Attorneys, 1876–1886*.
By David A. Johnson 1599
- THOMAS A. WOODS. *Knights of the Plow: Oliver H. Kelley and the Origins of the Grange in Republican Ideology*.
By Raymond Arsenault 1599
- DAVID ROSNER and GERALD MARKOWITZ. *Deadly Dust: Silicosis and the Politics of Occupational Disease in Twentieth-Century America*.
By Charles O. Jackson 1600

- HERBERT HOVENKAMP. *Enterprise and American Law, 1836-1937*.
By Tony Freyer 1601
- LYNNE PIERSON DOTI and LARRY SCHWEIKART. *Banking in the American West: From the Gold Rush to Deregulation*.
By Walter L. Buenger 1603
- ALBRO MARTIN. *Railroads Triumphant: The Growth, Rejection, and Rebirth of a Vital American Force*.
By John Lauritz Larson 1604
- LISTON EDGINGTON LEYENDECKER. *Palace Car Prince: A Biography of George Mortimer Pullman*.
By Janice L. Reiff 1604
- JAMES GILBERT. *Perfect Cities: Chicago's Utopias of 1893*.
By Gunther Barth 1605
- OSCAR HANDLIN and LILIAN HANDLIN. *Liberty in America: 1600 to the Present. Volume 3, Liberty in Peril, 1850-1920*.
By Stewart Burns 1606
- VIRGINIA SCHARFF. *Taking the Wheel: Women and the Coming of the Motor Age*.
By Beth Bailey 1606
- BETTY A. DEBERG. *Ungodly Women: Gender and the First Wave of American Fundamentalism*.
By Ann Braude 1607
- IAN TYRRELL. *Woman's World, Woman's Empire: The Woman's Christian Temperance Union in International Perspective, 1880-1930*.
By Patricia R. Hill 1608
- LINDA G. FORD. *Iron-Jawed Angels: The Suffrage Militancy of the National Woman's Party, 1912-1920*.
By Ellen Fitzpatrick 1609
- DIANE KIRKBY. *Alice Henry: The Power of Pen and Voice; The Life of an Australian-American Labor Reformer*.
By Ruth Milkman 1609
- DOROTHY SUE COBELE. *Dishing It Out: Waitresses and Their Unions in the Twentieth Century*.
By Amy Kesselman 1610
- MYRA DINNERSTEIN. *Women between Two Worlds: Midlife Reflections on Work and Family*.
By Winifred D. Wandersee 1611
- DENNIS CLARK. *Erin's Heirs: Irish Bonds of Community*.
By Dale T. Knobel 1612
- STEPHEN S. FUGITA and DAVID J. O'BRIEN. *Japanese American Ethnicity: The Persistence of Community*; DAVID J. O'BRIEN and STEPHEN S. FUGITA. *The Japanese American Experience*.
By Maxine Schwartz Seller 1612
- STUART A. MARKS. *Southern Hunting in Black and White: Nature, History, and Ritual in a Carolina Community*.
By Kenneth S. Greenberg 1613
- LISA MIGHETTO. *Wild Animals and American Environmental Ethics*.
By Craig W. Allin 1614
- CHARLES MUSSER. *Before the Nickelodeon: Edwin S. Porter and the Edison Manufacturing Company*.
By Bernard F. Dick 1614
- GREGG ANDREWS. *Shoulder to Shoulder? The American Federation of Labor, the United States, and the Mexican Revolution, 1910-1924*.
By Harvey Levenstein 1615
- CLETE DANIEL. *Chicano Workers and the Politics of Fairness: The FEPC in the Southwest, 1941-1945*.
By David M. Reimers 1616
- JAMES B. CROOKS. *Jacksonville after the Fire, 1901-1919: A New South City*.
By Walter J. Fraser, Jr. 1616
- ERIKA DOSS. *Benton, Pollock, and the Politics of Modernism: From Regionalism to Abstract Expressionism*.
By Marlene Park 1617
- ALAN STONE. *Public Service Liberalism: Telecommunications and Transitions in Public Policy*.
By Richard H. K. Vietor 1618
- CHERYL LYNN GREENBERG. *"Or Does It Explode?" Black Harlem in the Great Depression*.
By Joe W. Trotter 1618
- WILLIAM IVY HAIR. *The Kingfish and His Realm: The Life and Times of Huey P. Long*.
By Bennett H. Wall 1619
- MARY ANN DZUBACK. *Robert M. Hutchins: Portrait of an Educator*.
By Jurgen Herbst 1620
- LINDA REED. *Simple Decency and Common Sense: The Southern Conference Movement, 1938-1963*.
By Steven F. Lawson 1620
- MELVIN I. UROFSKY. *Felix Frankfurter: Judicial Restraint and Individual Liberties*.
By Mark Silverstein 1621
- JACOB A. VANDER MEULEN. *The Politics of Aircraft: Building an American Military Industry*.
By Paul A. C. Koistinen 1622
- GREGORY HOOKS. *Forging the Military-Industrial Complex: World War II's Battle of the Potomac*.
By Richard F. Haynes 1622
- THOMAS PARRISH. *Roosevelt and Marshall: Partners in Politics and War*.
By Mark A. Stoler 1623
- SALLIE PISANI. *The CIA and the Marshall Plan*.
By Thomas Alan Schwartz 1624
- MARK STERN. *Calculating Visions: Kennedy, Johnson, and Civil Rights*.
By Mark Tushnet 1624
- FRANK R. KEMERER. *William Wayne Justice: A Judicial Biography*.
By Phil Roberts 1625
- EDWARD P. MORGAN. *The 60s Experience: Hard Lessons about Modern America*.
By Terry Anderson 1625
- HERBERT S. PARMET. *Richard Nixon and His America*.
By Kim McQuaid 1626
- MARK J. GASIOROWSKI. *U.S. Foreign Policy and the Shah: Building a Client State in Iran*.
By Brice Harris 1627

CANADA

- YVES GINGRAS. *Physics and the Rise of Scientific Research in Canada*.
By Marcel C. LaFollette 1628
- JOHN A. ENGLISH. *The Canadian Army and the Normandy Campaign: A Study of Failure in High Command*.
By Roger Sarty 1628

LATIN AMERICA

LESLIE BETHELL, editor. *The Cambridge History of Latin America. Volume 7, Latin America since 1930: Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean.*
By Ralph Lee Woodward, Jr. 1629

RUTH BERINS COLLIER and DAVID COLLIER. *Shaping the Political Arena: Critical Junctures, the Labor Movement, and Regime Dynamics in Latin America.*
By Hobart A. Spalding 1630

E. BRADFORD BURNS. *Patriarch and Folk: The Emergence of Nicaragua, 1789–1858.*
By Lowell Gudmundson 1631

ALVAR W. CARLSON. *The Spanish-American Homeland: Four Centuries in New Mexico's Río Arriba.*
By Albert L. Hurtado 1632

COLIN M. MACLACHLAN. *Anarchism and the Mexican Revolution: The Political Trials of Ricardo Flores Magón in the United States.*
By Mario T. García 1632

MURIEL NAZZARI. *Disappearance of the Dowry: Women, Families, and Social Change in São Paulo, Brazil (1600–1900).*
By Elizabeth Anne Kuznesof 1633

STANLEY E. HILTON. *Brazil and the Soviet Challenge, 1917–1947.*

By William Richardson 1634

PAULO SÉRGIO PINHEIRO. *Estratégias da ilusão: A revolução mundial e o Brasil, 1922–1935.*

By Rolie E. Poppino 1635

MAURICIO A. FONT. *Coffee, Contention, and Change in the Making of Modern Brazil.*

By Robert M. Levine 1635

SUZANNE AUSTIN ALCHON. *Native Society and Disease in Colonial Ecuador.*

By Murdo J. MacLeod 1636

ROBERT J. FERRY. *The Colonial Elite of Early Caracas: Formation and Crisis, 1567–1767.*

By Ann Twinam 1637

GAVIN SMITH. *Livelihood and Resistance: Peasants and the Politics of Land in Peru;* WILLIAM P. MITCHELL. *Peasants on the Edge: Crop, Cult, and Crisis in the Andes.*

By Michael J. Gonzales 1637

JOEL HOROWITZ. *Argentine Unions, the State, and the Rise of Perón, 1930–1945.*

By David Tamarin 1638

Collected Essays 1640

Documents and Bibliographies 1654

Other Books Received 1657

Communications 1665

Annual Index 1669

Index of Advertisers 46(a)

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Robin D. G. Kelley is associate professor of history, African-American Studies, and American Culture at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. He is the author of the prize-winning book *Hammer and Hoe: Alabama Communists during the Great Depression* (1990) and numerous articles covering a wide range of topics, including southern black working-class resistance, the cultural politics of Malcolm X, the Spanish Civil War, South African radicalism, Pan-Africanism, and rap music. A native of Harlem, Kelley earned a masters in African history and a doctorate in U.S. history (1987) from the University of California, Los Angeles. He is currently working on a book titled *Chocolate City: The Black Urban Poor in Late Capitalism*.

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Lawrence W. Levine, who studied with Richard Hofstadter and William Leuchtenburg at Columbia University, is Margaret Byrne Professor of History at the University of California, Berkeley. He has written *Defender of the Faith: William Jennings Bryan, the Last Decade, 1915–1925* (1965), *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought from Slavery to Freedom* (1977), *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (1988), and *The Unpredictable Past: Explorations in American Cultural History*, to be published by Oxford University Press in the spring of 1993. Levine was awarded a MacArthur Prize Fellowship in 1983 and is currently president of the Organization of American Historians.

The Folklore of Industrial Society: Popular Culture
and Its Audiences

LAWRENCE W. LEVINE

My consumers, are they not my producers?

James Joyce¹

IN THE NOVEL *Invisible Man*, Ralph Ellison's protagonist muses about the nature of history: "All things, it is said, are duly recorded—all things of importance, that is. But not quite, for actually it is only the known, the seen, the heard and only those events that the recorder regards as important that are put down . . . What did they ever think of us transitory ones? . . . birds of passage who were too obscure for learned classification, too silent for the most sensitive recorders of sound; of natures too ambiguous for the most ambiguous words, and too distant from the centers of historical decision to sign or even to applaud the signers of historical documents? We who write no novels, histories or other books. What about us."² This remains one of the nagging questions for many of us who write history today. What does the historian do about what Ellison called "the void of faceless faces, of soundless voices, lying outside history"?³ There are many approaches to this problem. In *Black Culture and Black Consciousness*, I attempted to use folk culture—songs, tales, proverbs, jokes—to recreate the voices and consciousness of the slaves and freedmen who left few if any written sources behind them.⁴ I found surprisingly little need for elaborate rationales or heavy theoretical underpinnings. There was an encouraging—and perhaps all too easy—acceptance of the proposition that by examining folklore one could recover the voices of the

I researched and wrote this essay while I was a Fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences and delivered an earlier version as the first of three Merle Curti Lectures at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, in April 1991. I am extremely grateful to my colleagues at both institutions for their help and comments. I am also indebted to Michelle Ferrari for her research assistance, to the many Berkeley students—graduate and undergraduate—who were always willing to join me in puzzling out these fascinating and perplexing problems, and to Cornelia Levine, Robert Middlekauff, James Oakes, Madelon Powers, and Lauren Smith for their perceptive readings of the final version.

¹ Quoted in Marshall McLuhan, *From Cliche to Archetype* (New York, 1970), 28.

² Ralph Ellison, *Invisible Man* (New York, 1952), 332.

³ Ellison, *Invisible Man*, 331.

⁴ Lawrence W. Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought from Slavery to Freedom* (New York, 1977).

historically inarticulate. Underlying this acceptance was the widespread agreement that there was a valid correspondence between the creators and the receptors of folklore; since folklore came out of the community, scholars could use it to recover the common voice.

In recent years, I have been trying to project this approach into the area of popular culture. More specifically, I have been attempting to recover the lost voices of large numbers of Americans during the Great Depression by a detailed examination of the mainstream popular culture they were exposed to in the books, magazines, and newspapers they read, the radio programs they listened to, and the movies they watched. I have learned unmistakably, in papers I have given and published, that this time around there will be no easy acceptance; that popular culture is seen as the antithesis of folk culture: not as emanating from within the community but created—often artificially by people with pecuniary or ideological motives—for the community, or rather for the masses who no longer had an organic community capable of producing culture. Popular culture, the critics argue, if it has to be invoked at all, should be used primarily to represent the consciousness of its producers, not its consumers. I have discovered, for example, that my endeavor to find in the absurdist humor of Groucho, Chico, and Harpo Marx indications of the popular mood of the Great Depression is precisely the kind of Marxism that distresses many of my colleagues the most. I have been reminded publicly more than once that routines such as the following from *Duck Soup* (1933)

Groucho: "Give me a number from one to ten."

Chico: "Eleven."

Groucho: "Right."

were mere vehicles of mirth, not of ideas.⁵ "We went to their movies," a senior historian informed me after one of my lectures, "to be entertained, not to ponder important problems; we went to laugh."

The real question for historians is less the intentions of the audience than why they laughed at what they did. This is precisely the issue my friend and colleague Gerda Lerner was attempting to get at when, following a paper I delivered on film and politics, she asked how I handled the relationship between the producers of the culture and their audiences. It is an important question to which I gave a flip response: I handled that relationship, I informed her and the audience, just as brilliantly as historians have handled the relationships between the Puritan Divine Cotton Mather and his parishioners, between the editor Horace Greeley and his readers, between the politician Franklin Roosevelt and his constituents. In other words, I did not really handle it at all. Historians, in fact, deal relatively poorly with this question at every level, and I suppose I was resentful of the fact that it only seemed to be those of us who dealt with popular culture who were being importuned to answer it. Nevertheless, resentment and rhetoric are not going to make the question go away. Whether it is fair or not, we are being asked to justify the use of popular culture as a historical source, to explain why these materials

⁵ The script for *Duck Soup* has been reprinted in *The Four Marx Brothers in "Monkey Business" and "Duck Soup"* (Letchworth, Eng., 1972), 158.

reflect anything more than what those who produced them were thinking. To put the best possible face on it, I decided that if scholarly attitudes toward popular culture made it necessary for historians who used it to grapple with questions other historians were allowed to ignore or soft-peddle with impunity, so be it; it might even prove to be an advantage. Hence the genesis of this article.

We are not dealing with just an academic question. Scholars may well have their own internal disciplinary reasons for eschewing popular culture, but, in addition to the academic cubicles they inhabit, scholars are members of a society in which popular culture is—and has been for some time—regularly distrusted and denigrated. To the Left, popular culture looked like the attempt of the ruling classes to exert hegemony over the masses; to the Right, popular culture existed as confirmation of the fear that if the masses and those who cynically catered to their low tastes were given free rein, the entire society would be awash in a flood of cultural trivia.

These interpretations were by no means mutually exclusive. An entire range of intellectuals combined the notion that popular culture was unvarying trash with the idea that its purpose was hegemonic. The medium of radio, Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno asserted in the 1940s, “turns all participants into listeners and authoritatively subjects them to broadcast programs which are all exactly the same,” resulting in “the stunting of the mass-media consumer’s powers of imagination and spontaneity. The might of industrial society is lodged in men’s minds.” Similarly, they argued, “The sound film leaves no room for imagination or reflection on the part of the audience . . . they react automatically” and “fall helpless victims to what is offered them.”⁶ A decade later, the sociologist Bernard Rosenberg, in a *single* page of his introduction to the collection *Mass Culture: The Popular Arts in America*, used the words “cretinize,” “brutalize,” “totalitarianism,” “garbage,” “ghastliness,” “cultural pap and gruel,” “illusion,” “sub-art,” and “pseudo-knowledge” to characterize the subject of the volume. He concluded that “the electronic wonderworld and the rulers thereof . . . manage to debar the mass man they have created from any really satisfying experience.”⁷ The art critic Harold Rosenberg felt so strongly about the debilitating effects of mass culture that in 1958 he begged his peers to “quarantine kitsch,” to deny it “an intellectual dimension” by refusing to study it. “Every discovery of ‘significance’ in Li’l Abner or Mickey Spillane,” he charged, “helps to destroy the distinction between kitsch and art . . . If only Popular Culture were left to the populace!”⁸ And in our own day, Allan Bloom has made a small fortune by disseminating the same views to a receptive public. Rock music, Bloom warned his extensive readership, was “junk food for the soul,” a “gutter phenomenon” that transforms the lives of its young listeners “into a nonstop, commercially prepackaged masturbational fantasy” and permanently removes them from the realm of true culture: “As long as they have

⁶ Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, John Cumming, trans. (1944; rpt. edn., New York, 1987), 122, 126, 133–34.

⁷ Bernard Rosenberg, “Mass Culture in America,” in Bernard Rosenberg and David Manning White, eds., *Mass Culture: The Popular Arts in America* (Glencoe, Ill., 1957), 9.

⁸ Harold Rosenberg, “Pop Culture and Kitsch Criticism,” *Dissent*, 5 (Winter 1958): 15–16.

the Walkman on, they cannot hear what the great tradition has to say. And after its prolonged use, when they take it off, they find they are deaf.”⁹

Indeed, even the practitioners of popular culture—who are of course also part of the larger society—have expressed this view. Groucho Marx was amused at the professors who professed to see significance in the routines he did with his brothers, when in fact they were just improvising without any grand purpose, just trying to make people laugh.¹⁰ The director Frank Capra attributed the success of his first Academy Award-winning film, *It Happened One Night* (1934), to the fact that it was “unfettered with any ideas, any big moral precepts or anything else. Just sheer entertainment, fun.”¹¹ More recently, the film executive Brandon Tartikoff, when he was head of television programming at NBC, expressed disbelief at academics seriously studying what he himself spent his life doing: “When I hear about college professors writing books about people who do prime-time shows,” he told a reporter, “my natural cynicism says there’s got to be courses for all these athletes to make them academically eligible to play football.”¹²

Thus we have found it difficult to study popular culture seriously, not primarily because of the constraints of our respective disciplines—which are indeed far more open to the uses of popular culture than we have allowed ourselves to believe—but because of the inhibitions inculcated in us by the society we inhabit. From an early age, we have been taught that whatever else this stuff is, it isn’t art and it isn’t serious and it doesn’t lend itself to critical analysis.

The point of my title and my argument is not that popular culture is folklore or that the term “folklore” should be defined in such a way as to incorporate it. My intent is not to change definitions, except to the extent that I would like to see us get away from rigid adjectival labels as much as possible and recognize that, while culture may not be seamless, it is connected; it does not exist—at least, not outside the academic world—in neatly separate boxes waiting for the scholar’s labels. Rather, my intention is to explore the degree to which popular culture functions in ways similar to folk culture and acts as a form of folklore for people living in urban industrial societies, and can thus be used to reconstruct people’s attitudes, values, and reactions.¹³

⁹ Allan Bloom, *The Closing of the American Mind: How Higher Education Has Failed Democracy and Impoverished the Souls of Today’s Students* (New York, 1987), 68–81 and *passim*. That this rather extreme traducer of popular culture, in his very act of traducing, ended up writing the second best-selling hardcover nonfiction book of 1987 and became for a time an icon in the popular press with the concomitant photo-journalism spreads replete with such lifestyle minutia as his apartment furnishings and his compact disc collection is one of the paradoxes that makes studying culture so fascinating. See, for example, James Atlas, “Chicago’s Grumpy Guru: Best-Selling Professor Allan Bloom and the Chicago Intellectuals,” *New York Times Magazine*, January 2, 1988.

¹⁰ The source for this is my memory of remarks Marx made in his later years to a reporter. I have not been able to find the exact quote.

¹¹ See Richard Schickel’s interview with Capra in Schickel, *The Men Who Made the Movies: Interviews with Frank Capra, George Cukor, Howard Hawks, Alfred Hitchcock, Vincente Minnelli, King Vidor, Raoul Wallace, and William A. Wellman* (New York, 1975), 73.

¹² “Yesterday’s Boob Tube Is Today’s High Art,” *New York Times*, October 7, 1990.

¹³ These comparisons were not totally unknown during the Great Depression itself. In a study published in 1941, two psychiatrists concluded: “Comic books can probably be best understood if they are looked upon as an expression of the folklore of this age. They may be compared with the mythology, fairy tales and puppet shows, for example, of past ages.” See Loretta Bender and

TO ACCOMPLISH THIS GOAL, it is important to regard culture in context. In a modern industrial urban society, people are no more likely to be the exclusive architects of their own expressive cultures than of their own houses or furniture or clothing. Modernity dealt a blow to artisanship in culture as well as in material commodities. But to say this is not to say that, as a result, people have been rendered passive, hopeless consumers. What people *can* do and *do* do is to refashion the objects created for them to fit their own values, needs, and expectations. We all know from personal experience and observation that people leave their own imprint on the homes and apartments others build for them and the mass-produced furniture, clothing, and accessories they purchase and use. We have to begin to comprehend the extent to which this interactive process also exists between people and the mass-produced expressive culture their society puts at their disposal. Scholars who disregard this process end up with a culture they can neither understand themselves nor interpret for others.

We also must employ the term "popular culture" in a more consistent and less arbitrary way. What we call popular culture has been used most frequently as an aesthetic category—to signify the mudsill of culture, the lowest of the low; and in this sense it has been a very misleading term, which, as I have argued elsewhere, has made it virtually impossible to perceive that Shakespearean drama or opera was popular culture in the nineteenth-century United States.¹⁴ My own approach is simple and instrumental: popular culture is culture that is *popular*; culture that is widely accessible and widely accessed; widely disseminated, and widely viewed or heard or read. A broad spectrum of 1930s film, radio, comics, fiction, and art fits this description, and it is this material I am studying in order to understand American attitudes and culture during the Great Depression. Most of this expressive culture was also what we call mass culture since it was disseminated throughout the nation by such centralized mechanisms as national magazines, syndicated newspaper features, Hollywood studios, network radio, Tin Pan Alley, and commercial publishing houses. It is important to remember that not all mass culture was popular. Many mass-produced books went unread, many films unseen, many radio programs unheard by substantial numbers of people. This distinction is crucial: not everything mass produced for the American people was popular, even if a substantial percentage of what was popular by the 1930s was mass produced. The significance of this is clear: choices were being made; in every popular genre, audiences distinguished between what they found meaningful, appealing, and functional and what they did not. Only the aesthetic hubris of critics and scholars has allowed the automatic equation of mass culture with popular culture as if everything mass produced was popular, as if the unwashed masses were incapable of distinguishing and choosing, when in fact it was the critics and scholars who were often incapable of making distinctions, of compre-

Reginald S. Lourie, "The Effect of Comic Books on the Ideology of Children," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 11 (1941): 540–50.

¹⁴ See Lawrence W. Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988), chaps. 1, 2.

hending that the culture they were examining or critiquing was not all formulaic pabulum with no substantive or stylistic distinctions.¹⁵

It is important also to rethink a series of attitudes and images that prevent or at least hamper the serious study of popular culture. Let me briefly discuss five of these:

First, the image of the purely passive mass audience ready to absorb, consciously and unconsciously, whatever ideological message those controlling the mass culture industry want to feed them. This image embodies two ideal constructs: the helpless, unknowing, unreflective, all-absorbing consumers of culture on the one hand and the powerful, prescient producers of culture on the other, who know how to construct cultural products of such “irreducible givenness”¹⁶ that they are impervious to reinterpretation or alteration by the audience. Not until we divest ourselves of these ideal types—just as surely as we have largely disposed of such ideals as the pure hero, pure villain, pure victim—will we be capable of beginning to use popular culture effectively as a tool for comprehending the past.

Second, the notion that of all the forms of culture, only popular culture is so thoroughly formulaic that to know any part of a popular genre is to know all of it. Shortly after I returned from a summer of studying the scripts of radio programs from the 1930s, I was complaining to one of my colleagues about the unwieldiness of the sources I was confronted with, explaining that a single show like *Amos 'n' Andy* had several thousand scripts for the Depression decade alone. My colleague's response: “Oh, but I shouldn't have thought you would need to read more than about eight of them.” The difficulty with this statement methodologically, of course, is that even if it were correct, you would need to read large numbers of these scripts before you knew you only needed to read eight of them. Popular culture, of course, has no monopoly on the formulaic. The reason we remember Schubert and Beethoven and Dvorak string quartets is not because they are examples of a genre without formulas but because of what these composers accomplished within those formulas. We have to allow the same possibilities for popular culture. If we remember such typically 1930s writers as Dashiell Hammett, Raymond Chandler, and John Steinbeck; such 1930s directors as Frank Capra, Ernst Lubitsch, John Ford, and Leo McCarey; such 1930s films as *Public Enemy*, *It Happened One Night*, *Night at the Opera*, *The Wizard of Oz*, and *Gone with the Wind*, it is not only because critics and scholars have kept them alive or resurrected them but often because they were elevated to prominence by audiences of the 1930s, who were perfectly capable of distinguishing them from

¹⁵ After receiving a number of passionate letters protesting derogatory remarks he had written about detective stories, Edmund Wilson undertook a new review of the genre. He concluded that there were no substantial distinctions within it and advised his correspondents to stop importuning him to read novels and stories, which were “wasteful of time and degrading to the intellect.” “With so many fine books to be read, so much to be studied and known, there is no need to bore ourselves with this rubbish.” Wilson, “Who Cares Who Killed Roger Ackroyd?” in Rosenberg and White, eds., *Mass Culture*, 149–53.

¹⁶ The term is Janice Radway's. See her superb discussion of how the adoption of such assumptions has caused critics to be “hermetically sealed off from the very people they aim to understand”; Janice A. Radway, *Reading the Romance: Women, Patriarchy, and Popular Literature* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1984), introduction.

the hundreds of other expressions in their respective genres. Audiences of the Great Depression were able to differentiate and choose among the myriad products of popular culture they were confronted with. It is precisely the choices they made that give us insight into their attitudes and feelings. Having said this, I must add that even the most solidly formulaic elements of popular culture have their satisfactions for the audience and their value for scholars. The obvious analogy here is with the world of games, which, as Johan Huizinga observed, gives pleasure by creating a place where the rules still work and where one can count on a certain order.¹⁷ Formulaic culture affords many of the same rewards. But not all is certainty; within the formulas, there is room for variation and surprise. The ending may be guaranteed, but the route to it can take twists and turns that not only add the spice of surprise and variation but also have things to teach audiences about the world the genre is supposedly lifting them out of.

Third, the notion that popular culture was and is invariably “escapist,” which depends in turn on the notion that art is an entity apart from the “real” world. In fact, artistic expression is neither detached from the world around it nor just a “reflection” of that world. Rather, it is an inseparable part of the larger world, one of the fundamental forms of communication and expression people engage in and depend on. Those who attended films and plays, tuned in to radio programs, read novels and magazines, went to sporting events, and frequented musical performances of all kinds were not “escaping” from the “real” world; they were partaking of some of its essential features. But even insofar as elements of escape—by which I suppose is meant relief from the pressing matters of everyday life—were involved, we tend to ask the wrong questions. The potential for “escape” is inherent in all forms of expressive culture; thus the fact that it may be a feature of popular culture tells us very little. What is essential, as Robert Escarpit has argued, is to “know from what and towards what we are escaping.”¹⁸ Even in their escape, people can be realistic in understanding what it is they need to do to maintain themselves; what kinds of fictions, myths, fantasies they require, not primarily to escape reality but to face it day after day after day. Indeed, to “escape” a reality one cannot change is one way of altering that reality, or at least its effects. The question about the popular culture of the Great Depression, then, is not merely whether it allowed people to escape from the grim realities of the 1930s, since most forms of 1930s expressive culture did that, but also whether and in what ways it allowed them to cope with the effects of those realities.

Fourth, the notion that because popular culture may not generally be on the cutting edge of knowledge or style, it is therefore not truly an art form. Those who understand folk culture do not make the mistake of assuming that “artists” are invariably those who break new ground. This is a modern fallacy contradicted by the centuries of folk artists who saw their function as embodying the beliefs and meanings of their cultures in language that could be understood by their fellows. “There is,” Raymond Williams has asserted, “great danger in the assumption that art serves only on the frontiers of knowledge.” Art can just as legitimately stand

¹⁷ Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play-Element in Culture* (1950; Boston, 1955), 10.

¹⁸ Robert Escarpit, *The Sociology of Literature*, Ernest Pick, trans., 2d edn. (London, 1971), 91.

near the center of common experience and give its audiences a sense of recognition and community.¹⁹

Fifth and last in this list of attitudes returns to the question of aesthetics. When confronting popular culture, scholars have been virtually mesmerized by aesthetic matters. Historians, for example, who rarely, if ever, have much to say about the aesthetics of political speeches, religious sermons, reformist pamphlets, legislative committee reports, judicial decisions, even novels and poems (which they have tended to mine for content rather than structure and style), seem incapable of treating the materials of popular culture substantively and functionally, as they treat most other materials, rather than aesthetically. This inability to transcend the putative aesthetic poverty of popular culture, or kitsch, as intellectuals like to call it, has made it exceedingly difficult for historians to take popular culture seriously enough to comprehend the dynamic relationships that exist between the audience and the expressive culture with which they interact. Aesthetic worth and substantive complexity are not inexorable partners. The aesthetic quality of an artifact does not necessarily determine its level of complexity or the amount of analysis essential to comprehend its meaning. One does not have to believe that, aesthetically, Superman rivals Hamlet or that Grant Wood compares to Michelangelo to maintain that Superman and Wood potentially have much to tell us about the Great Depression, that they therefore merit the closest examination, and that they will not necessarily be simple to fathom.

ONCE WE GET BEYOND SOME OF THESE ATTITUDINAL and definitional obstacles, we can begin to perceive the extent to which what we call popular culture can and does function in many of the same ways and serves many of the same purposes as what we call folk culture. I have been surprised by the degree of antipathy with which folklorists from the turn of the century until at least mid-century tended to treat popular culture. If black children admitted they had learned a rabbit tale from a published Joel Chandler Harris story rather than orally from a member of the community, if blues singers cited a phonograph record as the source for their blues, if a country musician sang a song she first heard on a radio show, it caused great consternation, engendered severe doubts about whether the material collected was really folklore, even if it looked and acted like folklore, and generated still more dire predictions about the imminent demise of the folk and their lore. In my work on black folk thought, I attempted to demonstrate that the effect of commercial blues recordings on folk blues was not at all what some folklorists feared. Undoubtedly, there was a disruptive effect on many local styles and traditions. Nevertheless, what primarily took place was not a total erosion of regional styles in favor of some standard commercial product but a blending process. Through recordings, local traditions could become quickly known to blacks in every section of the country; the developments in the new urban centers could be spread throughout the South even while the traditional culture could be perpetuated and strengthened among the recent urban migrants. Blacks living

¹⁹ Raymond Williams, *The Long Revolution*, rev. edn. (New York, 1961), 30.

far apart could share not only styles but experiences, attitudes, folk wisdom, and expressions. In this sense, phonograph records could be seen as bearers and preservers rather than primarily destroyers of folk traditions. And at no point were the folk reduced to the role of mere ciphers; they continued to have a crucial influence. Zora Neale Hurston observed that when the jukebox made its way into the remote work camps of rural Florida in the 1930s, regional songs began to give way to the recorded blues but with an interesting twist: "the original words and music [of the recorded songs] are changed to satisfy the taste of the community's own singers."²⁰

Nor was this fascinating blend limited to black music. At his death in 1936, Dr. Humphrey Bate, one of the most popular country musicians on the *Grand Ole Opry*, a radio program that began in Nashville in the late 1920s and became a national institution in the Depression years, left a list of his repertoire of 125 songs. Of the 103 that could be traced, 34 were traditional fiddle tunes, 8 were other traditional tunes, 5 were hornpipes, 2 were marches, 13 were vaudeville and minstrel songs, 20 were popular songs from the late nineteenth century, 12 were popular songs from the 1920s, and 3 were ragtime tunes. This repertoire indicates the dangers of categorizing Bate too easily. By virtue of appearing on an extremely popular radio program, he could certainly be labeled a "popular" rather than a "folk" performer, yet more than half of his material consisted of traditional songs performed in a traditional style. The very eclecticism of Bate's repertoire places him in the tradition of folk performers who were always willing to utilize appropriate material wherever they found it. Folklorists might have been purists; the folk rarely were. George Hay, the director of the Opry, understood this when he observed, "The line of demarcation between the old popular tunes and folk tunes is indeed slight."²¹

The fragile line between the worlds of folk and popular culture is documented by those in the radio audience who seem to have regarded the radio as a welcome part of their community. "If I am tired of the voices around me," a listener testified, "I turn on the radio. There I hear a new voice . . . it is as if a friend had entered the room."²² "I feel your music and songs are what pulled me through this winter," a Chicago listener wrote station WLS in June 1935. "Half the time we were blue and broke. One year during the depression and no work. Kept from going on relief but lost everything we possessed doing so. So thanks for the songs, for they make life seem more like living."²³ "The radio," one researcher noted, "is spoken to, cajoled, scolded with apparently little self-consciousness. It has become so much a part of the household that using it as another person—in fact, speaking of it as 'company' and as 'someone in the house'—is neither strange nor unexpected."²⁴ These feelings of community were often reciprocated at the other end of the airwaves. "When I sing for you on the air," the popular country singer

²⁰ Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness*, 217–39.

²¹ Charles K. Wolfe, *The Grand Ole Opry: The Early Years, 1925–35* (London, 1975), 17.

²² Ernest Dichter, "On the Psychology of Radio Commercials," in Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Frank N. Stanton, eds., *Radio Research, 1941* (New York, 1941), 471.

²³ Reprinted in Charles Wolfe, "The Triumph of the Hills: Country Radio, 1920–50," in Paul Kingsbury and Alan Axelrod, eds., *Country: The Music and the Musicians* (New York, 1988), 63.

²⁴ Ruth Palter, "Radio's Attraction for Housewives," *Hollywood Quarterly*, 3 (Spring 1948): 251, 254.

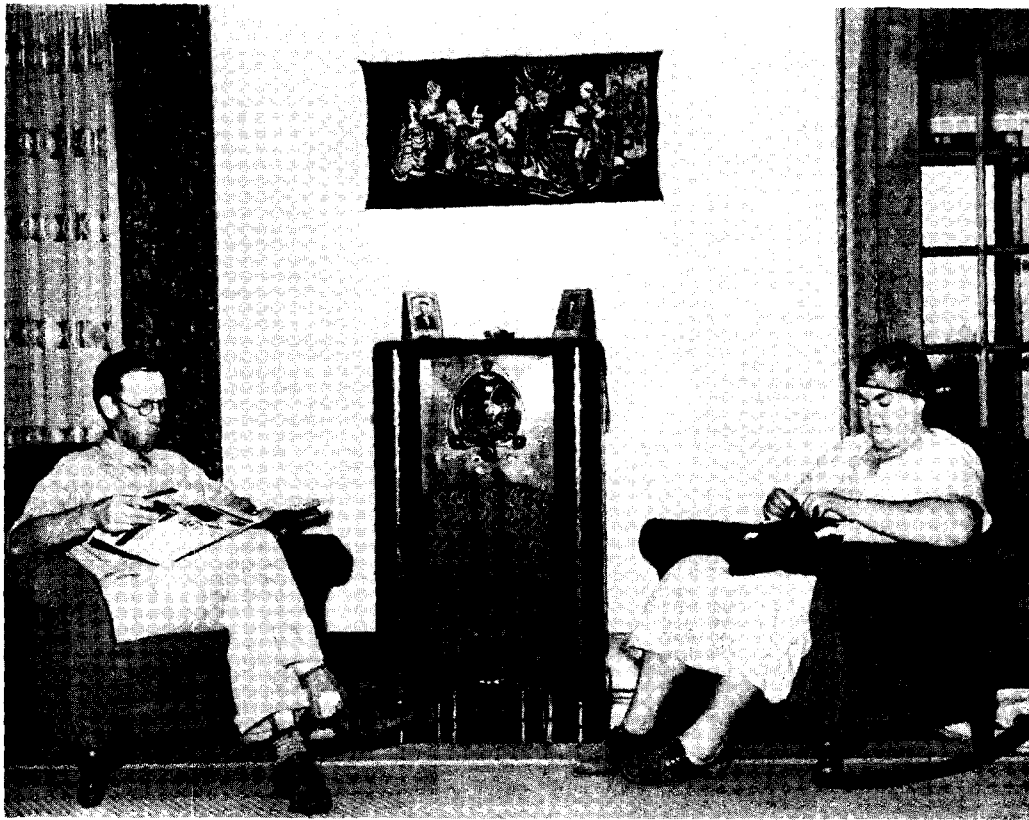


FIGURE 1: "Tenant Purchase Clients at Home." A portrait of a farm couple and their radio. Hidalgo County, Texas, February 1939, by Russell Lee. FSA Collection, Library of Congress.

Bradley Kincaid wrote in one of his mail-order songbooks, "I always visualize you, a family group, sitting around the radio, listening and commenting on my program. If I did not feel your presence, though you be a thousand miles away, the radio would be cold and unresponsive to me, and I in turn would sound the same way to you."²⁵

Testimony like this makes it clear that we need to break through the rigid compartmentalization that automatically and rigorously separates popular culture from the oral tradition, which has played a crucial role in the generation and transmission of folk culture. "My husband likes the same things I do," one listener testified, "And if he misses one [radio serial] I tell him what happened—or he'll ask me what happened, or what did Walter Winchell say on Sunday—and I'll tell him. Or what happened to so and so. And then he'll say, 'Oh, for god's sake, we have to wait till next Monday to find out!' He keeps up with them just the same as I do . . . We love to talk about the stories and he likes the same ones I do, so it's nice."²⁶ Speaking about the popular radio mystery show *Ellery Queen*, Anna B., a twelve-year-old from a lower middle-class family living on the Lower West Side of New York, observed, "I listen to it and then I tell the story to the kids around

²⁵ Quoted in Wolfe, "Triumph of the Hills," 87.

²⁶ Palter, "Radio's Attraction for Housewives," 251, 254.

where we live. Some of them don't have radios and some of them have to go to bed early so we all get around and I tell them the story of what happened just like on the radio and then they have to guess who the murderer is. Then I tell them. I tell them the story about some of the other programs too, but mostly Ellery Queen."²⁷

Popular culture could become part not only of folk discourse but of folk performance. In the early 1930s, a college sophomore recalled that after she had seen *The Sheik* when she was twelve or thirteen, "my friend and I enacted the especially romantic scenes out under her mother's rugs, which made excellent tents even though they were hung over the line for cleaning purposes. She was Rudolph and I the beautiful captive, and we followed as well as we could remember the actions of the actors."²⁸

Jean S., a nine-year-old middle-class girl living with her mother and sixteen-year-old brother on New York's Upper West Side, described in 1940 how she and her playmates modeled their games on radio programs: "I started listening to the Lone Ranger when I was four. My brother started me . . . Then we'd play Lone Ranger in the park. My brother was always the Lone Ranger. I used to play with them . . . I was the Indian girl or else I married Tonto the Indian. There were two other girls who played with us too but they were older. I was the youngest and I had to look out for myself. My brother would climb trees and swing on the branches, and shoot Injuns and we'd pull on ropes to make the branches bend . . . We stopped playing the Lone Ranger together when my brother was 12. He did not want to play it any more so I played it with girls after that."²⁹ Here we have a portrayal of interaction, with the audience often imposing themselves on the expressive culture they are exposed to, restructuring it, changing details—such as giving Tonto women friends and even a wife—molding it to their own needs, and understanding it in terms of their own life experiences. "Yes, I like a happy ending," a twelve-year-old boy told an interviewer, "but once in a while I'd like to see the criminal get away. I have never really seen happy endings in real life."³⁰

Roland Barthes has argued that "mass culture" has to be distinguished "like fire from water, from the culture of the masses."³¹ The testimony quoted above, however, demonstrates how narrow the line between the two can be, and often is. Before we attempt to separate and compartmentalize "mass culture" and the "culture of the masses," we need a much clearer and more precise understanding of the interconnections between the two.

This understanding will come not only through examining texts but also through a clearer perception of audience behavior. Indeed, the audience remains the missing link, the forgotten element, in cultural history. The creation, the creator, and the context are often accounted for; the constituency remains shadowy and neglected. The notion of a profoundly close relationship between the audience and the meaning of a text is hardly new. "Both read the Bible day

²⁷ Herta Herzog, *Survey of Research on Children's Radio Listening* (New York, 1941), 77.

²⁸ Interview in Herbert Blumer, *Movies and Conduct* (New York, 1933), 16.

²⁹ Herzog, *Children's Radio Listening*, 74–75.

³⁰ Katherine M. Wolfe and Marjorie Fiske, "The Children Talk about Comics," in Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Frank N. Stanton, eds., *Communication Research, 1948–1949* (New York, 1949), 15.

³¹ Roland Barthes, *The Pleasure of the Text*, Richard Miller, trans. (New York, 1975), 38.

& night," William Blake observed more than 170 years ago, "But thou read'st black where I read white."³² Until recently, however, scholars have been strangely diffident about carrying this insight into their studies of culture. Here again, popular culture resembles folk culture. "The history of folklore scholarship," Alan Dundes has written, in terms that could just as easily be addressed to popular culture, "is by and large a series of attempts to dehumanize folklore . . . Considering 'folklore' without reference to 'folk' is commonplace in folkloristics."³³ Just as Dundes has referred to "the folkless study of folklore," we might speak of the "depopulated study of popular culture." But the people have not merely been removed from popular culture, they have been reduced to uncritical, acquiescent ciphers.

We need more empirical research like that done by Herbert Gans in the Italian working-class homes of Boston's West End in the 1950s. Although the television was on constantly, actual viewing was highly selective and was structured to filter out themes inimical to the life of the peer group and to accept those characters and situations that confirmed the group's values. "West Enders do not enjoy watching satire," Gans comments, "but they do enjoy creating their own in response to what they see." They made fun of the exaggerated claims of commercials, the promises of politicians, the depictions of middle-class people as moral or of businessmen as more interested in the community than in profits. They rejected TV detectives who failed to show sympathy to working-class people and family shows that failed to mirror their own values. "We heckle TV just like we used to heckle the freaks at the circus when we were kids," one of Gans' respondents commented.³⁴ Janice Radway, in her pioneering study of the readers of romance novels, goes even further in exploring how women select novels from among the large number available "by learning to decode the iconography of romantic cover art and the jargon of back-cover blurbs," by insisting on certain patterns of plot, coherence, and style, by choosing authors who had pleased them in the past, and by consulting each other and forming networks of readers.³⁵

I have found much the same patterns of audience selectivity in my own research on the Great Depression. People did not passively accept whatever popular culture was thrown their way; they preselected the culture they exposed themselves to by learning to decipher reviews and coming attractions, by understanding the propensities of authors, actors, and directors to whose work they had been exposed in the past, and by consulting members of their communities. New York City children queried in 1934, for example, revealed that, in choosing radio programs, the advice of other children—the peer group whose taste they trusted—was by far the most significant influence. Random dialing, advertisements, and parental advice lagged far behind in importance.³⁶ Even when

³² William Blake, "The Everlasting Gospel" (c. 1818), in W. H. Stevenson, ed., *William Blake: Selected Poetry* (London, 1988), 275.

³³ Alan Dundes, "Projection in Folklore: A Plea for Psychoanalytic Semiotics," in Dundes, *Interpreting Folklore* (Bloomington, Ind., 1980), 34–35.

³⁴ Herbert Gans, *The Urban Villagers: Group and Class in the Life of Italian-Americans* (Glencoe, Ill., 1962), chap. 9.

³⁵ Radway, *Reading the Romance*, 46 and *passim*.

³⁶ Azriel L. Eisenberg, *Children and Radio Programs: A Study of More Than Three Thousand Children in the New York Metropolitan Area* (New York, 1936), 51–52.

listeners had limited or no choice, such as in the radio commercials that accompanied the programs they listened to, passive acceptance was not inevitable, as the following three examples illustrate:

"When the advertising comes, sometimes I turn it off . . . it depends. If it's a short talk I'll leave it running; I might as well. I just don't listen until it's over. But if he keeps talking and talking . . . then I just turn it off."

"I can't remember any of the commercials . . . because I don't approve of the advertising at all; I hate it. I don't mind it so much when it's really short, but I always turn to another station the moment it comes on, except when it's news. The advertising makes me so darned mad. They talk to you as if you were a child of six."

"Chipso, Ivory, Duz and all the others are just too ridiculous for words. They all come on, one after the other, in the morning. They all claim exactly the same things, and yet they do it as if you were too stupid to remember that five minutes ago someone else was claiming the same thing for another product . . . That's what makes me so mad about it. All they ought to do is to give a straight-forward account of the product, because everyone knows anyway that they are all the same. I often wonder whether they're trying to kid me, or whether they're trying to kid themselves."³⁷

RECENT LITERARY THEORY SEES NEITHER THE READER NOR THE TEXT as necessarily controlling but rather places emphasis on the interaction between the two.³⁸ It is precisely in this realm that we have to understand the process of popular culture: not as the imposition of texts on passive people who constitute a tabula rasa but as a process of interaction between complex texts that harbor more than monolithic meanings and audiences who embody more than monolithic assemblies of compliant people. Audiences are in fact complex amalgams of cultures, tastes, and ideologies. They come to popular culture with a past, with ideas, with values, with expectations, with a sense of how things are and should be. One does not have to subscribe to Roland Barthes' dictum that "the text has no memory" to agree with his conclusion that a text is frequently "an old tune to which new words are given," since the creator of a text "can only force himself fragmentarily into a life which is not his."³⁹ Thus the control any creator has over the manner in which her or his creation is received is always incomplete and fragmentary. A mechanical one-to-one correlation between the creator's intentions (assuming these were clear to begin with), the shape and meaning of the creation, and the manner in which it is understood by its audience does violence to all three elements in this cultural process: the producer, the thing produced, and the audience for whom it is produced. We seem to have less difficulty understanding

³⁷ Dichter, "On the Psychology of Radio Commercials," 478, 473, 474.

³⁸ See, for example, Wolfgang Iser: "The literary text activates our own faculties, enabling us to recreate the world it presents. The product of this creative activity is what we might call the virtual dimension of the text, which endows it with its reality. This virtual dimension is not the text itself nor is it the imagination of the reader: it is the coming together of the text and imagination"; Iser, "The Reading Process: A Phenomenological Approach," in Ralph Cohen, ed., *New Directions in Literary History* (Baltimore, Md., 1974), 130.

³⁹ Roland Champagne, *Literary History in the Wake of Roland Barthes: Re-Defining the Myths of Reading* (Birmingham, Ala., 1984), 58–60.

this complexity when we enter the realm of what we call "high culture." Many of us have finally come to understand that not only is there no single meaning to Beethoven's late quartets or Shakespeare's tragedies or Hemingway's novels but there is not even a single rendition or reading that is necessarily authentic. Both the performer and the audience have a role to play in determining the meaning and nature of the production as collaborators with the creator. But we balk somehow at transferring this understanding to the realms of popular culture. Yet, until we do this, we will continue to misunderstand the relationship between popular culture and its public.

To give a simple illustration of the ways in which people viewed popular culture through the filters of their lives, listeners of *Road of Life*, which began in 1937 and was the Depression's first medical soap opera, spoke of the central character, Dr. Jim Brent, in terms that related directly to their own situations. Thus a mother who felt she was sacrificing for an unappreciative family said the show was about "a doctor, his life and how he always tries to do the right thing. Sometimes he gets left out in the cold too." A woman over forty with memories of a sad childhood called Brent "a wonderful man, taking such good care of a poor little orphan boy. He is doing God's work." A sick listener declared, "I like to hear how he cures sick people. It makes me wonder whether he could cure me too."⁴⁰

Soap operas were one of the Depression's most ubiquitous and popular genres precisely because they were part of what the playwright Paddy Chayefsky called "the marvelous world of the ordinary." People could relate to daytime serials in terms of their own existence; they could see themselves in them. The actor George C. Scott observed that the radio soap operas were the only form of broadcasting that incorporated a "sense of growth and continuity . . . soap-opera characters grow: They marry, have children, mature, even die."⁴¹ One Depression listener made a similar point by calling soaps "more real" than such other popular genres as film: "The things that happen in the movies seldom happen to people that I know. I like to listen about plain, everyday people."⁴² "I like *Myrt and Marge*," a Manhattan youngster reported in 1934, "because it consists of real life happenings, and they are very exciting to hear."⁴³ Thus listeners were probably not surprised when the announcer declared at the beginning of each episode of the daytime serial *Rosemary*: "This is *your* story—this is *you*."⁴⁴

The functional similarities between soaps and genres of folklore are striking. Soaps rarely offered any permanent resolutions; they had neither beginnings nor endings. This, of course, was one of the characteristics that made soaps lifelike. It was also what made them kin to such folklore cycles as Brer Rabbit stories, which also mimicked life by having no closure. In any specific tale, Rabbit might win a victory over stronger animals, but by beginning the next story in the cycle with

⁴⁰ Herta Herzog, "On Borrowed Experience: An Analysis of Listening to Daytime Sketches," *Studies in Philosophy and Social Science*, 9 (February 1941): 67–68.

⁴¹ Jeff Greenfield, "Passion Once Removed," *Wilson Quarterly*, 2 (Summer 1978). Chayefsky is quoted on 95, Scott on 93.

⁴² Herzog, "On Borrowed Experience," 85.

⁴³ Eisenberg, *Children and Radio Programs*, 91.

⁴⁴ Madeleine Edmonson and David Rounds, *From Mary Noble to Mary Hartman: The Complete Soap Opera Book*, rev. edn. (New York, 1976), 17–19.

Rabbit once again in the weaker position, the folk cycle underlined the truth that, in life, rabbits do not triumph over wolves permanently. For the slaves telling and hearing these stories regularly, the message of the entire cycle diverged from the message of the individual tale—and both messages had important lessons to teach. So, too, the soaps reminded their listeners incessantly that while people can and do win victories over adversity, adversity is an inherent part of life over which no one ultimately triumphs. Soaps also bore a striking resemblance to the African-American folk blues. Both genres often piled crisis upon crisis upon crisis to the point of unreality, but the crises—infidelity, jealousy, failed ambition, sickness, economic distress, betrayal, loneliness—were common enough. In soaps as in blues, people learned to handle their frustrations, adversities, and misadventures and cope with life. Like the blues, soaps fostered a sense of community, a sense of sharing troubles and solutions. “If you listen to these programs and something turns up in your own life, you would know what to do about it,” one listener asserted. “You learn about life from the radio stories,” a twelve-year-old New York girl affirmed. “The stories are like life . . . and so you learn how it is when you are grown up.” Another listener observed of soaps, as she well might have said of the blues: “I learned that if anything is the matter, do not dwell on it or you go crazy.” Two other listeners commented more specifically:

“I think Papa David [of *Life Can Be Beautiful*] helped me to be more cheerful when Fred, my husband, comes home. I feel tired and instead of being grumpy, I keep on the cheerful side. *The Goldbergs* are another story like that. Mr. Goldberg comes home scolding and he never meant it. I sort of understand Fred better because of it. When he starts to shout, I call him Mr. Goldberg. He comes back and calls me Molly. Husbands do not really understand what a wife goes through. These stories have helped me to understand that husbands are like that. If women are tender, they are better off. I often feel that if my sister had had more tenderness she would not be divorced today. I saw a lot of good in that man.”

“I like Helen Trent. She is a woman over 35. You never hear of her dyeing her hair! She uses charm and manners to entice men and she does. If she can do it, why can’t I? I am fighting old age, and having a terrible time. Sometimes I am tempted to go out and fix my hair. These stories give me courage and help me realize I have to accept it.”⁴⁵

This identification between the audiences and the soap operas was not fortuitous. Rudolph Arnheim, who studied forty-three daytime serials in the spring of 1941, concluded: “The producers of radio serials take no chances in trying to meet the taste of their customers. Letters in which the listeners express approbation or protest are carefully studied. Telephone surveys determine the approximate size of the audience of each serial. On the basis of such data, and with a good deal of flair for what suits the purpose, the plots, the characters, the settings of the serials are made to order. That is why a content analysis of the serials can be expected to yield not only something about the programs, but also something about the listeners. These stories are likely to offer a picture of the world such as a particular social group would wish it to be.”⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Herta Herzog, “What Do We Really Know about Daytime Serial Listeners?” in Lazarsfeld and Stanton, eds., *Radio Research, 1942–43*, 25, 27–28, 31; Herzog, *Children’s Radio Listening*, 80–81.

⁴⁶ Interestingly, his own conclusion that these shows were what their audiences wanted made

Although the evidence certainly points to the validity of Arnheim's conclusion, life was not always this cut and dried for popular culture audiences. They are not invariably handed meaning on a silver platter. "Writing," Laurence Sterne observed in *Tristram Shandy*, "is but a different name for conversation." The truest respect an author can pay to the reader's understanding, Sterne insisted, "is to . . . leave him something to imagine, in his turn . . . For my own part, I am eternally paying him compliments of this kind, and do all that lies in my power to keep his imagination as busy as my own."⁴⁷ Sterne was far from unusual in this respect. Whether it is the creator's intention or not, it seems inevitable that the audience's imagination will be kept busy by any work of expressive art simply because so many expressive works are by their very nature incomplete—filled with interstices that need connecting, ambiguities that need resolution, imprecisions that need clarity, complexities that need simplifying. The audience's role in popular culture, as it is in folk culture, is not the passive reception of a given text but rather a question of translation; fitting the text into a meaningful context.⁴⁸ Many of those who listened to Orson Welles' radio dramatization of H. G. Wells' *War of the Worlds* on Halloween night, 1938, panicked because they thought the show was an authentic news account of an invasion in progress. But, even in their terror, a substantial number seem to have been able to make the material their own to the extent that they could rule out the things that were not credible to them:

"I never believed it was anyone from Mars. I thought it was some kind of a new airship and a new method of attack. I kept translating the unbelievable parts into something I could believe."

"I knew it was some Germans trying to gas all of us. When the announcer kept calling them people from Mars I just thought he was ignorant and didn't know yet that Hitler had sent them all."

"I felt it might be the Japanese—they are so crafty."

"I worry terribly about the future of the Jews. Nothing else bothers me so much. I thought this might be another attempt to harm them."⁴⁹

Arnheim uneasy, and he held out a standard for popular culture that one assumes he would not have advocated for high culture. After protesting against "presenting the world as one huge, catastrophic mess," he insisted that "there is no point in describing the problems and tragedies of life unless such a description is based on a belief in its positive values. Discord and conflict must be evaluated against the background of man doing his job constructively, peacefully, and cheerfully." In a footnote to this remark, he continued: "Why not apply some lightheartedness? View with detached, smiling wisdom these problems now overburdened with pathetic seriousness? Why the masochistic insistence on the moaning of despair, the Wagnerian vibrations of the pipe organ which so aptly create the hot, stuffy atmosphere of sterile emotion?" Rudolf Arnheim, "The World of the Daytime Serial," in Lazarsfeld and Stanton, eds., *Radio Research, 1942-43*, 34-35, 82-83.

⁴⁷ Laurence Sterne, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*, Graham Petrie, ed. (1759-67; London, 1967), 127.

⁴⁸ "The text, in other words, supplies me with words, ideas, images, sounds, rhythms, but I make the poem's meaning by a process of translation. That is what reading is, in fact: translation." Robert Crosman, "Do Readers Make Meaning?" in Susan R. Suleiman and Inge Crosman, eds., *The Reader in the Text: Essays on Audience and Interpretation* (Princeton, N.J., 1980), 152.

⁴⁹ Hadley Cantril, *The Invasion from Mars: A Study in the Psychology of Panic* (1940; New York, 1966), 100, 116, 160-61.



FIGURE 2: "Migrant Mother." Florence Thompson and three of her daughters. Nipomo, California, March 1936, by Dorothea Lange. FSA Collection, Library of Congress.

But the audience's role extends beyond the act of translation and entails the filling in of gaps or vacancies in the text. "What is missing," Wolfgang Iser has argued, "this is what stimulates the reader into filling the blanks with projections. He is drawn into the events and made to supply what is meant from what is not

said.”⁵⁰ Certainly, this is a central aspect of folklore. Alan Dundes relates the following joke he collected from a black Alabaman in 1964: “Governor Wallace of Alabama died and went to heaven. After entering the pearly gates, he walked up to the door of a splendid mansion and knocked. A voice inside exclaimed, ‘Who dat?’ Wallace shook his head sadly and said, ‘Never mind, I’ll go the other way.’” Dundes’ interpretation of this African-American joke centers on the wishful thinking underlying Wallace’s death and the sense of justice involved in banning from God’s Mansion and consigning to hell the very man who stood in the doorway of the University of Alabama as a symbol of his opposition to admitting black students. But this by no means encompasses the entire meaning of the joke, which Dundes argues functions for whites as well as blacks. Some whites interpreted the stereotyped dialect, “Who dat?” as meaning God or St. Peter was black; others assumed it was a doorman or menial servant. Some whites understood the joke to mean that heaven was now integrated; others assumed that heaven had been completely “taken over” by blacks. “None of this is articulated in the joke proper,” Dundes concludes, “but it is part of the joke as semiotic text.”⁵¹

In this manner, folklore encourages listeners to become not merely participants but even creators of meaning when the message is not explicit; to project themselves into the text in order to invest the empty spaces with meaning. Precisely the same process occurs in popular culture. Let me suggest a number of examples and begin with one of the Depression decade’s most popular forms of expression: photography.

Dorothea Lange’s portrait of Florence Thompson, which she called “Migrant Mother” (Figure 2), perhaps the single most widely reproduced and popular photograph in our history, accomplished precisely what Lange sought when she took it on a March afternoon in 1936: it became an icon of the victimization of millions of Americans during the Great Depression, an argument in favor of massive federal intervention, and a justification for the transformation of American politics during the 1930s. This is certainly the way in which the photo was most often used. In its issue of October 17, 1936, for instance, *Midweek Pictorial* employed Lange’s image of Thompson to stir the conscience and fears of the nation (Figure 3). But Lange’s portrait continues to survive and continues to fascinate us because it, like most of the memorable photographs of the decade, is not quite so resolutely one-dimensional. It is possible to see qualities besides that of the victim in photos like this. Roy Stryker, who directed the photographic section of the Resettlement Administration (later the Farm Security Administration) for which Lange worked, mused some years later about the nature of the photographic file he had compiled: “The faces to me were the most significant

⁵⁰ “Communication in literature, then, is a process set in motion and regulated, not by a given code, but by a mutually restrictive and magnifying interaction between the explicit and the implicit, between revelation and concealment. What is concealed spurs the reader into action, but this action is also controlled by what is revealed; the explicit in its turn is transformed when the implicit has been brought to light. Whenever the reader bridges the gaps, communication begins. The gaps function as a kind of pivot on which the whole text-reader relationship revolves.” Wolfgang Iser, “Interaction between Text and Reader,” in Suleiman and Crosman, eds., *Reader in the Text*, 110–11.

⁵¹ During World War II, a version of this joke featured Hitler attempting to enter heaven only to be confronted by a voice with a Yiddish accent. Dundes, “Projection in Folklore,” in Dundes, *Interpreting Folklore*, 59–60.

Look in her Eyes!

The eyes of a woman who has been through the experience of being a mother and a worker in a factory are full of a deep, unspoken story.

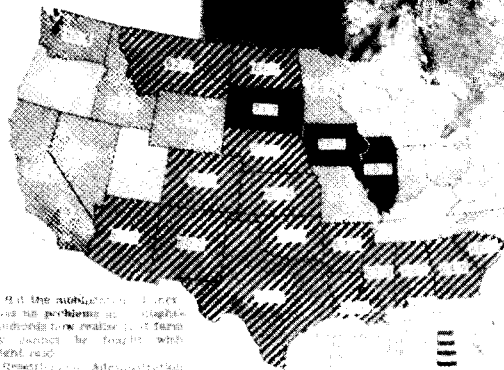
It is the eyes that tell the story of the woman who has been through the experience of being a mother and a worker in a factory.

It is the eyes that tell the story of the woman who has been through the experience of being a mother and a worker in a factory.

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October 17, 1936

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It is the eyes that tell the story of the woman who has been through the experience of being a mother and a worker in a factory.

FIGURE 3: *Midweek Pictorial*, October 17, 1936. FSA Scrapbook, FSA-OWI Written Records, Library of Congress.

part of the file. When a man is down and they have taken from him his job and his land and his home—everything he spent his life working for—he's going to have the expression of tragedy permanently on his face. But I have always believed that the American people have the ability to endure. And that is in those

faces, too.”⁵² Stryker saw what we can still see: an overriding tension in Lange’s portrait; a tension that Stryker, alluding to the work of his photographers in general, referred to as “dignity versus despair.”⁵³ Was “Migrant Mother” a portrait of desperation or fortitude, victimization or resiliency, or was its popularity based on its astute amalgam of these polarities?

The same conundrums are raised by another popular photograph of the period, Gordon Parks’ portrait of Ella Watson, a charwoman who cleaned federal government offices in Washington, D.C. (Figure 4). In his autobiography, Parks, the first black photographer who worked with the photographic section, called this photograph “unsubtle” and explained, “I overdid it and posed her, Grant Wood style, before the American flag, a broom in one hand, a mop in the other, staring straight into the camera.” Parks remembered that when Roy Stryker saw the photograph, “he just smiled and shook his head” and urged Parks to capture more of Watson’s humanity by following her into her home, her church, her neighborhood. Parks heeded this advice and was proud of the later pictures he took of Watson (see Figure 5 for an example). “That was my first lesson in how to approach a subject, that you didn’t have to go in with all horns blasting away.”⁵⁴ But even though Parks may have achieved greater subtlety in his later pictures of Watson, he reached far more people with his original photograph, which remains to this day one of his best-known and most popular works. There is greater nuance in this portrait than either Parks or Stryker initially understood. Parks captured the same dualities Lange had: the victim and the survivor, vulnerability and strength, exploitation and transcendence. And he captured these dualities in a format that allowed viewers to enter the process of investing the image with meaning. The fact that Parks’ later photographs of Watson were less polemical should not blind us to the possibility that they may have also been less open to interpretation. The popularity of Parks’ portrait (and, indeed, of Grant Wood’s famous painting, *American Gothic*, after which it was loosely modeled) may well be linked not only to aesthetic virtues but also to the scope audiences were given to project their own world view into the process of unraveling its meaning.⁵⁵

EVEN IN SUCH RELATIVELY FINITE WORKS OF EXPRESSION as photographs, there is a great deal of room for audiences to insert themselves, and this was even truer of other modes of expressive art such as feature films. Two films from the Depression era provide instructive examples. *Ann Vickers* (1933) traces the rise of a young social worker from the beginning of her career in an urban settlement house during World War I to her great success as the author of a best-selling

⁵² Roy E. Stryker and Nancy Wood, *In This Proud Land: America 1935–1943 as Seen in the FSA Photographs* (Greenwich, Conn., 1973), 14, 17.

⁵³ Stryker and Wood, *In This Proud Land*, 14, 17.

⁵⁴ Gordon Parks, *A Choice of Weapons* (1966; St. Paul, Minn., 1986), 231; interview with Gordon Parks by Richard Doud, April 28, 1964, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, quoted in Carl Fleischhauer and Beverly W. Brannan, eds., *Documenting America, 1935–1943* (Berkeley, Calif., 1988), 228.

⁵⁵ For a more extended discussion of some of these questions, see Lawrence W. Levine, “The Historian and the Icon: Photography and the History of the American People in the 1930s and 1940s,” in Fleischhauer and Brannan, eds., *Documenting America*, 15–42.



FIGURE 4: "Ella Watson, U.S. Government Charwoman." Washington, D.C., July 1942, by Gordon Parks. FSA Collection, Library of Congress.

exposé of women's penal institutions and as the director of an industrial home for women where she carries out influential prison reforms. Throughout it all, she manifests great pride in being a woman, from going to jail for suffrage reform activities to her struggle for the safety and dignity of the women prisoners in her charge. She has an abortion rather than marry a man who lacks respect for her.



FIGURE 5: "Ella Watson with Three Grandchildren and Adopted Daughter." Washington, D.C., August 1942, by Gordon Parks. FSA Collection, Library of Congress.

Speaking of her unborn "daughter," she declares: "I've found a new modern virtue to name my daughter: Pride. The pride of life, the pride of love, the pride of work, the pride of being a woman. These will be her virtues. Pride Vickers!"⁵⁶ She refuses to engage in the pursuit of a socially prominent man who is interested in her, telling one of her friends who urges her to be more aggressive, "I know! If I want a man, I must lure, flatter, be ecstatically impressed by all he says and does. Be coyly aloof, wistful, be fluttered by his handclasp, arousing him to a conviction that I'm a swooning mystery which he must understand or die. No! I'll be hanged if I will." This film biography of a strong, interesting, intelligent woman ends on a very different note. Her career as a prison administrator is shattered because of her affair with a married judge who is indicted for accepting bribes. Reunited with her lover, after he has served three years in prison, she

⁵⁶ This quote and my later quotes from *Ann Vickers* and *Sullivan's Travels* come directly from my viewing of the films.

declares that now they are *both* out of prison. To his protest, "But you were never in," she replies, "Oh yes, I was. You're the man who brought me out of the prison of ambition, the prison of desire for praise and success for myself. We're both out, darling." This dramatic and totally unexpected renunciation of her former life is symbolized by a portrait of family bliss: the two lovers and their young son joyfully embracing as the film fades out.

Sullivan's Travels (1942) ends with a similarly abrupt transition. John L. Sullivan (played by Joel McCrea), a Hollywood director famous for such comedic films as *Hey, Hey in the Hayloft*, and *Ants in Your Pants* of 1939, is motivated by the Depression to change moods and make the contemporary drama, *Oh Brother Where Art Thou?*: "I want this picture to be a commentary on modern conditions, stark realism, the problems that confront the average man . . . I want to hold a mirror up to life. I want this to be a . . . true canvas of the suffering of humanity." To obtain material for his epic, he disguises himself and becomes another one of the hungry unemployed on the city streets. The bulk of the film concerns Sullivan's attempts to escape his affluent life and experience privation. Through his eyes, we see the misery of Depression America depicted with the documentary force characteristic of FSA photographs. At first, Sullivan is not able to become much more than a voyeur until a series of mishaps puts him on a chain gang. Then he personally experiences deprivation and degradation of the worst sort, which is relieved only when he and his fellow prisoners are taken to a black rural church and allowed to see a Walt Disney cartoon. They respond with healing, cathartic laughter, which so impresses Sullivan that, after he escapes from his predicament and is on a plane returning him to the security of Hollywood, he announces to his producers that he is abandoning his project to make a film reflecting the misery of the Great Depression. "I want to make a comedy . . . There's a lot to be said for making people laugh. Did you know that's all some people have? It isn't much, but it's better than nothing in this cockeyed caravan." The film closes with the sights and sounds of the poor, the sick, and the suffering laughing.

The ostensible message of *Sullivan's Travels* may have been an elaborate apologia—a self-interested defense built on the claim that all Hollywood need do to justify itself was to entertain people, to make them laugh. What is arresting, however, is that the film itself did much more than that: it helped to inform its audiences about the nature and extent of suffering in the United States. No final ending, no ultimate apologia could automatically erase the images of misery, despair, and hopelessness the film made available to the audience. Whatever final rationale was on the producers' minds, these images, once released, became the property of the viewers, who could do with them what they willed, make of them what their lives and experiences prepared them to make of them. Precisely the same is true of *Ann Vickers*. Its final formulaic ending, no matter how securely it may have fit in with traditional conceptions of a woman's fundamental place in society, could not in one fell swoop wipe out everything that preceded it concerning Vickers' strength, talent, independence, competence, her important contributions, and the fact that her gender was hardly incidental to all of this but was the basis for much of it. Indeed, this was exactly the judgment of *Time*

magazine's reviewer, who wrote of Vickers' sudden confession that she had been trapped in the prison of ambition: "Tying the story up with this platitude does not seriously weaken what has preceded it—an intelligent study, over-solemn but affecting, of a mature woman at work and in love."⁵⁷

There is no cultural product—no book or symphony or film or play or painting—so overwhelming, so complete that it binds the audience to a single interpretation, a single angle of vision, a single meaning. *Sullivan's Travels* as an artifact might have been the work of writer-director Preston Sturges, but *Sullivan's Travels* as an affective vehicle, as a mode of meaningful discourse, was a collaborative work depending on the audiences' experiences, needs, and expectations. In this sense, Sturges was the singer and his audiences the folk that helped to mold the song and make it their own.

Both *Ann Vickers* and *Sullivan's Travels* are examples of what Umberto Eco has called an "open text," which mandates the cooperation of the audience by compelling them to make a series of interpretive choices that invest the text with meaning and significance. While such choices are obviously not infinite, they are, as Eco puts it, "more than one," and they transform the reader or viewer into "an active principal of interpretation," who becomes "a part of the picture of the generative process of the text."⁵⁸ Thus audiences listening to or watching or reading such genres of popular culture as the films just discussed were not simply recipients but participants engaged in a complex dialogue. They were privy to the entire film and not simply at the mercy of formulaic endings, which were often in stark contrast to what had preceded them.

It is a mistake, then, to divide the world up too easily into reality and representations of reality. When the representations become embodied in theater, tales, radio, movies, they become forms of reality themselves. I do not mean by this that audiences necessarily confuse them with reality. Indeed, I think the opposite is more often true.⁵⁹ Rather, the entire setting constitutes an important form of reality in which many essential things are realized: lessons are learned, values enunciated and repeated, modes of behavior scrutinized, social institutions and their effects explored, fantasies indulged. We forget far too easily that, as Barbara Herrnstein Smith has observed, "language is action, both speaking it and also listening to it." Using, or even simply hearing, other people's words is not invariably a passive act. There are times when what Smith calls "fictive discourse"

⁵⁷ *Time*, October 9, 1933.

⁵⁸ Umberto Eco, *The Role of the Reader: Explorations in the Semiotics of Texts* (Bloomington, Ind., 1979), 4, 9–10, 22–23.

⁵⁹ Barbara Herrnstein Smith has put this well: "As we view the canvas, the myriad spots of paint assume the guise of natural objects in the visual world, but we are nevertheless always half-conscious of them as spots of paint. As we watch the play, the stage recedes and the personal identities of the actors yield to those of the fictions whom they portray, but when, at the final curtain, we clap our hands, it is not Hamlet whom we are applauding, but the performers and the playwright himself. The illusions of art are never delusions. The artwork interests, impresses, and moves us both as the thing represented and as the *representing* itself: as the actions and passions of Prince Hamlet and as the achievement of William Shakespeare, as the speech of men—and as the poet's fiction." Smith, *On the Margins of Discourse: The Relation of Literature to Language* (Chicago, 1978), 39–40. See also Roland Barthes, *Writing Degree Zero and Elements of Semiology*, Annette Lavers and Colin Smith, trans. (London, 1967), 29–34, in which Barthes observes of the novel: "Its task is to put the mask in place and at the same time to point it out." "The whole of Literature," he adds, "can declare *Larvatus prodeō*. As I walk forward, I point out my mask."

is the only type of discourse available to people.⁶⁰ Throughout history, slaves or peasants or workers turned to their lore—their proverbs, tales, songs, religious practices, and jokes—to say things they could not say under the normal rules of discourse. Brer Rabbit and Brer Wolf, Moses and Pharaoh, could express verities their slave creators and audiences would have had difficulty getting past external and internal censors.⁶¹ There is every reason to believe that people in urban industrial societies use their popular culture in precisely the same ways. In this sense, a film, a daytime soap opera, a comic strip are all forms of reality, all a structural part of life.

WE HAVE YET TO EXPLORE SUFFICIENTLY the ways in which the technologies of the mass media were able to foster and not just weaken or destroy a sense of community. To reiterate a point I made earlier, it is not sufficient merely to focus on the substance of the popular culture; we need to understand *how* audiences confronted it. We forget too easily that going to a movie and listening to the radio are in and of themselves *events* and that we may have as much to learn from the process, the ritual, surrounding the expressive culture as from the content of the culture itself. I have argued elsewhere that content is not the sum of the folk process; it is merely an ingredient of it. The antiphonal—call and response—manner of singing, for example, speaks volumes about the state of the black community during and after slavery. Similarly, the ways in which tales and jokes were recited makes it clear that African-American culture did not divide easily into creator and audience. The black folk process was not an individual process but a group process.⁶² Similarly, the contemporary behavior of fans at baseball or football games makes it clear that these are not docile recipients but knowledgeable participants who give their advice and opinions and judgments freely and frequently. The process, then, can be as enlightening as the substance once we learn to pay more attention to what people do when they watch movies or listen to radio programs and phonograph records.

Radio, for example, was by no means antithetical to a sense of folk or community. We have already seen this by examining the interaction of audiences with daytime serials. The ways in which Father Coughlin, Huey Long, and Franklin Roosevelt used radio to build communities of followers during the Depression makes the process clearer still. Long, calling himself “Kingfish” after a character in the immensely popular radio show *Amos 'n' Andy*, speaking a vernacular common to many of his listeners, quoting freely from the Bible and

⁶⁰ “Fictive discourse allows us to speak the unspeakable—but only if we agree not to say it . . . Produced in the theaters of language or displayed in its galleries, fictive discourse is not subject to the economics of the linguistic marketplace. Thus, the poet can use language and his audience can respond to it without the constraints that would otherwise shape and confine the behavior of each of them. Though this may appear to be a tendentious way of describing ‘poetic license,’ its implications are considerably more far-reaching than what the cliché suggests. For the licensing that I am speaking of here extends to the audience as well as to the poet, and it involves not merely formal or even thematic features of the utterance, but quite fundamental aspects of the linguistic transaction itself.” Smith, *On the Margins of Discourse*, 105, 110–11.

⁶¹ For copious examples, see Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness*.

⁶² *Ibid.*

from the body of folk and popular culture, would begin his broadcasts by asking his listeners to become participants and reach out to their networks of friends and acquaintances: "I want everybody to get on the radio tonight and listen to me . . . This here's gonna be the best program on the air tonight. Now you get on the phone right now and ring up your neighbors. Tell 'em Huey P. Long, United States Senator from Louisiana, is got something to tell them. I'm gonna cover everything you ever heard of—and lots of things you ain't never heard of. Get ready to listen to me."⁶³ FDR, who was capable of pausing in the midst of a Fireside Chat on the problems of relief, asking for a glass of water, sipping it audibly, and remarking: "My friends, it's very hot here in Washington,"⁶⁴ was able to convert his periodic radio reports to the American people into such comfortably familiar events that millions of listeners wrote him and his wife in terms more often reserved for immediate members of their communities. "Your speech tonight made me very happy," one of his correspondents confided. "You know somehow you seem very close to me like a very old friend."⁶⁵ When in the midst of another Fireside Chat, Roosevelt invited his audience to "tell me your troubles," Ira Smith, White House chief of mails, testified that large numbers of them "believed implicitly that he was speaking to them personally and immediately wrote him a letter. It was months before we managed to swim out of *that* flood of mail." Hundreds of thousands of letters arrived beginning: "Dear Mr. President, I am worried about how we are going to . . ." "Dear Mr. Roosevelt, The children have no shoes to wear to school . . ." "Dear Frank, I've been driving a hack for ten years but now . . ." "They came in so fast," Smith commented, "we couldn't count them, but within a week I had some 450,000 letters stacked all over the office."⁶⁶

Closely related to the sense of community that both charismatic politicians and successful genres like soaps seem to have evoked was the circumstance that people did not necessarily experience the radio in isolation. They often listened in the company of friends or relatives and, as we have already seen, shared the programs they listened to with others. "We live on a ranch in the most remote part of Ontario, Canada," Hugh and Ann MacNabb wrote the Nashville-based magazine *Rural Radio* in 1938. "Radios are not too plentiful here. [We] have seen as many as twenty or thirty [people] gathered in our home on Saturday night to enjoy the Saturday Night Barn Dance." Leone Neises wrote the same magazine in 1936, "I live way up here in the 'sticks' in northwestern North Dakota. Saturday night is the affair of affairs up here. Those who have no radio congregate at the homes of those who have and what an enjoyable evening!"⁶⁷ During these same years, black farmers and workers in and around the town of Stamps, Arkansas, gathered in the general store run by Maya Angelou's grandmother on the evenings of Joe

⁶³ Ernest G. Bormann, "This is Huey P. Long Talking," *Journal of Broadcasting*, 2 (Spring 1958): 111–22.

⁶⁴ Erik Barnouw, *The Golden Web: A History of Broadcasting in the United States*, Volume 2—1933 to 1953 (New York, 1968), 7–9.

⁶⁵ Leila A. Sussman, *Dear FDR: A Study of Political Letter-Writing* (Totowa, N.J., 1963), 114.

⁶⁶ Ira R. T. Smith with Joe Alex Morris, "Dear Mr. President . . .": *The Story of Fifty Years in the White House Mail Room* (New York, 1949), 156, 213–14.

⁶⁷ Reprinted in Wolfe, "Triumph of the Hills," 63.

Louis's fights and punctuated the radio announcers' descriptions with comments and laughter. When an opponent sought refuge from Louis's onslaught by forcing himself into a clinch, someone called out, "That white man don't mind hugging that niggah now, I betcha." When Louis was in trouble, Angelou remembered, "We didn't breathe. We didn't hope. We waited." When Louis was victorious, there were celebrations that lasted more than an hour: "People drank Coca-Cola like ambrosia, and ate candy bars like Christmas. Some of the men went behind the Store and poured white lightning in their soft-drink bottles, and a few of the bigger boys followed them." Those who lived far away stayed overnight with friends rather than risk the ire of whites who had listened to the fight in *their* communities.⁶⁸

Rural living was not a prerequisite for sharing the radio. Azriel Eisenberg found that among the sixth-grade pupils he studied in New York City in 1934, 81 percent of the girls and 72 percent of the boys listened to the radio in the company of their friends or family at least some of the time, while 47 percent of the girls and 37 percent of the boys *always* listened with others.⁶⁹ Ernest Dichter's study of reactions to radio commercials substantiated the social nature of radio listening: "The commercial is often the signal for the listener to use this minute for something more important. Even if one family member would want to listen to the commercial, he would have to overcome the social opprobrium attached to such an attitude. He would have to defend his interest in the commercial against the annoying and ridiculing remarks of his family guests."⁷⁰ Similarly, Hadley Cantril and his associates, who studied the listeners who panicked during Welles' invasion from Mars broadcast in 1938, found that the situation in which people listened helped to determine their reactions. What Cantril called "the corroboratory effect of other people's behavior: the contagion of other people's fear" was crucial. "I don't think we would have gotten so excited if those couples hadn't come rushin' in the way they did," one of Cantril's respondents testified. "We are both very calm people, especially my husband, and if we had tuned in by ourselves I am sure we would have checked up on the program."⁷¹

Radio was especially susceptible to this pattern since it was the only medium of popular culture in the 1930s capable of addressing millions of Americans simultaneously—creating, as Cantril observed, "the largest grouping of people ever known."⁷² Nevertheless, radio was not unique. Other forms of popular culture—films, plays, sermons, speeches, vaudeville acts, musical performances—were also frequently experienced in social settings where the "contagion" of other people's reactions—their laughter, rumblings, anger, movements, shouts, ecstasies—was a factor as well. Indeed, Janice Radway has shown that even the solitary act of reading could become a social event. The women she studied met regularly to discuss the romance novels they were reading.⁷³ Before, during, and after the

⁶⁸ Maya Angelou, *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings* (1969; New York, 1971), 111–15.

⁶⁹ A study conducted in 1934 among secondary school students in Oakland, California, found similar patterns of listening behavior. Eisenberg, *Children and Radio Programs*, 29–30, 162–63.

⁷⁰ Dichter, "On the Psychology of Radio Commercials," 477.

⁷¹ Cantril, *Invasion from Mars*, 139–49.

⁷² Cantril, *Invasion from Mars*, xii.

⁷³ Radway, *Reading the Romance*.

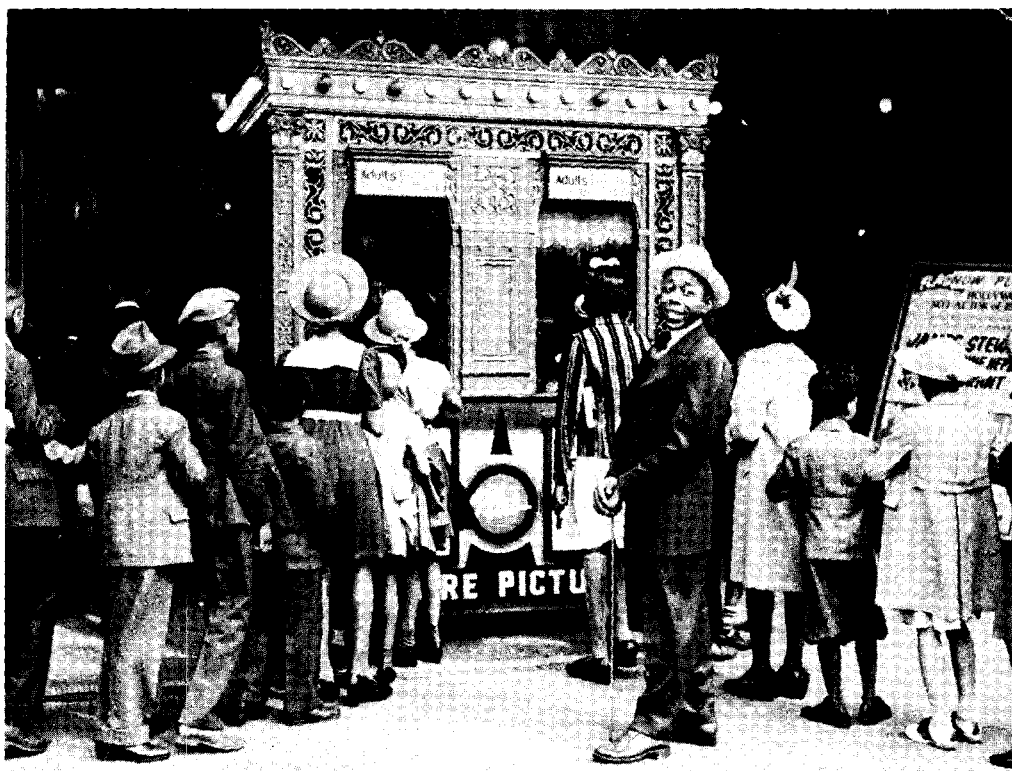


FIGURE 6: "In Front of the Movie Theater." Chicago, Illinois, April 1941, by Russell Lee. FSA Collection, Library of Congress.

Great Depression, people enjoyed popular culture not as atomized beings vulnerable to an overpowering external force but as part of social groups in which they experienced the performance or with which they shared it after the fact. In the early 1930s, a college sophomore recalled that when he was seven or eight he and his friends would crowd the movie theaters on Saturday mornings to watch the latest episode of an action serial: "All the children of the district used to attend . . . During the showing of the picture itself we used to be worked up to a terrific high state of emotion, yelling at the hero when danger was near, hissing at the villain, and heaving sighs of relief when the danger was past."⁷⁴

Hollywood regularly made use of audience reaction to give their films a last fine-tuning. "You don't know what you've got until the very last minute," Frank Capra told an interviewer. "Until you've spent all the money and put the picture together, you don't really know what you've got and you worry . . . you don't know what you've got until you play it before an audience. You really do not know. There's no way of knowing."⁷⁵ Capra's own *Lost Horizon* (1937)—at \$2 million, by far the most expensive movie he or Columbia Pictures had yet made—illustrates his point. Capra had the film previewed in Santa Barbara,

⁷⁴ Blumer, *Movies and Conduct*, 120.

⁷⁵ American Film Institute, "Frank Capra: 'One Man—One Film,'" in Richard Glatzer and John Raeburn, eds., *Frank Capra: The Man and His Films* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1975), 22–23.

where, following ten minutes of silence, the audience “began to titter, where no titters were intended. The titters swelled into laughs, where no laughs were intended.” After several days of anxiety, Capra decided to simply cut the first two reels from the film and held a second preview in San Pedro. “There was not one laugh or titter in the wrong place,” Capra reported. “The audience was spellbound.” Only then did Columbia release *Lost Horizon*, which became one of the most profitable and acclaimed films of the year. For Capra, the lesson was evident:

A motion picture is aimed at communicating with hundreds, or, hopefully, thousands of viewers at each showing . . . That is why big-time film critics are wrong in insisting they view a film alone in private projection rooms . . . [because they claim] they can be more intelligent, more subjective, in their critical reviews if they are not influenced by the crowd reactions of the great unwashed. But crowd reactions are precisely what the film was made for in the first place, and no proper judgment of a motion picture can be made without the vital “third dimension” of a large audience being present.⁷⁶

Capra continued to consult the audience throughout his career. When he could not decide on an ending for *Meet John Doe* (1941), the final film in his great Depression trilogy, he circulated preview copies with different endings. “In Washington we had one ending, in New York one ending, in San Francisco another ending—trying to see if the audience would tell us which they preferred. None of those three was satisfactory, either to the audience or to me.” According to Capra, the ending he finally used was suggested by a fan in a letter signed “John Doe.”⁷⁷

Thomas Schatz’s careful study of four movie studios makes clear that Capra was not unique. When preview audiences laughed in surprise at the appearance of the comedic actress Zazu Pitts in the dramatic role of the protagonist’s mother in *All Quiet on the Western Front* (1930), Universal Pictures returned the film to production and replaced Pitts with another actress. Audience reaction to the previews of *Frankenstein* (1931) convinced the same studio to delete the deaths of Dr. Frankenstein and his monster and end the film on a more ambiguous note. The responses of preview audiences convinced Darryl Zanuck of Warner Brothers to create a more powerful conclusion for the classic early Depression exposé, *I Am a Fugitive from a Chain Gang* (1932). The influential head of production at Metro Goldwyn Mayer, Irving Thalberg, was so certain of the importance of showing the first cut of a film to preview audiences and of taking their responses seriously that he declared, “I would rather take the picture out [for previews] two thousand feet over length and cut it down afterwards.” “They didn’t figure when a picture was complete that it was finished,” the director Clarence Brown commented. “That was the first cut—the first draft.” Thalberg’s insistence on audience input before the final cut was released for general viewing led to the Hollywood saying that at MGM, movies weren’t made, they were remade. Film previews, an MGM story editor observed, were “the equivalent of Broadway’s ‘taking a show to New

⁷⁶ Frank Capra, *The Name above the Title: An Autobiography* (New York, 1971), chap. 10.

⁷⁷ Capra discusses his difficulties with *John Doe* in Schickel, *Men Who Made the Movies*, 78; and in his autobiography, *The Name above the Title*, chap. 16.

Haven.'"⁷⁸ Both techniques were predicated on the existence of the audience as an interactive, independent social entity.

IN CONFRONTING POPULAR CULTURE, audiences did not necessarily encounter a coherent whole but a series of possibilities with which they could interact. The Marx Brothers gave their audiences not truths but situations in which they could *perceive* truths about their society and their lives. Audiences retained the possibility of choice. People could see in Lange's portrait of Florence Thompson the most obvious and compelling truth concerning victimization in the Great Depression, or they could also react to the less clearly stated and perhaps more complex truths concerning reactions to victimization. Both possibilities—and doubtless many others—were inherent in the cultural object. This is precisely why creators like Capra and Thalberg understood the necessity of focusing not merely on the cultural artifact they had helped to produce but also on the responses it initiated, the experiences it generated in its audiences. Scholars would do well to learn the same lesson.

The question James Joyce posed in the epigraph to this article has remained my point of reference: the boundaries between cultural production and cultural consumption, or, to use terms I find more meaningful, cultural creation and cultural reception. Students and critics of popular culture have made the mistake of drawing the lines between popular culture and its audiences too rigidly and exclusively and consequently of cutting themselves off from the dynamic cultural relationships that allow us to use popular culture to help recreate the attitudes and values of those no longer able to speak to us directly. If the playwright Tom Stoppard went too far in having the Player in *Rosencrantz and Guildenstern Are Dead* declare, "Audiences know what to expect, and that is all that they are prepared to believe in,"⁷⁹ the statement remains useful in reminding us that audiences do have expectations; and, while they may be willing to transcend them, those expectations constitute boundaries that the creators, producers, and performers of culture cannot afford to ignore. The good news, the folklorist Bruce Jackson has announced, is that "all our stories are coauthored. No story exists out there by itself. The story takes life from two of us: the teller and the listener, writer and reader, actor and watcher, each a necessary participant in the creation of the space in which the utterance takes life, in which all our utterances take life."⁸⁰ If we interpret Jackson's phrase "two of us" not literally but as symbolic of the dialectic between popular culture and its audiences, then Jackson's news is good indeed for those of us seeking additional approaches to a better understanding of people in history.

But the news is not particularly good for those seeking simplicity. Adding the serious study of popular culture to the analysis of the past also adds to the

⁷⁸ Thomas Schatz, *The Genius of the System: Hollywood Filmmaking in the Studio Era* (New York, 1988), 37, 85, 94–95, 116–19, 147; Neil Gabler, *An Empire of Their Own: How the Jews Invented Hollywood* (New York, 1988), 224.

⁷⁹ Tom Stoppard, *Rosencrantz and Guildenstern Are Dead* (New York, 1967), 84.

⁸⁰ Bruce Jackson, "The Perfect Informant," *Journal of American Folklore*, 103 (October–December 1990): 416.

complexity of the picture we have to decipher. This is true because popular culture seldom comes to us as a unitary voice. We can say of the popular culture of Depression America what the anthropologist Edmund Leach has said of the mythology of the Kachin peoples of Northeast Burma: "there can be no possibility of eliminating the contradictions and inconsistencies. They are fundamental." Myth and ritual, Leach continues, constitute "a language of argument, not a chorus of harmony."⁸¹ A language of argument, not a chorus of harmony, is precisely what we face when confronting the popular culture of the Great Depression, which did not represent one point of view or one segment of the population but had built into it a series of often divergent points of view and competing voices. Disparateness is not aberrant but is in fact popular culture's natural state. Those who have seen in popular culture an overriding instrument of hegemony have misunderstood its nature. Popular culture does not present us with a single face or an orderly ideology. Certainly, it is true that even in as heterogeneous a society as the United States, there can be deeply internalized points of view, and these will inevitably be reflected in the popular culture, but there will be myriad fundamental disagreements and contradictions as well, as we have seen in the brief discussion of the photographs and films of the 1930s.

In my study of black folk culture, I found that there was no single overarching thematic matrix. Black folk in and out of slavery used different parts of their expressive culture for different purposes. If in matters of style and expression there was a recognizable African-American culture, this was not necessarily the case in matters of content, which could vary widely depending on the genre, the situation, and the specific folk involved. If this was true for the folk culture of African-American slaves and freedmen, it is truer still for the popular culture of a much more diverse mass industrial society. But heterogeneity and variety do not necessarily connote chaos and loss of meaning. One has to look not for an unvarying central message but for patterns of meaning and consciousness across the genres and among different segments of the population. This awareness is crucial, but it does not negate the fact that whatever patterns we find will have to exist alongside the inconsistencies, tensions, and cacophony of voices that help, far more than any putative unanimity and harmony, to reveal the cultural complexity of Depression America. Indeed, it is the very asymmetry and diversity in popular culture that should convince us it can be used as an indispensable guide to the thought and attitudes of an asymmetrical and diverse people.

⁸¹ Edmund Leach, "Myth as a Justification for Faction and Social Change," in Robert A. Georges, ed., *Studies on Mythology* (Homewood, Ill., 1968), 186, 198.

AHR Forum
Notes on Deconstructing "The Folk"

ROBIN D. G. KELLEY

LAWRENCE LEVINE HAS CONTRIBUTED A PERSUASIVE CRITIQUE of American historians' failure to comprehend and incorporate popular culture into their work. The general trend in the profession, he argues, has been to dismiss popular culture as little more than escapist, formulaic, mindless trivia imposed on an uncritical mass in order to shape consumer consciousness and defuse opposition. Much of the failure can be attributed to the tendency among historians of popular culture "to represent the consciousness of its producers, not its consumers." To rectify the poverty of popular culture studies, Levine appeals to historians to focus on audiences and the ways in which they interpret, recast, and reject the culture created for their consumption. In this sense, popular culture can be employed in much the same way folklore is used to penetrate a collective consciousness often hidden from public view. Although Levine is not arguing that popular culture is folklore, he is asking historians "to explore the degree to which popular culture functions in ways similar to folk culture and acts as a form of folklore for people living in urban industrial societies, and can thus be used to reconstruct people's attitudes, values, and reactions."

Central to Levine's essay is an appeal to historians to see popular culture as contested terrain, something to be struggled over between producers and consumers. This argument is not new; it was put forth forcefully by, among others, Stuart Hall and Fredric Jameson almost fifteen years ago.¹ Indeed, as

I am especially grateful to Diedra Harris-Kelley, George Lipsitz, and David Scobey for their comments, criticisms, and insights.

¹ Stuart Hall, "Notes on Deconstructing the 'Popular,'" in Raphael Samuel, ed., *People's History and Socialist Theory* (London, 1981), 227–39; Fredric Jameson, "Reification and Utopia in Mass Culture," *Social Text*, 1 (Winter 1979): 130–48. Even before Hall's 1979 lecture, one could point to the earlier studies of subcultures that were conducted under the auspices of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at Birmingham. There, scholars such as Hall, Tony Jefferson, Paul Willis, Dick Hebdige, and others began to examine the contested and contingent nature of cultural production and consumption, and the ways in which this battle mirrored and shaped class struggle. Soon thereafter, feminist and black nationalist struggles "interrupted" the first wave of scholarship and opened up critical questions about race and gender analysis in cultural studies. In addition to essays published in their *Working Papers in Cultural Studies*, see especially Stuart Hall and Tony Jefferson, eds., *Resistance through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-War Britain* (London, 1976); Hall, Charles Critcher, Tony Jefferson, John Clarke, and Brian Roberts, *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State, and Law and Order* (London, 1978); Dick Hebdige, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* (London, 1979); Paul E. Willis, *Learning to Labour: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs* (New York, 1977). For overviews and critical assessments of cultural studies in Britain and the United States, see Stuart Hall, "Cultural Studies: Two Paradigms," *Media, Culture, and Society*, 2 (1980): 57–72; Lawrence Grossberg,

historian Michael Denning recently pointed out, the dynamic relationship between cultural production and consumption, hegemony and contestation, has not only moved to the "center of cultural studies generally" but, over the past decade or more, a wide array of American historians (not to mention European scholars) have incorporated the insights of cultural studies into their work.² Parts of Levine's argument sound very much like efforts by historians such as George Lipsitz, as well as a range of literary and media scholars, to examine the dialogic relationship between readers (consumers) and texts (mass-mediated culture).³ After all, Levine is saying that audiences are not passive, inert receptacles absorbing monologic utterances from a screen, a radio, a tabloid, or a stage. They are continually reinterpreting popular culture in ways different from the intended meanings; they engage in a dialogue, a kind of conversation—informed by collective memory and lived experience—with the voices, signs, and symbols created and disseminated ostensibly to "entertain."

"The Formations of Cultural Studies: An American in Birmingham," *Strategies*, 2 (1989): 114–49; Angela McRobbie, "Settling Accounts with Subcultures: A Feminist Critique," in Simon Frith and Andrew Goodwin, eds., *On Record: Rock, Pop, and the Written Word* (New York, 1990), 66–80; Chandra Mukerji and Michael Schudson, "Introduction: Rethinking Popular Culture," in Chandra Mukerji and Michael Schudson, eds., *Rethinking Popular Culture: Contemporary Perspectives in Cultural Studies* (Berkeley, Calif., 1991), 1–61; Cary Nelson, Paula A. Treichler, and Lawrence Grossberg, "Cultural Studies: An Introduction," in Lawrence Grossberg, Cary Nelson, and Paula A. Treichler, eds., *Cultural Studies* (London, 1992), 1–16.

² Michael Denning, "The End of Mass Culture," *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 37 (Spring 1990): 4. U.S. historians who have adopted some of the insights of cultural studies in their work include Hazel Carby, "'It Jus Be's Dat Way Sometime': The Sexual Politics of Women's Blues," *Radical America*, 20 (1987): 9–22; Lizabeth Cohen, "Encountering Mass Culture at the Grassroots: The Experience of Chicago Workers in the 1920's," *American Quarterly*, 41 (March 1989): 6–33; Michael Denning, *Mechanic Accents: Dime Novels and Working-Class Culture in America* (New York, 1987); Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, "Disorderly Women: Gender and Labor Militancy in the Appalachian South," *Journal of American History*, 73 (September 1986): 354–82; Hall, James LeLoudis, Robert Korstad, Mary Murphy, LuAnn Jones, Christophy Daly, *Like a Family: The Making of a Southern Cotton Mill World* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1987); Kathy Lee Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York* (Philadelphia, 1986); Francis G. Couvares, *The Remaking of Pittsburgh: Class and Culture in an Industrializing City, 1877–1919* (Albany, N.Y., 1984); Earl Lewis, *In Their Own Interests: Race, Class and Power in Twentieth-Century Norfolk, Virginia* (Berkeley, Calif., 1991); George Lipsitz, *Class and Culture in Cold War America: A Rainbow at Midnight* (South Hadley, Mass., 1981); Lipsitz, *Time Passages: Collective Memory and American Popular Culture* (Minneapolis, 1990); Steven J. Ross, *Workers on the Edge: Work, Leisure, and Politics in Industrializing Cincinnati, 1788–1890* (New York, 1985); Roy Rosenzweig, *Eight Hours for What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870–1920* (New York, 1983); Mary P. Ryan, *Women in Public: Between Banners and Ballots, 1825–1880* (Baltimore, Md., 1990); David Scobey, "Anatomy of the Promenade: The Politics of Bourgeois Sociability in Nineteenth Century New York," *Social History*, 17 (May 1992): 203–27; Scobey, "Empire City: Politics, Culture, and Urbanism in Gilded-Age New York City" (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1989); see also *Cultural Correspondence*, a journal devoted to popular culture studies founded by Paul Buhle in 1975.

³ Much of this scholarship is inspired by Mikhail Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M. M. Bakhtin*, Michael Holquist, ed., Caryl Emerson, trans. (Austin, Tex., 1981). For a sampling, see MariJo Buhle and Paul Buhle, "The New Labor History at the Cultural Crossroads," *Journal of American History*, 75 (June 1988): 156–57; Lipsitz, *Time Passages*, 99–132; Kobena Mercer, "Diaspora Culture and the Dialogic Imagination," in Mbye B. Cham and Claire Andrade-Watkins, eds., *Blackframes: Critical Perspectives on Black Independent Cinema* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988), 50–61; Horace Newcomb, "On the Dialogic Aspects of Mass Communication," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, 1 (1984): 34–50; Mark A. Reid, "Dialogic Modes of Representing Africa(s): Womanist Film," *Black American Literature Forum*, 25 (Summer 1991): 375–88; Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1986).

While Levine does not explicitly call on historians to use cultural studies in their work (indeed, he does not even cite this literature), his suggestions for a new approach to popular culture parallel much of the work currently being done in the field of cultural studies. The following is my attempt to make more explicit Levine's implicit appeal for the integration of cultural studies into historical studies of popular culture. I will go a bit further and suggest ways in which cultural studies might sharpen Levine's already penetrating analysis of the relationship between popular culture and its audiences.

To begin with, the emphasis by cultural studies on the social construction of cultural categories or "boundaries" complicates Levine's claim that mass-mediated technologies in particular, and popular culture generally, have preserved "folk culture." He is right to question those folklorists who render as less "authentic" cultural forms that have been made available through modern technology. But he fails to problematize the concept of an authentic "folk" culture. A cultural studies approach would insist that terms like "folk," "authentic," and "traditional" are socially constructed categories that have something to do with the reproduction of race, class, and gender hierarchies and the policing of the boundaries of modernism. "Folk" and "modern" are both mutually dependent concepts embedded in unstable historically and socially constituted systems of classification. In other words, "folk" has no meaning without "modern." Unless we deconstruct the terms "folk" and "authentic" (much as Stuart Hall and, to a certain extent, Levine himself have done for "popular," "high," and "low" culture⁴) and see "modern" and "traditional" as mutually constitutive and constituting, we will miss the dynamic process by which culture is created as well as its relationship to constantly shifting experiences, changes in technologies, and commodification.

Moreover, "folk" either signifies what people imagine to be preindustrial survivals or, when one is not talking about Europe, the cultural practices of the Other (in this case, African-American, Asian, Latino, Appalachian, or whoever the Other might be) that have not been mass marketed. Although Levine is more sophisticated than most historians in his insistence that the mere presence of the marketplace alone cannot fundamentally alter cultural forms, he still implicitly accepts the argument that the degree of marginalization and the assumed distance from commercial influence is what determines "authenticity" in folk culture—which is perhaps why black blues and country-western are his primary examples of "traditional songs performed in a traditional style." However, such an interpretation obscures the degree to which "folk" culture—especially during the past century—is actually *bricolage*, a cutting, pasting, and incorporating of various cultural forms that then become categorized in a racially or ethnically coded aesthetic hierarchy. As Andrew Ross pointed out recently, most critics of

⁴ Hall, "Notes on Deconstructing the 'Popular,'" 227–39. Although the issue of deconstructing cultural hierarchies is not dealt with in "The Folklore of Industrial Society," it is an issue with which Levine is undoubtedly familiar. Elsewhere, he has examined the permeability of boundaries between "high" and "low" culture in the nineteenth-century United States. His book, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988), offers one of the most sophisticated historical analyses of the ways in which certain cultural forms (for example, Shakespearean theater) shifted from the realm of popular consumption to elite culture. See also Levine, "William Shakespeare and the American People: A Study in Cultural Transformation," *AHR*, 89 (February 1984): 34–66.

African-American music have ignored or played down its cultural hybridity in order to demonstrate the presence of some pure "Negro" or African essence untouched by commercial or Western influence.⁵ Once again, the boundaries erected around "folk" culture are as socially constructed and contingent and permeable as the dividing line between high and low or, for that matter, black and white. Perhaps the most powerful challenge to the social construction of "the folk" comes not from the academy but from bluesman Big Bill Broonzy (quoted, ironically, in Levine's *Black Culture and Black Consciousness*): "I guess all songs is folk songs. I never heard no horse sing 'em."⁶

In defending the capacity of "folk culture" to retain its authenticity despite commodification and incorporation into mass media, Levine treats technology and the marketplace as merely the occasional medium for disseminating raw, pure, unscathed traditional cultures. He even appeals to scholars to reject "the rigid compartmentalization that automatically and rigorously separates popular culture from the oral tradition." While I do not disagree with this argument, I want to suggest a different conception of the linkages between technology and oral tradition—or what Walter Ong calls "orality."⁷ Because radio and film are not "antithetical" to the dynamic process by which people ("the folk") create culture does not mean that these mass-mediated forms do not alter the conditions in which culture is made, revised, and contested. This is one of the critical lessons of postmodernism that can be applied to studies of the 1930s. George Lipsitz, for example, provides an extremely sophisticated understanding of how mass-mediated technologies can transform, displace, and recuperate simultaneously: "Instead of relating to the past through a shared sense of place or ancestry,

⁵ Consider the brilliant (and deliberately oversimplified) passage by Andrew Ross regarding the hybridity of popular music: "ragtime—a 'clean' black response to white imitations of the 'dirty' black version of boogie-woogie piano blues; the cakewalk—a minstrel blackface imitation of blacks imitating highfalutin white manners; 'moldy figs'—a generation of white middle-class jazz revivalists trying to sound like wizened, old New Orleans musicians who were themselves trying to sound like the real thing for the benefit of their white discoverers; Dizzy Gillespie's satirical imitations of his white bohemian disciples who imitated the bebopper's own version of hipster 'cool'; Howlin' Wolf—an 'authentic' bluesman (most revered by sixties R & B purists in the suburbs of London), whose name is taken from his failure to emulate the yodeling of Jimmie Rodgers, the white hillbilly musician whose own vaudeville-inspired yodeling was spliced with a variety of powerful blues influences; and Elvis's rockabilly hair, greased up with Royal Crown Pomade to emulate the black 'process' of straightening and curling, itself a black attempt to look 'white.'" Andrew Ross, *No Respect: Intellectuals and Popular Culture* (London, 1989), 68; see also Simon Frith, "The Cultural Study of Popular Music," in Grossberg, Nelson, and Treichler, *Cultural Studies*, 180–81; Wahneema Lubiano, "But Compared to What?: Reading Realism, Representation, and Essentialism in *School Daze*, *Do the Right Thing*, and the Spike Lee Discourse," *Black American Literature Forum*, 25 (Summer 1991): 253–82, for an excellent discussion of the problems of "authenticity" in black film.

⁶ Lawrence Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought from Slavery to Freedom* (New York, 1977), 202. It should be noted that Andrew Ross uses the same quote as an epigraph for a chapter titled, "Hip, and the Long Front of Color," in *No Respect*, 65. While Ross employed the quote as a means of displacing the category of "folk" to signify some racially coded authenticity, Levine used it to reinforce the category, emphasizing the communal manner in which "folk music" is made. Levine wrote, "Broonzy was reflecting the fact that for Negroes . . . music was, and remained, a *participant* activity rather than primarily a performer-audience phenomenon"; *Black Culture and Black Consciousness*, 203.

⁷ See Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (New York, 1982). For an excellent example of the articulation between orality and technology in American popular culture, see Tricia Rose, "Orality and Technology: Rap Music and Afro-American Cultural Theory and Practice," *Popular Music and Society*, 13 (1989): 35–44.

consumers of electronic mass media can experience a common heritage with people they have never seen; they can acquire memories of a past to which they have no geographic or biological connection. This capacity of electronic mass communication to transcend time and space creates instability by disconnecting people from past traditions, but it also liberates people by making the past less determinate of experiences in the present." And, as Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger have reminded us, the past has been invented with or without mass-mediated technologies.⁸

In other words, rather than simply collapse the boundaries between orality and technology, we need to examine how they operate together. What happens to orality when it is mediated by different technologies in different spaces? What does it mean for audience-performer interaction when the performances are electronically transmitted? How does one read body gestures or engage in call-and-response when listening to the radio? Do new cultural practices or new forms of cultural consumption emerge with these new technologies?

More important, the question of power and access to the tools of production (as opposed to the receptacles and spaces for consumption) is surprisingly absent from Levine's discussion. We cannot easily ignore Michael Denning's point, "The great paradox of film and broadcasting has of course been that the genuine democratization of cultural audiences required such large capital investment and technical training as to have restricted greatly the production of films and broadcasts."⁹ Although Levine cites test screenings and audience surveys as examples of consumers shaping popular film, this is not the same as having a direct voice in cultural production from inception to completion. Subordinate groups, especially in the period Levine is writing about, generally did not have access to the production of radio, television, or film in the same way they had access to churches, local clubhouses, or streetcorners. And when "the folk" did gain access, there were usually constraints placed on what they could say or perform. An exaggerated example of what I mean comes from Levine's own classic text, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness*. He recorded a popular joke about a black sharecropper who accompanied his landlord to a local radio station "to tell the rest of the nation how well colored people are treated in his state." After much trepidation and upon discovering that the airwaves gave him access to listeners all "over the world," the sharecropper grabbed the microphone "with both hands and hollered: HE-E-E-E-ELP!"¹⁰ The subtext, of course, is that mass media represent power, and the differences between speaking to a radio and speaking through a radio are a reflection of power relations.

Levine does not ignore the question of power. Rather, he suggests that the capacity of audiences to choose their entertainment and reinterpret cultural texts in ways that were unintended constitutes a form of empowerment. Although I agree with his point that people actively make meaning out of popular culture (which also means revising and jettisoning narratives or representations that are

⁸ Lipsitz, *Time Passages*, 5; Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (New York, 1983).

⁹ Denning, "End of Mass Culture," 15.

¹⁰ Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness*, 318.

unacceptable), his discussion sometimes seems a little too celebratory. By focusing on the audience versus producer dichotomy rather than race, gender, and class hierarchies within popular culture audiences, and by placing too much emphasis on the autonomy of "the folk," Levine misses an opportunity to illustrate how popular culture can simultaneously subvert and reproduce hegemony. While his application of "folk" to the playful mimicry and recasting of mass-mediated texts is intended not as an aesthetic or anthropological category but as a way of situating these practices within a rooted, autonomous, perhaps even an empowered cultural community, "folk" used in this way also has the effect of collapsing difference and conflict *within* communities—a position Levine himself has always found untenable.¹¹

Consider Levine's discussion of what radio soap operas and serials meant to listeners in the 1930s. In one example, he cites an informant who admits to having learned to tolerate her husband's shouting by listening to *The Goldbergs*. "These stories have helped me to understand that husbands are like that," she recalled. "If women are tender, they are better off." Unfortunately, the statement in the essay stands without commentary or analysis. Thus, while Levine rightfully insists that "soaps fostered a sense of community, a sense of sharing troubles and solutions," his own evidence suggests that soaps also justified women's subordination. Moreover, because his essay does not consistently treat popular culture audiences and texts as gendered and "raced," the examples he gives of audiences transforming expressive culture through "folk performance" can easily be interpreted as hegemony at work rather than empowerment and self-determination. In one instance, we learn of an adolescent girl who proudly steps into an imaginary form of female bondage; in another, the Lone Ranger and friends are shooting "Injuns." Certainly, giving Tonto a wife went against the original script, but other films and radio shows introduced audiences to "squaws"—Orientalist-derived stereotypes of passive, submissive women who embody an idealized, exotic femininity. The question still remains: how was one treated as Tonto's wife? How did this reinforce or challenge dominant stereotypes about American Indians in general?

This is a critical question, not because Levine is wrong and audiences really are being manipulated by mass culture, but because he is largely right. Audiences do make critical choices about what to see and hear, reinterpret the intended meanings of various texts, and, despite constraints, ultimately help shape the production of popular culture. In the process, depending on where one is situated, audiences also help construct and reproduce hegemony. A prime example could be found in David Roediger's brilliant exploration of the construction of working-class whiteness in the nineteenth century. Here, we find a dynamic, militant white working class helping to create and consume racist popular theater. The popularity of minstrelsy, Roediger points out, partly reflects the white proletariat negotiating a racial identity that would distinguish it from the degraded black bodies associated with bondage, low status, inferiority, and disease on the one hand, and exhibiting a longing, even an envy, for the

¹¹ In fact, one of the important contributions of *Black Culture and Black Consciousness* is Levine's exploration of internal differences and conflicts within African-American communities.

perceived preindustrial world of the African on the other.¹² Likewise, twentieth-century white audiences took comfort and delight in the stereotyped images of African Americans (which is very much a part of the answer to Levine's question about "why they laughed at what they did"). Without the stock black characters in subordinate positions, whiteness would have no meaning, no payoff, no clout.

Thus, to take Levine's Tonto example again, we should not focus on the ways in which Lone Ranger fans revised the scripted role of Tonto as faithful eunuch so much as pay attention to the centrality of popular images of American Indians in constructing and reproducing whiteness. Like their nineteenth-century counterparts, most white consumers of popular culture in the twentieth century also had a stake in maintaining and defending a white racial identity, and the popularity of Westerns and African adventure films is as much about constructing whiteness as it is about demonizing (or, in some cases, idealizing) the Other. On the one hand, American Indians, Africans, and Asians represent a pre-civilized or anti-civilized existence, a threat to the hegemony of Western culture and proof that "whites" are superior, more noble, more intelligent. In other words, mass-mediated representations of "native" cultures constitute the thing against which Euro-America is measured. The white male heroes are portrayed in all their complexity, as lovers, warriors, defenders of ideals, thinkers, while we see American Indians from the perspective of fortress towers or the protective formation of encircled wagons. In an ironic twist of historical memory, American Indians and Africans become the intruders, and whites are cast as the besieged; genocide is magically transformed into self-defense. Yet, without the colored "intruder," whiteness would not carry the kind of empowering, ennobling meanings inscribed in Westerns and other conquest films. On the other hand, the parallel construction of the Indian as the "noble savage" may also evoke the sort of envy of the Other Roediger found in nineteenth-century minstrel shows. Even the most stereotyped Native Americans can be seen as the embodiment of preindustrial freedom from industrial discipline, hence a model to hate, fear, and emulate simultaneously. Yet those representations of the Other that elicit the most sympathy tend to be the loyal, civilized savage—Gunga Din, Tonto, Sidney Poitier as a Mau Mau—who combines both the aesthetic and spiritualist elements of preindustrial life with the best the West has to offer.¹³

Given the central role of race in the making of American identities, there is no reason why (white) audiences should disrupt, reverse, or challenge narratives of conquest. And to accept and even celebrate this recasting of U.S. history (which mirrored the institutionalized, official version of "westward expansion") need not render viewers inert subjects, deadened victims of the overpowering embrace of mass culture. But audiences for which whiteness was not accessible clearly had less of an investment in the maintenance of racial hierarchies. African-American moviegoers, for example, probably found Butterfly McQueen and Steppin'

¹² David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class, 1776–1865* (London, 1991).

¹³ My analysis here is indebted to Tom Engelhardt, "Ambush at Kamikaze Pass," in Donald Lazere, ed., *American Media and Mass Culture: Left Perspectives* (Berkeley, Calif., 1987), 480–98.

Fetchit less humorous and less compelling than did their white counterparts (although it would be a lie to say that these characters never elicited laughter from the balcony). What historians might explore, in this particular instance, is whether black audiences saw these characters as tricksters; their own words, actions, and gestures reinterpreted as subversive acts in which white folks become the target of ridicule.

Just as white audiences freely invested in and helped construct a racist popular culture, millions of male consumers found "pleasure" and "empowerment" in a sexist, often misogynist popular culture. A prime example appears in Barbara Ehrenreich's discussion of the rise and popularity of *Playboy* magazine during the 1950s. The massive success of Hugh Hefner's magazine and the creation of "Playboy Clubs" for suburban white males was largely rooted in a male revolt against marriage and its requisite financial commitments; hence it articulated a counterhegemonic challenge to the "traditional" nuclear family while reinforcing male supremacy. Indeed, *Playboy's* first feature article, entitled "Miss Gold-Digger of 1953," attacked the concept of alimony and cast marriage as a form of emasculation in which men are merely slaves to money-hungry women. Being single became the embodiment of rebellious manhood, for the 1950s was a period in which popular magazines like *McCall's* and *Look* called for "togetherness" and viewed the nuclear family as the much-needed glue to hold society together. From the *Playboy* ethos rose a flourishing, male-centered consumer culture—a culture defined not by tools, power mowers, and station wagons but by sports clothes, expensive liquor, hi-fi stereos, cologne, and sports cars.¹⁴

AS I MENTIONED AT THE OUTSET, I have no fundamental disagreements with Levine's argument. On the contrary, I completely and enthusiastically support his appeal to American historians to take the study of popular culture more seriously. Although this particular essay is one of a rapidly growing chorus of voices on the margins of history departments and American Studies programs, we must remember that Levine has asked historians to turn their sights to "the popular" long before it became popular in the historical profession. For at least two decades, he has looked to "subaltern" cultures to capture the consciousness of folks denied a historical voice. And, as every cultural studies scholar working on the United States well knows, Levine's *Black Culture and Black Consciousness* and

¹⁴ Barbara Ehrenreich, *The Hearts of Men: American Dreams and the Flight from Commitment* (London, 1983). In a very different sort of analysis of another men's magazine, *Hustler*, Laura Kipnis illustrates how a publication devoted to the objectification and exploitation of female sexuality for male pleasure can embody both counterhegemonic and dominant discourses simultaneously. Partly as a result of Kipnis's reading of *Hustler*, she offers a simple but critical warning to scholars of popular culture that we should all heed: "[T]here is no guarantee that counter-hegemonic or even specifically anti-bourgeois cultural forms are necessarily also going to be progressive." Laura Kipnis, "(Male) Desire and (Female) Disgust: Reading *Hustler*," in Grossberg, Nelson, and Treichler, *Cultural Studies*, 373–91, quote on 388; see also Mike Budd, Robert Entman, and Clay Steinman, "The Affirmative Character of U.S. Cultural Studies," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, 7 (1990): 169–84; and Robin D. G. Kelley, "Kickin' Reality, Kickin' Ballistics: The Cultural Politics of Gangsta Rap in Postindustrial Los Angeles," in Eric Perkins, ed., *Droppin' Science: Critical Essays on Rap Music and Hip Hop Culture* (Philadelphia, forthcoming, 1993).

Highbrow/Lowbrow have each made a significant impact on the fields of cultural history and theory.

Yet it is precisely because of his seminal contributions toward integrating historical methodology with studies of popular culture that I am compelled to push his analysis further, to insist on an even wider incorporation of cultural studies methods. The powerful combination of cultural studies and history should convince historians to view terms like “authentic,” “traditional,” “popular,” and “folk” as socially constructed and contingent; they are not self-evident and self-contained analytic categories but subject to the dynamics of class, gender, and race. Such an interrogation is a critical first step if we are going to move beyond an idealized, transhistorical notion of “the folk” as the bearers of some authentic, preindustrial culture. Furthermore, a cultural studies approach would examine “differences” within audiences not as examples of pluralism but as constellations of power relations. It would explore the ways in which audiences, through their own agency, both challenge and reproduce the dominant ideology. In short, Levine is absolutely right to insist that people “did not passively accept whatever popular culture was thrown their way.” But we also must acknowledge that the “people” were largely relegated to the receiving end, and, in that capacity, they made choices under circumstances not of their own choosing. Their battles with cultural producers were not just over tastes and the preservation of the “folk”; they were ultimately about power—victories and losses in the struggle for hegemony. For all of us who are just as concerned as Levine with making agency central to the study of popular culture, the defeats, constraints, and, more generally, the reproduction of hegemony ought to be just as important as the power of audiences to invest mass-produced cultural forms with oppositional meanings.

AHR Forum

Toward Mixtures and Margins

NATALIE ZEMON DAVIS

THE TYPOLOGIES FOLK CULTURE, POPULAR CULTURE, AND MASS CULTURE were helpful when they were first enunciated by sociologists and literary critics many years ago. Among other fruits, they made historians attentive to the means by which ideas, beliefs, images, and gestures were communicated and to the changing social and geographical space in which they flourished. But early on, the rigid boundaries between these ideal types began to cause trouble, and assumptions about the quality and purposes of different cultural forms sometimes crammed historical evidence into Procrustean beds.

Lawrence Levine has exposed these assumptions in regard to "folk culture" and "popular culture" in nineteenth and twentieth-century America, and his perspectives are very much like those that engage historians of late medieval and early modern Europe.¹ Against those who deduce too mechanically the consequences of technological innovation, Levine's approach insists on the variety of responses to the printing press and the radio. Against those who see readers, listeners, and watchers of whatever century as passive recipients of books, messages, programs, stories, or films, Levine's approach represents them as active users, arguing among themselves about what they read or hear and deciding on their own

¹ An important early use of the term and concept of "popular culture" was in the work of Robert Mandrou, *De la culture populaire aux 17^e et 18^e siècles: La Bibliothèque bleue de Troyes* (Paris, 1964). Classic scholarly developments of the typology are Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (New York, 1978); and Robert Muchembled, *Popular Culture and Elite Culture in France, 1400–1750*, Lydia Cochrane, trans. (Baton Rouge, La., 1985 [initially published in French in 1978]). The issues and terms are analyzed and debated in Jean-Claude Schmitt, "'Religion populaire' et culture folklorique," *Annales: ESC*, 31 (1976): 941–53; Carlo Ginzburg, "Premessa Giustificativa," in Carlo Ginzburg, ed., *Religioni della classi popolari*, special number of *Quaderni Storici*, 41 (May–August 1979): 393–97; Michel de Certeau, Dominique Julia, and Jacques Revel, "La beauté du mort," in Michel de Certeau, *La culture au pluriel*, 2d edn. (Paris, 1980), 49–80; Roger Chartier, "La culture populaire en question," *Histoire*, 8 (1981): 85–96; Stuart Clark, "French Historians and Early Modern Popular Culture," *Past and Present*, 100 (August 1983): 62–99; David Warren Sabean, *Power in the Blood: Popular Culture and Village Discourse in Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge, 1984); Steven L. Kaplan, ed., *Understanding Popular Culture: Europe from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century* (Berlin, 1984). My own writing on these matters includes: "Some Tasks and Themes in the Study of Popular Religion," in Charles Trinkaus and Heiko Oberman, eds., *The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval and Renaissance Religion* (Leiden, 1974): 307–36; "Printing and the People," in N. Z. Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford, Calif., 1975), chap. 7; "The Historian and Popular Culture," introduction to Jacques Beauroy, Marc Bertrand, and Edward T. Gargan, eds., *The Wolf and the Lamb: Popular Culture in France from the Old Regime to the Twentieth Century* (Saratoga, Calif., 1977), 9–16; "From 'Popular Religion' to Religious Cultures," in Steven Ozment, ed., *Reformation Europe: A Guide to Research* (St. Louis, Mo., 1982), 321–41.

meanings, quite apart from what authors, managers, and creators may intend. As the hegemonic model of late medieval and early modern “official” cultures (whether of clerics or of kings) that suppressed “popular” cultures for their own ends has been modified to allow for some exchange of motifs and circulation of images across boundaries of learning and power, so the hegemonic model of radio and film production is modified by audiences having a demonstrable effect on the narrative and artistic choices of producers.

Must authentic “folk culture” always be oral, face-to-face, and local? Levine’s influential work *Black Culture and Black Consciousness* showed that commercial recordings of folk blues in the 1920s and 1930s did not destroy black folk songs. Hundreds of African Americans in the South volunteered to make recordings, commercial records continued to be nourished by folk music, and folk singers picked up motifs and styles from the records.² Similarly, there was a movement between oral and written sources even in the songs of the medieval troubadours and in the folk tales of late medieval and early modern villagers; new motifs may have come from local invention but also from manuscripts or peddlers’ books read aloud by the parish priest. And what an example of mixed cultural modes is provided by Carlo Ginzburg’s celebrated miller Menocchio, whose audacious reflections on the origins of life were fed by observation and reading both, and who argued his positions with his cronies in the Friuli hills for thirty years until the Inquisition heard about it.³

Must “popular culture” always bring with it a sense of the anonymous, a widening gulf of distance between speaker/writer and recipient/reader? Levine’s research on the radio days of the 1930s shows speakers imagining talking through their microphones into living rooms and listeners imagining soap operas as an extension of their family life. Similarly, sixteenth-century writers and publishers tried to reach the larger circle of readers provided by printed books by inviting correspondence, and readers responded sometimes by letter but often by comments penned into margins and flyleaves. These reactions and expressions of feeling do not mean that changes in modes of communication and in the way they are controlled make no difference, but that the difference does not take the form of a linear replacement of one set of coherent behaviors and values by another. Rather, older habits enter into fresh alliance or tension with new modes of communication, old arguments are carried on in a new key, and new stakes emerge only through a process of struggle and negotiation.

This blurring of boundaries between cultural typologies has led some historians and anthropologists to question whether the terms have lost their value, especially that of popular culture. What does “popular” mean, anyway? It can be used, as Jules Michelet did long ago, to refer to the beliefs and customs of groups socially defined as “the people,” the *menu peuple* and peasants of early modern Europe or workers and farmers of modern times. To examine “popular culture” in this sense, the historian starts first with an identifiable group—for instance, the

² Lawrence W. Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought from Slavery to Freedom* (New York, 1977), 225–32.

³ Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, John Tedeschi and Anne Tedeschi, trans. (Baltimore, Md., 1980).

artisans in early modern Dijon or the African Americans working on certain plantations before the Civil War⁴—and in ethnographic fashion finds local evidence for their values and practices. In a different usage, “popular” refers to a literary or visual style considered “low,” or comic, or “naïve,” as distinguished from “high,” tragic, or artful, a style thought to be like the people but not always produced for a wide audience. (The medieval fabliaux were often sung for aristocrats, and “popular” comic theater might sometimes be limited to a courtly audience.)

In yet a third usage, “popular” refers to beliefs, literary and visual works, practices and festivities widely dispersed in a given society and in their appeal often (though not always) jumping barriers of wealth, birth, religion, and ethnic background. Twentieth-century soap operas, medieval vernacular sermons, almanacs and proverbs of any period, carnivals, and westerns would all be examples of such cultural artifacts.⁵ Lawrence Levine, who has written so tellingly about the origins of the high/low categories in the United States,⁶ prefers this third and nonjudgmental definition: “Popular culture is culture that is popular; culture that is widely accessible and widely accessed; widely disseminated, and widely viewed or heard or read.”

Yet the hierarchical associations are not so easily shed from “popular culture,” and the question of whether responses to widely disseminated artifacts can constitute in themselves a cultural system remains perplexing. We see this from recent reactions to the term in regard to contemporary African arts. In an impressive essay of 1987, Karin Barber finds “traditional-popular-elite” helpful only as “expressive fields,” “as styles of expression at different locations in the social map rather than as hard-and-fast categories”; she talks not of broad popular culture but of more definable “popular arts in Africa.”⁷ Kwame Anthony

⁴ James R. Farr, *Hands of Honor: Artisans and Their World in Dijon, 1550–1650* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1988). A recent collection of essays, exhibit photographs, and bibliography, showing the range of research strategies being used to study African-American culture before Emancipation, can be found in Edward D. C. Campbell, Jr., and Kym S. Rice, eds., *Before Freedom Came: African-American Life in the Antebellum South* (Richmond, Va., 1991).

⁵ Some examples of many such studies for early modern Europe: Geneviève Bollème, *Les almanachs populaires aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles: Essai d'histoire sociale* (Paris, 1969); Roger Chartier, *Figures de la gueuserie* (Bibliothèque bleue; Paris, 1982); Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and Its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (London, 1981); R. W. Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Cambridge, 1981); Norbert Schindler, *Widerspendstige Leute: Studien zur Volkskultur in der frühen Neuzeit* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1992).

⁶ Lawrence W. Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988).

⁷ Karin Barber, “Popular Arts in Africa,” *African Studies Review*, 30 (1987): 1–78, with extremely interesting responses to her essay by Mary Jo Arnoldi, Donald Cosentino, Bennetta Jules-Rosette, Frederick Cooper, and a reply from Barber, 79–111. An early stage of the debate was an important 1978 essay by Johannes Fabian; he thought the concept of “popular culture” could be useful if it could carve out a space for “contemporary cultural expressions carried by the [urban] masses” as against elitist culture on the one hand and tribal culture and “folklore” on the other, and even challenge their varying Western-associated claims to superiority. Accordingly, he looked for a common “discourse” that could link three urban genres, including popular painting, in southeastern Zaire. Two years later, he and Ilona Szombati-Fabian were discussing the same paintings so as to hold onto their urban locus, their distant relation to the market, their vigorous quality and changing meanings but were using “folk” and “popular” as overlapping words, rather than the grid around which distinct cultural discourses could be organized. Johannes Fabian, “Popular Culture in Africa:

Appiah still has doubts, maintaining that "in Africa, the distinction between high culture and mass culture, insofar as it makes sense at all, corresponds by and large to the distinction between those with and those without Western-style formal education," while Bogumil Jewsiewicki, in discussing the art of Zaire, finds "popular" culture "a worn-out concept, which has no meaning except in opposition to the idea of 'high' culture."⁸

Among other drawbacks, the high/low polarities may lead the historian to underestimate certain features of widely disseminated art: the diversity in the origins of its motifs and the readiness with which creators, readers, listeners, and viewers may accommodate to that diversity. For example, Alexander the Great was a major actor in Jewish folk tales from the Talmud to the Yiddish *Ma'aseh Buch* of 1602 and afterward. The Jewish merchant Glickl bat Leib recorded stories about him for her children in the late seventeenth century, saying that although her accounts might be only "heathenish fable[s]," still they gave moral instruction.⁹ The African character Mami Wata, a beautiful woman with the tail of a fish, has the Greek siren and the French serpent-woman Mélusine among her antecedents, but her colonial ancestors do not haunt unpleasantly the many late twentieth-century paintings made of her in central and western Africa and enjoyed there in living rooms, places of entertainment, and on billboards.¹⁰

Faced with a doubtful or overdefined term, some historians and anthropologists use "popular" sparingly and prefer over "popular culture" more precise terms that refer to content or milieu (such as "local religion," "urban art," "religious culture," "village culture," "domestic work culture") or just refer to "cultural history" more generally.¹¹ These terms may even be cast in the plural to

Findings and Conjectures," *Africa*, 48 (1978): 315–34; Johannes Fabian and Ilona Szombati-Fabian, "Folk Art from an Anthropological Perspective," in Ian M. G. Quimby and Scott T. Swank, eds., *Perspectives on American Folk Art* (New York, 1980), 247–92.

⁸ Kwame Anthony Appiah, *In My Father's House: Africa in the Philosophy of Culture* (New York, 1992), 148. Bogumil Jewsiewicki, "Painting in Zaire: From the Invention of the West to the Representation of Social Self," in Susan Vogel and Ima Ebong, *Africa Explores: African Art in the 20th Century* (New York, 1991), 135, 151, n. 3. Also Susan Vogel, "Art of the Here and Now," *ibid.*, 126.

⁹ Micha Joseph bin Gorion, *Mimekor Yisrael: Classical Jewish Folktales*, Emanuel bin Gorion, ed., I. M. Lask, trans., abridged and annotated edn. by Dan Ben-Amos (Bloomington, Ind., 1990), 89–104. *Ma'aseh Book: Book of Jewish Tales and Legends*, Moses Gaster, trans. (Philadelphia, 1981), no. 141. *The Life of Glückel of Hameln, 1646–1724 Written by Herself*, Beth-Zion Abrahams, trans. (New York, 1963), 10–11, 165–66. I am considering the use of folk tales by Glickl bat Leib in *Women on the Margins* (Cambridge, Mass., forthcoming).

¹⁰ Jewsiewicki, "Painting in Zaire," 132–33, 148–49. In parts of Nigeria, Mami Wata has been the center of a religious cult and is the subject of many statues (Susan Vogel, "Elastic Continuum," in *Africa Explores*, 44). See also Appiah's discussion of the wooden statue *Yoruba Man with a Bicycle* in *In My Father's House*, 139–40, 157.

¹¹ For example, William A. Christian, Jr., *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton, N.J., 1981); Vogel, "Art of the Here and Now," 126; Keith P. Luria, *Territories of Grace: Cultural Change in the Seventeenth-Century Diocese of Grenoble* (Berkeley, Calif., 1991) ("village religion"); N. Z. Davis, "From 'Popular Religion' to Religious Cultures"; N. Z. Davis, "Women in the Crafts in Sixteenth-Century Lyon," *Feminist Studies*, 8 (1982): 61–62 ("domestic work culture"). On "cultural history," see Roger Chartier, *Cultural History: Between Practices and Representations*, Lydia G. Cochrane, trans. (Oxford, 1988); Lynn Hunt, ed., *The New Cultural History* (Berkeley, Calif., 1989); and N. Z. Davis, "The Shapes of Social History," *Storia della Storiografia*, 17 (1990): 28–34. Peter Burke has turned to other concepts in his more recent work, such as *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy: Essays on Perception and Communication* (Cambridge, 1987), and "Overture: The New History, Its Past and Future," in Peter Burke, ed., *New Perspectives on Historical Writing* (University Park, Pa., 1992), 1–23.

suggest that alternate or overlapping cultural systems are operating in the same space. Other historians and cultural critics follow Lawrence Levine's example and use popular culture as a descriptive category while prying away from it unwanted meanings.¹² Since for Levine, popular culture is the folklore of an industrial society, and the "mass media" are one of its several forms, we may say that the old typological structure is in fact dissolving in his capable hands.

What interests Levine is not fighting about words but "recover[ing] the voices of the historically inarticulate," that is, locating evidence for the mental world of non-elite groups and characterizing its textures and rifts. Levine claims that radio shows and films are sources for what large numbers of Americans thought and argued in the 1930s. That he is challenged by colleagues to justify that claim in regard to mass media comes as no surprise to those of us trying to use medieval and early modern sermons or judicial records to the same end. What language was that sermon initially given in? What rhetorical techniques and commonplaces were part of the repertory of the preacher? What requirements of holy day, place, or ecclesiastical ruling affected its content? What was the character of the performance? Among other things, could most of the audience hear it being delivered? How do we evaluate information about response to the sermon that comes from a village denunciation to a diocesan agent? Under what circumstances has the sermon been preserved and why?

Justifying one's sources may turn out to be more than a defensive maneuver; it may lead to surprising discoveries. Examining exactly how the Latin Inquisition records of Toulouse were compiled in the early fourteenth century allows the remarkable narrative skills of Pyrenean villagers to come to the fore—quite apart from rural beliefs and quarrels that emerge from the content of their testimony. Going step by step through the creation of a royal letter of pardon in the sixteenth century showed me how important legal rules were in shaping peasant narratives and, more generally, how early modern sovereigns tried to "civilize" the tongues of their subjects.¹³

Within the compass of a short essay, Levine has been able only to sketch his process for explaining why his sources "reflect anything more than what those who produced them were thinking": audiences selected radio shows they wanted to listen to, choosing some and ignoring others; movie preview audiences were used to pinpoint where laughs occurred "in the wrong place," etc. But a fuller account of how a film or radio serial is put together—a collective enterprise from start to finish, with input from many kinds of people and even from chance events, not only from directors and monied producers—should add to the analysis. The "people" may be among the makers in some fashion, as well as among the consumers.

¹² Thus the cultural critic and novelist V. Y. Mudimbe uses "popular art" in a final interpretive essay in *Africa Explores* but only after evaluating the various meanings of "popular" ("Reprendre": Enunciations and Strategies in Contemporary African Arts," in Vogel and Ebong, eds., *Africa Explores*, 280–87).

¹³ Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou, village occitan* (Paris, 1975); N. Z. Davis, "Les conteurs de Montaillou," *Annales: ESC*, 34 (1979): 61–73. N. Z. Davis, *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and Their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France* (Stanford, Calif., 1987).

Similarly, an examination of “radio research,” that is, the reports from which Levine is garnering listener response from the 1930s, should help us contextualize that response. What kinds of people were making these chatty comments along with their selections of favorite programs, listening times, advertisements, their age, education, sex, and income? How do these answers compare with the thousands of letters sent by listeners to broadcasters, radio shows, and advertisers? Should we not be attentive to that interesting first generation of social psychologists and opinion researchers—the Harvard-trained Hadley Cantril, the Vienna-trained Paul Lazarsfeld, and their collaborators—who, from Princeton and Columbia and other universities, were providing us (as well as broadcasters, advertisers, and government regulators of their own day) with a first definition of radio exchange and the categories under which it should be analyzed?¹⁴

In describing the uses of radio shows and popular films in America, Levine has dismissed the term “escapist” as inadequate, a shallow characterization that does little justice to the relation of laughter, tears, and imagined other lives to the daily concerns of listeners and viewers. (“Escapist” was also the characterization used in the pioneering work of Robert Mandrou on the fairy stories and chivalric legends retold in the seventeenth-century in the widely distributed *Bibliothèque bleue*, and the term has similarly been superseded in recent interpretive studies of fairy tales.¹⁵) For Levine, the interpretive task of the historian goes well beyond issues of “escapism” or “resistance” to the uneasy waters of meaning: we must look for

¹⁴ For example, Hadley Cantril and Gordon W. Allport, *The Psychology of Radio* (New York, 1935). Cantril was then teaching at Teachers College, Columbia University, and Allport at Harvard, whose Committee on Research in the Social Sciences had provided financial aid to the project and where Cantril had also taught before moving to Columbia. Their chapter “The Listener’s Tastes and Habits” was based on their own questionnaire to 1,075 women and men in an urban community in Massachusetts and in small towns and rural areas of New York state, representing “a typical crosscut of the American population”; on the survey research of F. H. Lumley of the Radio Division of Ohio State University, of H. S. Hettinger of the University of Chicago, of Azriel Eisenberg (whose study of 3,000 children radio-listeners in New York was done as a doctoral thesis at Teachers College, Columbia); on reports from the Columbia Broadcasting System, at whose studios Cantril and Allport were also doing experiments on radio voices including on “listeners’ reasons for preferring male voices”; and on comparative material from Paul Lazarsfeld’s 1932 study of radio listening in Vienna. Cantril and Allport were struck by the versatility of radio for listeners (“almost everyone finds in it what he wants to find,” 268) and on the importance of sex, age, occupation, and cultural background in affecting choice (women liked symphonies, operas, and dance orchestras best of all, men put sports and especially football at the top, 92–94; religion and race are not reported as variables in their questionnaires). All listeners wanted fewer advertisements, and Cantril and Allport hoped in their epilogue that radio could be “removed from the dictatorship of private profits,” as currently seen with American sponsors, and at the same time “be kept free from narrow political domination,” as was the case in European dictatorships; 92–93, 102–03, 270–72. In 1936, Cantril moved to the psychology department at Princeton University. The following year, a grant from the Rockefeller foundation allowed Princeton to open an Office of Radio Research, with Paul Lazarsfeld, then a refugee from Austria, as its director and with Cantril as one of two associate directors. In 1940, Lazarsfeld and the Office of Radio Research moved to Columbia University. Radio research represented an interesting amalgam of certain styles of American and European social science of the 1930s. On Lazarsfeld, see Daniel J. Czitrom, *Media and the American Mind: From Morse to McLuhan* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1982), 127–36.

¹⁵ Mandrou, *Culture populaire*, 162–63. Jacques Le Goff and Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, “Mélusine maternelle et défricheuse,” *Annales: ESC*, 26 (1971): 587–622; Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York, 1984), chap. 1; Ruth B. Bottigheimer, ed., *Fairy Tales and Society: Illusion, Allusion and Paradigm* (Philadelphia, 1986); Hermann Rebel, “Why Not ‘Old Marie’ . . . or Someone Very Much Like Her? A Reassessment of the Question about the Grimms’ Contributors from a Social Historical Perspective,” *Social History*, 13 (1988): 1–24.

similar “patterns of meaning” that emerge in different popular genres and for divergent arguments and inconsistencies in popular culture. He comments, “Certainly, it is true that even in as heterogeneous a society as the United States, there can be deeply internalized points of view, and these will inevitably be reflected in the popular culture, but there will be myriad fundamental disagreements and contradictions as well.”

Levine’s definition of culture is a conceptual leap beyond those that settle for an episteme, consensus, or clearly stated ideology. I would like to add only two comments, one about disagreements, the other about margins. Levine accounts for disagreement in a double fashion: the cultural artifact—Dorothea Lange’s photograph of the migrant mother or Gordon Parks’ photograph of the charwoman—has possibilities, tensions or gaps in meaning, and viewers, with their different backgrounds, respond differently to these possibilities and fill in the gaps in their own way. Levine suggests that the divergence in response will be wide—“myriad fundamental disagreements,” “a cacophony of voices”—and this may often be so. But it might be interesting to look for recurrent rifts, repeated tensions, in both the artifacts and in overall responses to them. The opposites despair/dignity, vulnerable/strong swirled around the migrant mother and the charwoman. Do we have here a repeated fundamental tension, a deep ongoing argument or uncertainty in the society? Might we consider unresolved debates as a period marker, as important an element in identifying “patterns of meaning” as agreements? (I have often thought the unsettled argument over merit/favor, surfacing in so many texts and responses to texts, could be a period marker for early modern Europe.)

Lawrence Levine has used the popularity of an artifact as good evidence for audience choice: “not everything mass produced for the American people was popular.” Some books were little read, some radio programs switched off. “In every popular genre, audiences distinguished between what they found meaningful, appealing, and functional and what they did not.” Could a case be made for paying some attention to “unpopular” books and radio programs, at least in those cases where they were sustained for a time by a small audience? One thinks, for instance, of science fiction in the 1930s. Even though Flash Gordon and Buck Rogers appeared in comic strips in major newspapers, the authentic science fiction of *Amazing Stories* was not “widely accessible, widely disseminated, and widely read.” Rather, it was produced and avidly consumed by what was then “a cult,” a small world of fans (mostly male) of different backgrounds. Mainstreams have their margins, and the interplay between them may be another helpful channel to the lost American voices Levine is seeking to recover.

In sixteenth-century France, cults and conventicles were the sources of “heresy,” both the kind that swelled into the militant Reformed Church and the kind that remained in small circles like the Family of Love. In the early days of the Protestant movement, some of its publications took the forms of popular genres, such as merchants’ manuals, which, when read or read aloud, turned out to be an attack on the Catholic clergy.¹⁶ They found their way to the Index of proscribed

¹⁶ [Antoine Marcourt], *Le livre des marchans fort utile a toutes gens, nouvellement compose par le sire Pantapole, bien expert en tel affaire, prochain voysin du seigneur Pantagruel* (Imprime a Corinthe le XXII

books compiled by the Sorbonne, whose doctors of theology objected to such ideas circulating among the uneducated even in very small numbers. The margin of heresy reveals the possibilities of culture among sixteenth-century tradespeople, workers, peasants, and their families, showing both what assumptions they shared and what issues divided them so strongly that sometimes only flames could silence the shouts.

Daoust Lan Mil cinq cens XXXIII [Neuchâtel: Pierre de Vingle, 1533]). The 1534 revised edition dropped the reference to Rabelais' recent publication and had a less satirical title: *Le livre des marchans fort utile a toutes gens pour cognoistre de quelles marchandises on se doit garder destre trompe* (n.p., n.d. [Neuchâtel: Pierre de Vingle, 1534]). The work had eight French editions up to 1562; it was reprinted as the Protestant audience grew in size. Gabrielle Berthoud, *Antoine Marcourt, Réformateur et Pamphlétaire du "Livre des Marchans" aux Placards de Placards* (Geneva, 1973), chap. 5. Francis M. Higman, *Censorship and the Sorbonne: A Bibliographical Study of Books in French Censured by the Faculty of Theology of the University of Paris, 1520–1551* (Geneva, 1979), B127.

AHR Forum
Making Fun of Popular Culture

T. J. JACKSON LEARS

IT IS DIFFICULT TO CRITICIZE Lawrence Levine's article. The would-be critic's path is cluttered with dead horses and straw men. After the last decade of ferment in cultural studies, after the recovery of Mikhail Bakhtin's "dialogical" criticism and the popularization of reception theory, after the numerous explorations of vernacular resistance to hegemonic cultures and the endless agonizing over "the problem of audience" at conferences, who would claim that mass-marketed entertainment merely manipulated a passive populace? Who would deny consumers a place alongside producers in the process of constructing cultural meanings? Who would dismiss a plea for recognizing the complexity of that process? Not I, nor any other cultural historian I know. Levine's arguments, at their core, restate some sensible ideas that have emerged in cultural studies during the last decade or so.

The difficulties facing the critic involve Levine's rhetorical strategy as well. He adopts a Whitmanesque stance: he contains multitudes, he celebrates diversity. Anyone approaching this argument must feel that he has been set up to play the role of the sourbelly snob who "never watches television" (except maybe the occasional PBS special) and who remains insensitive to the vitality and variety of mass-marketed entertainment. I refuse that role; in fact, I think it is time to rewrite the script.

What I want to do here is evaluate Levine's picture of popular culture and suggest some alternatives. This will require, first, teasing out the theoretical assumptions embedded in his account, suggesting both their origins and the ways they shape his point of view; second, explaining the historical and intellectual sources of my own understanding of popular culture; and, finally, suggesting what I hope is a fruitful way to study American popular culture in the twentieth century—an approach that melds the creativity of audiences with the agenda-setting power of producers, acknowledging the complexity of the cultural baggage each side brings to the relationship.

EVEN THOUGH LEVINE MENTIONS THE IMPORTANCE OF studying the interaction between producers and consumers of cultural texts, his popular culture is a world in which consumers are sovereign and producers are almost entirely absent.

People choose cultural products freely and rationally, to fulfill their needs; as they do so, they create community. This world of diversity-in-unity bears a striking similarity to the mythic American Way of Life evoked by cultural nationalists of the Depression and World War II years. It may be that Levine is returning to the old neighborhood, that the popular culture of the 1930s is, in many respects, the culture of his childhood. That link may lie behind the empathetic strength of his account. Without an explicit acknowledgement of the connection, one can only speculate impertinently. A child of Jewish immigrant background, coming of age in New York during the Depression and war, Levine might well have shared some of the dominant impulses historians have discerned in the era: a longing to belong to a reassuring collective whole while at the same time reaffirming the persistence of diversity and the potency of individual choice, a desire to dissolve differentials of power, ethnicity, and gender in an overarching celebration of a classless American folk.¹ Certainly, this outlook seems to animate his current insistence on collapsing the distinctions between popular culture and folk culture.

The implicit theoretical rationale for this venture is a therapeutic, functionalist sociology that links Levine's current and earlier work. Despite his claim that he "found surprisingly little need for elaborate rationales or heavy theoretical underpinnings" in *Black Culture and Black Consciousness*, even a cursory reading reveals that admirable book to be pervaded by the functionalist assumptions of mainstream, mid-century American social science: in its broad movement from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft*, in its frequent use of phrases like "the slave's positive reference group" or "the inner dynamics of the group," and in its implicit understanding that black culture performed a therapeutic service for black consciousness—slave folk tales, for example, "were a perfect vehicle for the channelization of the slaves' 'sicknesses': their otherwise inexpressible angers, their gnawing hatreds, their pent-up frustrations."² Levine stays within the same framework in the present essay. Laughter at a Walt Disney cartoon (in *Sullivan's Travels*) is "healing, cathartic"; here and elsewhere, popular culture allows its audiences to "cope" with the "grim realities" of the Great Depression. For Levine, the question of choice is unambiguous. The fact that many mass-produced cultural artifacts went unbought has a "clear" significance: "choices were being made; in every popular genre, audiences distinguished between what they found meaningful, appealing, and functional and what they did not." From this logic, it follows that the cultural products people purchased were a more-or-less direct expression of their needs and indeed of their experience generally—tools for coping. Levine's fundamental question is, how did popular culture help its audiences to fit in, to get along, to muddle through?

But this functionalist framework obscures key distinctions between producers and consumers and between folk and industrial societies. On the one hand, Levine suggests that the audience takes the text in directions undreamt of by the author; on the other, he claims that "people in urban industrial societies use their

¹ The best account of these developments is Warren Susman, *Culture as History: The Transformation of American Society in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1984), 150–210.

² Lawrence W. Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought from Slavery to Freedom* (New York, 1977), 37, 445, 118.

popular culture in precisely the same ways" that slaves used folk tales. What is missing in this amazing assertion is any sense of the tension between producers' aims and audiences' interpretations—a tension that is abundantly documented throughout his essay. A more apt analogy between modern mass entertainment and slaves' folk culture would focus not on slaves' use of their own African folk traditions but on their satirical reinterpretations of white preachers' sermons.³ The functionalist vision of a classless diversity-in-unity cannot catch the ambiguity of struggles over social meaning.

Indeed, that vision is remarkably similar to the textbook view of neoclassical economics: sovereign consumers maximizing their gratification through freedom of choice and meeting their needs rationally in the cultural marketplace. So it should come as no surprise that Levine uses what Stuart Hall calls "the 'market' or commercial definition of the term [popular culture]: the one which brings socialists out in spots." From this view, popular culture is simply composed of "the things which are said to be 'popular' because masses of people listen to them, buy them, read them, consume them, and seem to enjoy them to the full." In spite of Hall's allergic reaction to this definition, he recognizes that it at least avoids the attribution of "false consciousness" to the mass audience as well as the mythology of an "authentic" working-class culture outside commercial fields of force. The problem is that "the study of popular culture keeps shifting between these two, quite unacceptable, poles: pure 'autonomy' or total incapsulation."⁴ The task is to get beyond the false antithesis between true and false consciousness. Levine would like to do that. He wants to claim autonomy for his audiences but within, not outside, the sphere of corporate-sponsored commercial entertainment. But, despite his obeisance to an interactive framework, the producers' side of the interaction never shows up in his essay. As in other functionalist versions of society, conflict is virtually absent.

The largest problem with Levine's functionalism lies in its implicitly utilitarian character; the functionalist wants to know how people *used* their culture. This utilitarianism prevents Levine from following up the full implications of his own argument and of the evidence he marshals. The functionalist emphasis on "use" cannot catch the idiosyncratic, "useless" qualities of play—and play, one could argue, was what popular culture was all about when audiences were at their most creative.

LEVINE'S APPROACH TO POPULAR CULTURE is unsatisfying to me for personal as well as intellectual reasons. My own views of popular culture have been shaped by influences profoundly different from the ones that affected him. Growing up in the 1950s and 1960s, an Anglo-Saxon Catholic with a Protestant mother, a self-conscious southerner in the border state of Maryland, I felt perpetually on the fringes. My claims to outsiderhood were probably no more legitimate than

³ I am indebted for this observation, and for illumination of many other issues raised in this essay (including its title), to conversations with Karen Parker Lears.

⁴ Stuart Hall, "Notes on Deconstructing 'the Popular,'" in Raphael Samuel, ed., *People's History and Socialist Theory* (London, 1981), 231, 232.

Ross Perot's, but the feeling of marginality was persistent and inescapable. And it was, apparently, widespread among the audience for popular culture. Mass-produced entertainment resonated with longings for liberation from the tyranny of the crowd; the heroic loner, from Gary Cooper to James Dean, was packaged for popular consumption, contained within a framework of conventional morality. The containment was never complete.

Among much of the audience, there was a persistent sense that the bland surfaces of suburban normality, the way of life celebrated in *Ozzie and Harriet* and *Leave It to Beaver*, concealed an abyss of aggression. This was the assumption behind Holden Caulfield's complaints about "phonies" in *Catcher in the Rye* (1951), the televised late-night antics of Ernie Kovacs and Steve Allen, and above all behind the satires of popular culture in *Mad* magazine (1952-). "Humor in a jugular vein" (as the *Mad* writers called it) provided a counterpoint to the official chorus of affirmation and suggested a widespread disjunction between popular culture and its audiences.

The disjunction signified audience attitudes ranging from sour alienation to surreal subversion. In adult fantasy or children's play, it was possible to reverse didactic narratives and take them in different directions altogether. Jesse and Frank James could get away. Tonto could trap the Lone Ranger. Harriet could be a shrieking fishwife and Ozzie a smiling serial killer. There was more going on here than simply the *Mad* unmasking of aggression. The audiences of the 1950s were demonstrating their capacity to play with mass entertainment, to "make fun" of it in every sense.

Nevertheless, play could have a serious side. The inchoate sense that the smooth façades of mass entertainment concealed a menacing underside of American life may have been a portentous adolescent fantasy at the outset, but during the 1960s it began to acquire more weight. The Beaver went to Vietnam. The technocratic death machine reviled by antiwar protestors seemed, to me and many of my contemporaries, somehow linked to the "Big Bright Green Pleasure Machine" satirized by Paul Simon and Art Garfunkel. The Silent Majority, slumped in front of their television sets watching Bob Hope cavort with the troops, seemed to epitomize the merger between a policy of systematic destruction and a culture of systematic denial. (It was only later that I came to see the Silent Majority as less a demographic actuality than a statistical construction designed to serve the ends of elites.) From my perspective and that of many of my contemporaries, television in particular seemed less a fund of folk meanings than a showcase of official half-truths.

The theoretical rationale for these anxieties was provided by the Frankfurt School thinkers Theodor Adorno, Max Horkheimer, and Herbert Marcuse. In the years since the Vietnam War, I have come to recognize the weaknesses in their top-down models of domination, yet I remain convinced that they were right to focus on the interconnections between the apparently dissimilar realms of mass entertainment and instrumental rationality; popular artifacts—yellow ribbons, for example—can still sometimes be connected to the sinister policy objectives of the bureaucratic nation-state. My notions of cultural production and cultural consumption are still shaped by my formative experiences. Rather than a common

pool of meanings, I still see elements of domination on one side, subversion on the other. This may overdramatize conflict, but it does reveal the disjunction and even tension between producers and consumers of popular culture.

One theoretical rationale for this position can be found in reception theory. Levine likes it, too. But he ignores reception theorists' most challenging formulations, even in the quotations he cites. "What is concealed spurs the reader into action, but this action is also controlled by what is revealed," Wolfgang Iser writes; Levine translates this subtle dialectic into a virtual magna charta for radio audiences (overlooking the inconvenient fact that Iser is referring to the written text, not the spoken word).⁵ Reception theory involves a recognition that the text imposes limits on the audience as well as creating opportunities for amateur hermeneutics; it also involves close readings of the texts themselves.

Another rationale comes from the Frankfurt School—not the theorists of top-down domination ritually blasted by American historians but the critics who realized the divided and contradictory character of nearly all cultural texts. As Adorno wrote in 1966, "the ideology provided by the [film] industry, its officially intended models, may by no means automatically correspond to those that affect the spectators . . . Overlapping the official models are a number of unofficial [*sic*] ones which supply the attraction yet are intended to be neutralized by the former. In order to capture the consumers and provide them with substitute satisfaction, the unofficial, if you will, heterodox ideology must be depicted in much broader and juicier fashion than suits the moral of the story; the tabloid newspapers furnish weekly examples of such excess." Adorno emphasizes the gap between producers' intentions and consumers' interpretations, the multivalent character of mass-marketed cultural forms. "In its attempts to manipulate the masses the ideology of the culture industry becomes as internally antagonistic as the very society which it aims to control. The ideology of the culture industry contains the antidote to its own lie."⁶ American historians might begin acknowledging that writers as elusive as Adorno cannot merely be used as punching bags for populist self-validation.

What Iser and the Frankfurt School thinkers have in common is this: they all recognize the crucial role played by the producers of cultural texts in shaping and setting boundaries on their potential meanings; they also recognize the ambiguous and often contradictory appeal of the texts themselves. And they assume there is a relationship between the process by which the text is produced and its aesthetic form. Power relations can be embedded, albeit often obliquely or obscurely, in mass-marketed entertainment. The student of popular culture might well cultivate a sensitivity to producers' rhetorical and visual strategies as well as to their economic agendas. Stuart Hall provides a cogent example:

⁵ Wolfgang Iser, "Interaction between Text and Reader," in Susan R. Suleiman and Inge Crosman, eds., *The Reader in the Text: Essays on Audience and Interpretation* (Princeton, N.J., 1980), 110–11, cited in Levine, n. 50.

⁶ Theodor W. Adorno, "Transparencies on Film" [1966] *New German Critique*, 24–25 (Fall–Winter 1981–82): 201, 202. See also his "Culture Industry Reconsidered," in *The Culture Industry: Selected Essays on Mass Culture*, J. M. Bernstein, ed. (London, 1991), 85–92; and Andreas Huyssen, "Adorno in Reverse," in his *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism* (Bloomington, Ind., 1986), 16–43.

The danger [of misinterpretation] arises because we tend to think of cultural forms as whole and coherent. Whereas, they are deeply contradictory; they play on contradictions, especially when they function in the domain of the 'popular.' The language of the *Daily Mirror* is neither a pure construction of Fleet Street 'newspeak' nor is it the language which its working class readers actually speak. It is a highly complex species of linguistic *ventriloquism* in which the debased brutalism of popular journalism is skillfully combined and intricated with some elements of the directness and vivid particularity of working class language. It cannot get by without preserving some element of its roots in a real vernacular—in the 'popular.' It wouldn't get very far unless it were capable of reshaping popular elements into a species of canned and neutralised demotic populism.⁷

Hall, writing within a Marxist tradition, may not have fully escaped the essentialist quest for an "authentic" working class in his assumption of a "real vernacular." It may be, as Samuel Elworthy suggests, that a poststructuralist idiom can provide a useful alternative. Each human subject is born into a world filled with chains of signifiers: the expressive forms in which social and cultural power is constituted. For Americans in the 1930s, those chains could be composed of everything from evangelical sermons and Catholic Masses to *Amos 'n' Andy* and *The Jack Benny Show*, and from the mythology of individual striving to the domestic ideal. The chains are not unbreakable; they can be constructed and reconstructed to meet the needs and desires of the individual subject. But they are chains; they do constrain choice, by embodying ancestral taboos, representing the interests of contemporary power, and instilling half-understood emotions that range from aspiration to revulsion.⁸

Levine would agree, I suspect, that cultures are composed of a myriad of meaning-construction projects, but there is nothing in his article about the pervasiveness and complexity of the social and psychological constraints on those projects. One can imagine the construction of cultural meaning as a process by which producers and consumers come together, each bearing chains of signifiers that both empower and restrain their capacity to make sense of life. This vision acknowledges the capacity of producers to exercise a kind of prior restraint, creating the cultural forms that audiences inhabit, setting agendas on the basis of their own economic imperatives, tacit assumptions, unconscious prejudices and fantasies, moral commitments. Yet the vision also allows for all sorts of resistance to the meanings imposed by producers, through not only political struggle but also the idiosyncratic rebellion embodied in play. In a managerial society, committed to efficiency and productivity even in its mass amusements, play for its own sake could be subversive.

THE IMPLICATIONS OF THIS MODEL are fairly straightforward. The first is a focus on the agenda-setting power of the producers. The basis for this is economic. What difference did it make, for example, that some groups or classes had the capital to mass produce and mass market cultural forms, while other groups had to make

⁷ Hall, "Deconstructing 'the Popular,'" 233.

⁸ Samuel Elworthy, "From Cocksure to Cockeyed," unpublished seminar paper, Rutgers University, December 1991.

the best of what they bought—reinterpreting, rejecting, reinventing texts creatively and even subversively sometimes but still basically stuck with what they were sold? Levine remains oblivious to the fundamental fact of cultural power: not its capacity to manipulate consciousness but its existence as a set of givens that form the boundaries of what the less powerful can do or can even (sometimes) imagine doing. Legitimation, not manipulation, is the key to cultural hegemony.⁹ Certainly, “we all know” that people can put their individual stamp on even the most poorly made tract house; but they are still stuck with the tacky vinyl siding and the widening cracks in the “pressure-treated” lumber on the deck. The house, built swiftly from the bottom line up, creates an inescapable set of constraints on their choices.

Given the priority of the cultural producers and the constraints their decisions place on audience choice, we might have to dust off some unfashionable alternatives: “mass culture,” say, or the Frankfurt School’s “culture industry.” Granting the relative autonomy of an audience that is free to boo, hiss, and cackle at the “wrong” times, or give Tonto a wife, one also has to grant the relative autonomy of a culture industry that by the 1930s had reached an advanced stage of oligopolistic concentration.

The shift from entrepreneurial to corporate control of commercial entertainment involved a change in form, from a carnivalesque exploration of performative language and playful imagery to a literalist, didactic narrative realism. This change is clear in the drift away from what film historians call “the cinema of attraction,” which was part of a vaudeville-style entertainment mix and delighted in artifice for its own sake, and toward the classic Hollywood cinema of extended “real life” drama. The syndication of comic strips followed the same pattern, as the ferment of the turn of the century cooled and surrealist fantasy (such as Winsor McCay’s *Little Nemo*) gave way to wooden adventure stories. The rise of literalism affected advertising as well: rebus-like trade cards and exotic patent medicine brochures yielded to the story-and-photo realism of J. Walter Thompson’s “editorial style.”¹⁰

In none of these cases was the predominance of realism the result of industry executives “giving the people what they want.” Despite market research (begun by J. Walter Thompson in 1903), nobody really knew what the people wanted (except that they wanted to be entertained). The aim was to keep profits predictable by entertaining as many as possible. As David Paul Nord has written, “*The greater the market power a producer has (the greater the opportunity to control risk),*

⁹ I tried to make this point in T. J. Jackson Lears, “The Concept of Cultural Hegemony: Problems and Possibilities,” *AHR*, 90 (June 1985): 567–93, but scholarly audiences have been creatively misreading it ever since.

¹⁰ Tom Gunning, “The Cinema of Attraction,” *Wide Angle*, 8 (1986): 63–70; Kirk Varnedoe and Adam Gopnik, *High and Low: Modern Art, Popular Culture* (New York, 1990), 153–230; T. J. Jackson Lears, “Beyond Veblen: Rethinking Consumer Culture in America,” in Simon J. Bronner, ed., *Consuming Visions: Accumulation and Display in America, 1880–1920* (New York, 1989), 73–97; and “The Ad Man and the Grand Inquisitor: Intimacy, Publicity, and the Managed Self in America, 1880–1940,” in George Levine, ed., *Constructions of the Self* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1992), 107–42. My use of the term “carnavalesque” follows the reformulation of Bakhtinian terminology in Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1986), esp. 1–26, 171–202.

the tighter and more standardized will be the formulas."¹¹ This was certainly true during the Depression, when the convergence of realistic forms embodied, at least partly, the common interests of image producers in an era when competition was declining and oligopolies were consolidating their market power. Standardizing cultural products was a way to minimize economic risk by offending as few consumers as possible.

The producers' effort to create a seamless web of salesmanship was part of a continuing attempt to make the audience more manageable consumers by blurring the boundaries between commerce and entertainment. Levine has assembled quotations documenting the creativity of radio listeners, but the only reason he has access to those quotations is that they were recorded by market researchers seeking more systematic measurement of an unpredictable and heterogeneous audience. Studying consumers through the eyes of market researchers is a little like studying heretics through the eyes of inquisitors: it can be a useful and indeed indispensable practice, given the paucity of direct testimony about popular consciousness—but we cannot pretend, as Levine apparently does, that the statements he quotes constitute the clear and unmediated voice of the people. We cannot pretend that the inquisitors have vanished from the scene without a trace.

Nor can we understand the relationship between mass media and their audiences without reference to corporate and government marketing practices that were coming of age in the 1930s—statistically based strategies that packaged audiences for delivery to advertisers and politicians. The trick was to get a superficial sense of the audience's tastes and preferences; then, as Levine's source says: "the plots, the characters, the settings . . . are made to order." Levine thinks this is the way a democratic, popular culture comes into being. He is confusing marketing with democracy.

Ordinary people have little more control over the mass cultural products presented to them than they do over the categories constructed by opinion pollsters. In each case, managerial elites plan a menu calculated to offend the fewest people. The persistence of certain items on that menu sets the boundaries of popular choice and standardizes the expectations of the audience. The consequences can be aesthetic as well as political. If Zasu Pitts has been persistently presented as a comic actress, then too bad for her if she wants to play a serious role; the audience won't stand for it. Why won't they stand for it? Because the producers have accustomed them to seeing her in comic roles.

Much has been made of the "sophistication" and "sensitivity" of market research and of the segmentation of markets in recent decades—a strategy that implicitly acknowledges the heterogeneity of the audience. But the audience is still being divided into crude categories based on pop-sociological conventional wisdom and still being asked to respond to agendas devised by the people paying for the surveys. And the survey sponsors still aim to manage public opinion in the guise of measuring it. What Nord has said of formulas is true of surveys as well: they are "if anything, more likely to reflect producers' than consumers' values."¹²

¹¹ David Paul Nord, "An Economic Perspective on Formula in Popular Culture," *Journal of American Culture*, 3 (Spring 1980): 25, emphasis in original.

¹² Nord, "Economic Perspective," 25.

Still, it would be a mistake to see those values as entirely economic. Script writers, publishers, advertising executives, and editors were all part of the culture, too; rational calculations were always mixed with irrational conventions. Take the example of 1930s radio, where the program frankly presented itself as a commercial vehicle. Corporations bought air time and expected their advertising agencies to fill it profitably for them. Agencies controlled programs outright, and their only concern was keeping the client happy. The key was to integrate entertainment and commercial intent. The advertising for Simmons "Beautyrest" mattresses, for example, emphasized that the product could preserve a wife's attractiveness to her husband by relieving her fatigue; a J. Walter Thompson Company executive named Robert Simon suggested how this theme might be woven into a dramatic serial:

You have to build up and work in the copy slant. This could be done by having a character who is a physician—not in this case a real physician but the old doctor who is not so much concerned with pills and powders as with people's souls and their psychology. After the physician is introduced, go into the dramatization of it, arriving at the point at which the lady tells him her troubles at his office. Whatever the outcome of that—whether comedy or tragedy—you have a perfectly logical reason for talking about Beautyrest mattresses. What you say then in the commercial—unless you go all wrong—comes right out of the meat of the program itself.¹³

Consider the constructions of gender and power at work in this passage. Seeking to win back the attention of her husband, a lady enlists the aid of another male authority—not a "real physician" but "the old doctor" whose legitimacy is not so much scientific as spiritual. It is a reassuringly traditional model of an emergent therapeutic pattern of female dependency. And it is as natural as breathing to Simon. Here as elsewhere, hegemonic patterns of culture express producers' internalized gender attitudes as well as their economic interests.

Yet there is more to the story than managerial aims and prejudices. The effort to contain carnivalesque disorder, to create a seamless web of corporate-sponsored public life, has always run afoul of a contrary cultural tendency—one more deeply embedded in the dynamics of market exchange. The containment of the carnivalesque threatens to destroy the variety, excitement, and unpredictability that historically have drawn people to the market in the first place; so the stabilizing demiurge is constantly countered by the entrepreneur's need to locate novelty, spontaneity, and vitality. The search for spontaneity has sometimes been a product of market research, more often of entrepreneurial invention. Whatever its source, a speculative commercial orientation (as opposed to corporate managerialism) is one economic condition that promotes possibilities for creativity in mass culture and its audiences. A seamless web of commodity or state fetishism can be a terrible bore.¹⁴ The trick is to find where it is torn. By examining the tensions between stabilizing strategies and the centrifugal force of the carnivalesque, we can escape the linear lapsarian model embedded in Marxist as well

¹³ Minutes, J. Walter Thompson Company Representatives' Meeting, July 8, 1930, J. Walter Thompson Archives, Duke University.

¹⁴ The concept of state fetishism is developed in Michael Taussig, *The Nervous System* (London, 1992), 111–40.

as conservative criticism and recognize the persistence of multiple meanings in popular culture.

Apart from eruptions of spontaneity in cultural production, the other major multiplier of meanings is the audience. Just as the producers bring more than market analysis to this process, the audiences bring more than coping skills. They bring historically conditioned prejudices, fantasies, inhibitions, ideologies, archetypes—scripts for the pageant of life. Their creativity is often more than a matter of muddling through; it sometimes involves a struggle to redefine power relationships and sometimes simply play for its own sake.

Some of the best examinations of cultural power struggles are in the field of film studies, where feminist scholars have been exploring cinematic constructions of gender. Among the most sophisticated is Miriam Hansen. She acknowledges that the formation of the Hollywood studio system was a characteristic corporate strategy for standardizing a product—the “classical” narrative cinema—that would contain its own conditions of reception by constructing its ideal spectator as a passive consumer (often implicitly female). But she also recognizes that the movies were sometimes shown in settings that allowed the audience to remain decidedly unmanageable. On occasion, at least, audiences might reconfigure the theater as part of an “alternative public sphere”—a free social space in which women as well as men could constitute themselves as active, desiring subjects.¹⁵

Even though the film industry depended on “a patriarchal organization of vision along the axis of sexual difference,” the films themselves could evoke a wider horizon of expectations among female audiences. In Hansen’s account, the Rudolph Valentino cult of the 1920s suggests how short-term commercial interests could temporarily counterbalance the long-term commitment to patriarchal management. However conventional the framework of Valentino’s films, his “ethnic otherness and deviant masculinity” exerted a “transgressive appeal” to millions of women. Frequently contrasted with “real men” like Will Rogers, Valentino was distressingly androgynous and even effeminate. Hansen believes he was “a catalyst for major changes in gender roles and relations, a figure oscillating between stereotypes of romantic love and visions of erotic reciprocity.”¹⁶

In the end, the Valentino cult was more than a troop movement in the war between men and women. Its significance cannot be reduced to part of a power struggle, even if one defines power broadly. The ambiguity of its meanings is apparent in the wonderful anecdote retold by Levine—the college sophomore recalling her reenactment of *The Sheik*. Analysis could be focused on the transgressions involved in two pubescent girls enacting a heterosexual love scene; questions could be posed about whether this scene embodied accommodation or resistance to dominant gender mores, or whether the domesticated exoticism of the carpet-tents signified acquiescence in imperial fantasy. All this would be more than justifiable intellectually. Yet something would be missing: the fun of it, the entry into a fantastic world elsewhere—a landscape as mysterious to the cultural historian as to the market researcher. The play’s the thing.

¹⁵ Miriam Hansen, *Babel and Babylon: Spectatorship in American Silent Film* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), 1–125.

¹⁶ Hansen, *Babel and Babylon*, 18.

AHR Forum
Levine Responds

LAWRENCE W. LEVINE

THE SYMPOSIUM IS A WONDERFULLY COMPLEX STRUCTURE. It creates the opportunity for a dialogue that can deepen and extend our understanding, even as it furnishes a platform for posturing and distortion.

My essay, as Robin Kelley and Natalie Davis recognize, is about the meaning and significance popular culture has for historians and the ways in which they can use these neglected sources to enrich their understanding of the people who constituted popular culture's audiences. Kelley maintains that I should have had more to say directly about the power relationships between the creators and receivers of that culture. I certainly agree that a lot more needs to be said about this, but I remain unconvinced that this essay was the place to do it for a number of reasons I will return to. Jackson Lears, on the other hand, is under the impression that my essay *is* primarily about power relationships, that my purpose is not to explore the dynamics and nature of popular culture that make it an essential source for historians but to prove that audiences were so autonomous and triumphant that we need not look at the producers of popular culture at all. Based on these assumptions, he creates a critique of a paper that I don't recognize as the one I wrote.

Lears may be correct in asserting that there are no cultural historians who "would deny consumers a place alongside producers in the process of constructing cultural meanings." The problem is that the world is not composed of cultural historians. The universe I inhabit is filled with professors and students and teachers and lay people who are quite sure that audiences have little if anything to do with the meaning and structure of the popular culture they enjoy and that popular culture is therefore of little significance to scholars and students unless the producers of the culture are the subject; even then, it is not at all clear that the culture they create has anything to do with *their* beliefs, either. I know many otherwise sensitive and perceptive scholars who think that popular culture is so formulaic and unvarying that deep thought about it and extensive research into it are simply not required or even appropriate. I teach in and visit universities where popular music, popular art, popular literature, and popular aesthetics are neither taught nor thought about and where the word "kitsch" still has resonance. At Berkeley, practically the entire corpus of nineteenth-century American art and music, and much of that of the twentieth century as well, is—with a few notable exceptions—ignored. There are large segments of Academe that have not quite

reached the year 1776 and have not yet completely extended the Declaration of Independence to our own culture. In spite of the progress made in recent decades, too many of us still tend to lack the confidence and independence needed to value and comprehend—or, indeed, even to study—the significance of many of the most important cultural forms that have characterized modern America.

This is what my essay is about. I have not attempted to write the definitive work on popular culture in a journal article but to question and break down some of the barriers, some of the rigid categories that have made it difficult for us to understand the nature and the importance of popular culture and to explore some of the misconceptions we have had about culture in general and popular culture specifically, in order to allow us to use it more creatively and intelligently.

But Lears likes boxes and categories; he certainly places me in enough of them. Thus I become not a finite historian trying to comprehend aspects of this central problem to the best of my limited abilities but a “Whitmanesque” obfuscator who clutters the path to truth “with dead horses and straw men,” a “child of Jewish immigrant background” coveting “the old neighborhood, . . . the culture of his childhood . . . longing to belong to a reassuring collective whole,” a “functionalist” user of “therapeutic” sociology, a “utilitarian” who cites reception theory but “ignores” its “most challenging formulations,” a “populist” who uses the writers of the Frankfurt School as “punching bags” and “remains oblivious to the fundamental fact of cultural power,” an unsuspecting follower of “neoclassical economics” who confuses “marketing with democracy,” an innocent who does not even understand the nature of the sources he is using and has to “pretend . . . that the statements he quotes constitute the clear and unmediated voice of the people.” Wow! It would take more than the space I have been allotted to dig myself out of those structures. But I am not sure it is necessary; I do understand enough about reception theory to know that the reader is meant to do some of the work. So, gentle reader, grab your shovel!

I find the comments of Natalie Davis and Robin Kelley more complex, more nuanced, and more helpful. Davis’s erudite comparative framework is especially illuminating. She moves from the value she found in understanding the creation of a sixteenth-century royal letter of pardon to the value that might be derived from a detailed knowledge of how a film or radio serial is put together. That is precisely the kind of research we need, and it is the lack of this detailed knowledge about the dialectic between the creators and the receivers that made me hesitate to make power relationships a central part of this essay. Much of what we know about these relationships is asserted rather than the product of careful study of the details of cultural production. I myself know much more about the audiences of popular culture than its producers. This is precisely why I refrained from saying more about what Kelley calls “the question of power and access to the tools of production,” although I agree that without this part of the equation, we can never fully understand the role of audiences. I also agree that “having a direct voice in cultural production from inception to completion” potentially affords greater power than the kinds of audience participation I describe. This is exactly what I meant when I observed: “In a modern industrial urban society, people are

no more likely to be the exclusive architects of their own expressive cultures than of their own houses or furniture or clothing. Modernity dealt a blow to artisanship in culture as well as in material commodities." I simply tried to argue that this very significant development did not necessarily render people passive consumers, and I attempted to indicate ways in which they retained both leverage and voice.

Above all, I have attempted to move away from that historical universe Jackson Lears populates with subjects and their metaphorical—but nonetheless real—chains. He may state it in slightly more flexible terms and leave a bit more room for input from below, but it is a familiar scenario inhabited by ciphers and their Significant Others, the constrained and their constrainers. I have tried to suggest an alternative set of possibilities in which influence and legitimation do not move invariably in one direction—from the top to the bottom—but are reciprocal matters of interrelationships. If we become too obsessed with power, we risk losing sight of the culture itself. *Whose* culture was being made available to the public via radio and film? *Whose* humor issued from the mouths and bodies of Jack Benny, the Marx Brothers, Amos 'n' Andy? *Whose* music filled the airwaves and sound tracks and dance halls? *Whose* world view was expressed in the soap operas people listened to, the pulp detective stories they read, the popular songs they sang? These remain open questions since we have not yet done the work necessary to answer them, and if we fixate on traditional notions of power and institutional arrangements, we may never find the answers.

Of course there have been significant power shifts, and certainly Robin Kelley is right in arguing that "the reproduction of hegemony ought to be just as important as the power of audiences to invest mass-produced cultural forms with oppositional meanings." Nevertheless, until we do the requisite research into the culture, the institutions, and the audiences, we will not begin to know the exact results of these changes, no matter what our respective ideologies tell us about the putative state of cultural hegemony. What confuses me about the criticisms of Lears and Kelley is that they write as if cultural hegemony has been a neglected thesis. In fact, hegemony is the condition many historians have come to assume existed, and we have to resist the temptation to *imagine* it into being, "without fear and without research," to borrow Carl Becker's phrase.

Kelley raises significant questions about the interaction of technology and orality. I tried to address the effects of literacy on oral black culture in my study of African-American culture, and in this essay I indicated the ways in which oral culture could continue to coexist and even interact with mass culture in the twentieth century, but his fresh and important questions point us in a number of new directions. I agree that I probably should have addressed matters of race and gender more directly. This is not an easy assignment. It is simple enough to demonstrate prejudice and stereotyping; they existed everywhere in the culture. The real question centers once again on matters of relationships. In a society as racially, ethnically, and regionally fragmented as the United States, how does the historian derive meaning? Various racial, ethnic, and regional groups had their own newspapers, their own commercial music, even at times their own films and radio programs. What was the relationship of these discrete cultural productions to the mass cultural expressions meant to reach the entire nation? Do historians

have to subject these nationally distributed cultures to the myriad viewpoints of regional, ethnic, gender, racial, and class groups, or are there central meanings that transcend or cut across American diversity? These are among the unanswered—indeed, too often unasked—questions that I, and I imagine everyone else who has tried to study popular culture, have stumbled over and will continue to stumble over until we pay sufficient attention to matters of culture.

In the title of her comments, "Toward Mixtures and Margins," Natalie Davis has captured this priority exactly. She is entirely right: the margins between cultures and social groupings need to be examined with meticulous care, as do the processes of cultural mixing and syncretism. Along these lines, my Berkeley colleague VéVé Clark and I have been investigating the possibility that much of American culture has been the product of a process of creolization similar to that we recognize as operative in other parts of the world. Davis's suggestion that we examine patterns of tensions and dichotomies that recur in popular responses to and interpretations of cultural artifacts constitutes another way of understanding the attitudes, ambiguities, and beliefs of people we have neglected. I am particularly intrigued by her idea of studying "unpopular" culture as another indication of commonly held feelings and assumptions.

But, even as we seek out patterns and generalities, we also have to distrust simplicities. As I point out in my conclusion, the study of popular culture presents us with new complexities in the form of divergent and disparate voices and views and ideologies. If we are serious about studying popular culture, we are going to have to bring to it fresh eyes and open minds and not force it into the prefabricated molds we carry with us. As we break the crust of the past to study its culture, we have much to learn from the warning Ralph Ellison issued years ago to those studying African Americans: "Watch out there, Jack, there're people living under here."¹

¹ Ralph Ellison, *Shadow and Act* (New York, 1964), 123.

Official Xenophobia and Popular Cosmopolitanism in Early Soviet Russia

JEFFREY BROOKS

REFORM, GLASNOST, AND A COSMOPOLITAN PUBLIC SENSIBILITY comprise a triptych in modern Russian history. Reform obviously hinged on a certain openness in public life, but the link to cosmopolitanism, in the sense of a sympathetic orientation toward foreigners and life abroad, was also powerful. From the 1850s to 1992, reform has depended on increased interchange with other nations and receptiveness to the surrounding world. Reformers looked to foreign models, foreign opinions were heard in public life, and there was a tendency to accommodate international practice in fields from banking to human rights. The reverse side of this triptych was counter-reform, xenophobia, and repression. These demons also had their day in Russia, and the affinity among them was equally strong.

The issue of the country's orientation toward the world had a conspicuous place in the Soviet press during the 1920s. The experiment in market socialism of the New Economic Policy (1921) brought expanded public discussion of government policy among the leaders and some renewed foreign contacts. Yet Soviet engagement with the West remained tenuous, and Stalin and his supporters used the threat of foreign intervention at the decade's end to justify abandoning market socialism for collectivization and rapid industrialization. Western trade collapsed in 1931, partly due to the Great Depression, and the country was closed to foreign investment.¹ Restrictions on foreign ties and a quarantine on Western trends in literature, the arts, entertainment, and even some aspects of science followed. These policies that Stalin promoted paralleled the disintegration of international

I presented early versions of this essay at the Comparative and World History Seminar at Johns Hopkins University, the Kennan Institute conference on "Reform in Russian and Soviet History," the University of Toronto, and the Workshop on History, Social Sciences, and International Security Affairs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Support came from the National Council for Soviet and East European Research (Contract No. 802-11) and the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation. Lary May, Karen Brooks, JoAnne Brown, Terence Emmons, Sheila Fitzpatrick, Robert Forster, Abbott Gleason, John Higham, Bob Johnson, Vernon Lidtke, Bob McCaa, Russell Menard, David Spring, Gerry Suttles, John Turner, and Luise White offered helpful suggestions. J. Stewart, K. Fontaine, and K. Reisdorfer helped with data. The essay is an effort to expand the understanding of national traditions in the sense discussed by Akira Iriye in "The Internationalization of History," *AHR*, 94 (February 1989): 1-10.

¹ Nikolai Shmelev and Vladimir Popov, *The Turning Point: Revitalizing the Soviet Economy*, Michele A. Berdy, trans. (New York, 1989), 221-22; Franklyn Holzman, "Foreign Trade," in *Economic Trends in the Soviet Union*, Abram Bergson and Simon Kuznets, eds. (Cambridge, Mass., 1963); Michael R. Dohan, "The Economic Origins of Soviet Autarchy, 1927-28-1934," *Slavic Review*, 35 (December 1976): 603-35.

systems in economics, politics, and culture elsewhere, but they signified a sharp reversal in Russian experience rather than the continuation of a long tradition.

The Bolsheviks inherited a country whose urban and, to a large extent, rural population experienced the common socioeconomic and cultural processes of Western industrialized nations. The market economy permeated Russian life in the late imperial period, and the social structure of European Russia converged with that of Western Europe and America. Former peasants and others embarked on new occupations in industry, education, commerce, the professions, local government, and the arts during the last decades of the old regime. Foreign products increasingly entered the urban marketplace, foreigners appeared more frequently in Russian public life, and there was evidence of a growing tolerance for foreigners and minorities in the empire, including Jews.² Anti-Semitism faded from the popular late imperial media that flourished largely in response to the demands of the newly literate peasants and former peasants who filled Russian cities.³

The country engendered powerful variants of the two great international cultural movements of our century: modernism and commercial popular culture. Modernism was international almost by definition, however small its initial public, but old elites and semi-educated upwardly mobile people of common origins also experienced and demanded a mingling of Russian and foreign cultures in literature, the arts, and entertainment.⁴ The same phenomenon was also observable at other points along the social scale. The heroes and heroines of late imperial popular fiction and film were often foreigners, and their adventures took readers and viewers beyond the borders of the empire. As late as 1924, a Soviet educator complained that nearly half of all young Moscow workers had read the prerevolutionary detective stories with foreign heroes—"Pinkertons and Nick Carters," as they were called.⁵ Newly literate peasants also sought out an increasingly cosmopolitan popular culture, and they largely ignored the nativist alternatives sponsored by the Orthodox Church and the state. The cosmopolitanism of prerevolutionary popular culture and of the local secular schools survived the Russian Revolution, and an observer in the late 1920s remarked on peasants desperately buying up prerevolutionary "manure"—"old school books, old magazines, old stories."⁶

Russia had its xenophobic traditions, but they weakened in the last decades of

² I discuss the cosmopolitanism of popular culture in Jeffrey Brooks, *When Russia Learned to Read: Literacy and Popular Literature, 1861–1917* (Princeton, N.J., 1985), 226–39; on foreign influence in graphics and advertising, see illustrations in Mikhail Anikst and Elena Chernevich, *Russian Graphic Design, 1880–1917* (New York, 1990).

³ The anti-Semitic *Moskovskii listok* changed its policies when the publisher died in 1911, according to Louise McReynolds, *The News under Russia's Old Regime: The Development of a Mass-Circulation Press* (Princeton, N.J., 1991). Similarly, Jay Leyda suggests in *Kino: A History of the Russian and Soviet Film* (1960; rpt. edn., New York, 1978), 83, that the tsarist government censored many films to suppress positive images of Jews. See also Brooks, *When Russia Learned to Read*, 226–39.

⁴ Jeffrey Brooks, "Popular Philistinism and Russian Modernism," in *Literature and History: Theoretical Problems and Russian Case Studies*, Gary Saul Morson, ed. (Stanford, Calif., 1986), 97.

⁵ E. Medynskii, "Chitaiushchaia rabochaia," *Krasnyi bibliotekar'*, no. 8 (August 1924): 44.

⁶ A. Meromskii and P. Putnik, *Derevnia za knigoi: Opyt izucheniia massovogo chitatelia po krest'ianskim pis'mam* (Moscow, 1931), 31.

tsarism, as did loyalties to the Orthodox Church and the autocracy.⁷ Neither Panslavism nor anti-Semitism served to invigorate old ideas of national identity, and the right-wing parties that promoted such concepts never won more than a tiny fraction of the votes in elections to the new representative institutions after 1905.⁸ Voters in European Russia chose only six Orthodox priests as deputies to the First Duma in 1906 and a mere two from heavily peasant assemblies.⁹ Peasants choose as their delegates people with links to the outside world, such as school teachers, railway employees, specialists affiliated with local government, and members of the "intelligentsia from the people."¹⁰

The Bolsheviks could not easily reverse these trends in Russian life. The country continued to share an international culture in the 1920s, and Soviet audiences watched Charlie Chaplin and Buster Keaton, Mary Pickford and Douglas Fairbanks, as well as European stars. As late as 1925, 87 percent of the films shown were foreign.¹¹ American styles of dancing and jazz were popular with the urban middle class and probably with some workers as well.¹² The same story can be told of literature, the arts, technology, and the economy. Although restrictions grew with the advance of the 1930s, foreign ties were hard to break.¹³ Frenetic technological borrowing ruled economic life well into the decade.¹⁴

The xenophobia of the 1930s collided with powerful sentiments as it first took shape publicly in the 1920s. The dispute in which "socialism in one country" was counterpoised to world revolution and agricultural priorities were set against industrial ones was a partial expression of this conflict. The rival groups articulated competing visions of Soviet relations with "the West," a term used often in the press, and they debated the economic merits of autarchy and involvement in the world economy. Dreams of revolution abroad suggested one

⁷ See Brooks, *When Russia Learned to Read*, 214–45; McReynolds, *News under Russia's Old Regime*, 193–97, 282–87. Abbott Gleason describes the intellectual tradition of prerevolutionary nativism in "Republic of Humbug: The Russian Nativist Critique of the United States, 1830–1930," *American Quarterly*, 44 (March 1992): 1–23.

⁸ Terence Emmons, *The Formation of Political Parties and the First National Elections in Russia* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), 148, 355, stresses the weakness of the right wing and identifies 1.8 percent of First Duma delegates as rightists by inclination though none by party affiliation. Hans Rogger, *Jewish Policies and Right-Wing Politics in Imperial Russia* (Berkeley, Calif., 1986), 222–29; Stephen K. Carter, *Russian Nationalism: Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow* (London, 1990), 36–38, finds rightist influence important to the tsar and expressed in street violence; see also Robert Edelman, *Gentry Politics on the Eve of the Russian Revolution: The Nationalist Party, 1907–1917* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1980).

⁹ Emmons, *Formation of Political Parties*, 347–48.

¹⁰ Emmons explains that among peasant voters, "There was a clear priority attached to literacy and articulateness"; *Formation of Political Parties*, 246.

¹¹ Richard Taylor, *The Politics of the Soviet Cinema, 1917–1929* (Cambridge, 1979), 64–65, 95; Denise Youngblood, "Popular Cinema in Soviet Society, 1921–31," in World Congress for Soviet and East European Studies (4th, 1990, Harrogate, England), *New Directions in Soviet History*, Stephen White, ed. (Cambridge, 1992), 49–50. See also Richard Sites, *Soviet Popular Culture: Entertainment and Society in Russia since 1900* (Cambridge, 1992); and *Pravda*, February 15, 1928.

¹² S. Frederick Starr, *Red and Hot: The Fate of Jazz in the Soviet Union, 1917–1980* (London, 1983), 54–106.

¹³ Loren R. Graham, *Science, Philosophy, and Human Behavior in the Soviet Union* (New York, 1987), see esp. the first chapter; David Joravsky, *Russian Psychology: A Critical History* (Oxford, 1989); Alexander Vucinich, *Empire of Knowledge: The Academy of Sciences of the USSR (1917–1970)* (Berkeley, Calif., 1984).

¹⁴ Antony C. Sutton, *Western Technology and Soviet Economic Development, 1917–1930* (Stanford, Calif., 1968), 17–31.

orientation toward foreigners; their denial in the Soviet context spoke of another. Although anti-Western rhetoric came easily to many Bolsheviks, including Lenin, Stalin fixed the image of two camps to his standard.¹⁵ As he put it, "in the world of capitalism, rot and decomposition; and in the world of socialism, stability and unity."¹⁶ The choice was subjugation by foreign capitalists or victory over them in a future Armageddon. "We ought to construct our economy so that we are not made an appendage of the world capitalist system," he explained in late 1925.¹⁷ As V. M. Molotov recalled years later, "socialism in one country" meant achieving communism and defending it against "capitalist encirclement."¹⁸

Trotsky and others thought economic isolation unproductive.¹⁹ Stalin's faction believed otherwise. "The more our exports and imports grow," Stalin asserted in 1925, "the more we depend on the capitalist West, and the more vulnerable we become to attacks from the side of our enemies."²⁰ Yet both camps recognized trade as an immediate necessity. Crucial to Stalin's view, and also Lenin's, was the government's monopoly over foreign trade, which protected the country and its citizens from spontaneous direct exchanges with foreigners.²¹ Trotsky and the opposition may have toyed with abolition of the monopoly in 1927, but their arguments were largely suppressed.²² The Stalinists won, and an official slogan for the revolution's anniversary of 1927 read, "The monopoly of foreign trade is our shield against the imperialists' slave-holding claims; yes, long live the socialist monopoly on foreign trade."²³

Yet the very language of Russian public life reveals the tenuousness of the Stalinists' success and the depth of the resistance to seeing the world in this way. To make their case, the leadership had to reorient public expression and create a public xenophobic sensibility. The central press seemed suited to their purpose. The supremacy of the state over public life and the stifling of the institutions and

¹⁵ Robert C. Tucker, *Stalin as Revolutionary, 1879–1929: A Study in History and Personality* (New York, 1973), 449–50, 460–61; E. H. Carr, *Twilight of the Comintern, 1930–1935* (New York, 1982), 403; there is also evidence in his published speeches; see also Francis Conte, *Christian Rakovski, 1873–1941*, A. P. M. Bradley, trans. (Boulder, Colo., 1989), 325–29; E. H. Carr, *Socialism in One Country, 1924–1926*, 3 vols. in 4 (London, 1958–64), 2: 164–67; and Mikhail S. Agursky, *The Third Rome: National Bolshevism in the USSR* (Boulder, Colo., 1987). See also Alexander Erlich, *The Soviet Industrialization Debate, 1924–1928* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960), 140–45; for recent arguments, see S. W. Wheatcroft, R. W. Davies, and J. M. Cooper, "Soviet Industrialization Reconsidered: Some Preliminary Conclusions about Economic Development between 1926 and 1941," *Economic History*, 2d ser., 39 (1986): 264–94.

¹⁶ *Krest'ianskaia gazeta*, December 22, 1925.

¹⁷ Joseph Stalin, *Sochineniia*, 13 vols. (Moscow, 1946–51), 7: 197–98; he repeated the argument at the Fourteenth Party Congress in December 1925; Stalin, *Sochineniia*, 7: 354–56. N. I. Bukharin argued similarly in *Izbrannye proizvedeniia* (Moscow, 1988), 225–30.

¹⁸ Feliks Chuev, *Sto sorok besed s Molotovym* (Moscow, 1991), 92.

¹⁹ Baruch Knei-Paz, *The Social and Political Thought of Leon Trotsky* (Oxford, 1978), 302–33.

²⁰ This was included in a speech to the Fourteenth Party Congress printed in *Krest'ianskaia gazeta*, December 22, 1925, but I could not find it in his collected works. Bukharin said much the same: "We do not want to be swallowed up by our deadly capitalist enemies. For this we need a barrier—the monopoly on foreign trade"; *Pravda*, October 16, 1927.

²¹ Report at the Eighth Congress of Soviets, December 21, 1920, in Alvin Z. Rubinstein, ed., *The Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union* (New York, 1960), 70–72; Jerry Hough, *Russia and the West: Gorbachev and the Politics of Reform* (New York, 1988), 53–54.

²² *Pravda*, November 17, 1927.

²³ *Pravda*, October 26, 1927.

organizations of civil society left little room for open opposition.²⁴ There was no Soviet "fourth estate," and journalism, like law, lost the attributes of a profession. Soviet newspapers commented on public affairs without the self-activated political journalism that lent public opinion its historic Western meaning.²⁵

Western scholars have read the Soviet press as a voice of central authority or a vehicle for interest groups and factions among the leaders.²⁶ This view tallies with Lenin's idea of the press as a propaganda tool and organizer, but it fails to include the reluctance of elite party members to go into journalistic work or the medium's complexity.²⁷ All newspapers are inherently pluralistic and open to hostile counter-readings.²⁸ Even when leaders agreed, the press accommodated many voices and several distinct discourses, each linked with types of authors and targeted audiences. Crucial among these discourses was the explanatory commentary of the leaders and their surrogates, expressed in articles and speeches, together with columns by reporters important enough to have bylines. Headlines and graphic material reinforced their overriding message. Anonymous reporters and the wire services (ROSTA until 1925 and then TASS) produced a second, more neutral discourse, with less opinion and more details about events. Lastly, interactive columns such as "Party Life" and "Workers' Life," designed for activists and containing letters and reports "from below," comprised a sphere of information officially considered equivalent to Western public opinion.²⁹ The authors of each discourse provided a different level of information and explanation that was open to its own reading and interpretation.

²⁴ On civil society in Eastern Europe, see J. Keane, "Introduction" and "Despotism and Democracy," in *Civil Society and the State: New European Perspectives*, John Keane, ed. (London, 1988), 1–71; Guillermo O'Donnell and Philippe C. Schmitter, *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies* (Baltimore, Md., 1986).

²⁵ On the concept of public opinion, see Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (Boston, 1989), 244–50; Thomas C. Leonard, *The Power of the Press: The Birth of American Political Reporting* (New York, 1986); Daniel J. Czitrom, *Media and the American Mind: From Morse to McLuhan* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1982); Ronald Steel, *Walter Lippmann and the American Century* (Boston, 1980).

²⁶ Robert M. Cutler, "Domestic and Foreign Influences on Policy Making," *Soviet Studies*, 1 (January 1985): 60–89; Ellen Propper Mickiewicz, *Media and the Russian Public* (New York, 1981); Angus Roxburgh, *Pravda: Inside the Soviet News Machine* (New York, 1987); Thomas F. Remington, *The Truth of Authority: Ideology and Communication in the Soviet Union* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1988); David Wedgwood Benn, *Persuasion and Soviet Politics* (Oxford, 1989). See also Michael Walzer, "On 'Failed Totalitarianism,'" in *1984 Revisited: Totalitarianism in Our Century*, Irving Howe, ed. (New York, 1983), 103–21; and Jacques Rupnik, "Totalitarianism Revisited," in *Civil Society and the State*, Keane, ed., 263–89.

²⁷ A Central Committee survey identified 863 "journalist-Communists" (14 percent were full-time) in 45 provincial and *oblast'* party committees (*Pravda*, March 30, 1922); another study found only 241 Moscow party members who claimed some journalistic work (*Pravda*, September 19, 1922).

²⁸ Peter Kenéz, "Lenin and Freedom of the Press," in *Bolshevik Culture: Experiment and Order in the Russian Revolution*, Abbott Gleason, Peter Kenéz, and Richard Stites, eds. (Bloomington, Ind., 1985), 131–50; Peter Kenéz, *The Birth of the Propaganda State: Soviet Methods of Mass Mobilization, 1917–1929* (Cambridge, 1985), 224–39; Benn, *Persuasion and Soviet Politics*, 56–65. On voices in newspapers, see Michael Schudson, *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers* (New York, 1978); and *Reading the News: A Pantheon Guide to Popular Culture*, Robert Karl Manoff and Michael Schudson, eds. (New York, 1986); on extrinsic mass belief systems, see Shawn W. Rosenberg, *Reason, Ideology, and Politics* (Princeton, N.J., 1988); and Ronald Inglehart, *Culture Shift in Advanced Industrial Society* (Princeton, 1990); on Soviet readers' willingness to disregard the press, see Vladimir Shlapentokh, "Two Levels of Opinion: The Soviet Case," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 49 (Winter 1985): 443–59.

²⁹ This discussion clarifies my earlier argument in Jeffrey Brooks, "Public and Private Values in the Soviet Press, 1921–28," *Slavic Review*, 48 (Spring 1989): 16–35.

My study of these discourses is largely based on three national newspapers published in Moscow: *Pravda*, the party paper that N. I. Bukharin edited until 1929; *Krest'ianskaia gazeta* (The Peasant Newspaper), the cheapest and most widely disseminated periodical of the 1920s; and *Trud* (Labor), the official trade union publication.³⁰ In the mid-1920s, their circulations ranged from nearly a million for the Peasant Newspaper and half a million for *Pravda* to roughly 150,000 for *Trud*.³¹ *Pravda* remained a difficult and serious newspaper, attractive to local and national elites in the 1920s; *Trud* held special interest for union and industrial bureaucracies; and the Peasant Newspaper represented the lowest level of printed information in the countryside.³² It was the smallest of the three papers and the most easily focused on a single issue, such as a foreign enemy. Yet these differences were less important than the general role of the central newspapers, particularly *Pravda*, in the public representation of the new socioeconomic and political order. The Bolsheviks constructed a comprehensive and overbearing discourse of public authority in the central press to serve various ends, and one of the byproducts was the promotion of fear and hatred of foreigners. Such views had a constituency in Russia, but probably a small one if the weakness of prerevolutionary parties of the far Right is any indication.

The creation of a xenophobic perspective on the world was slow and uneven. Stalin and his supporters monopolized the press gradually in the 1920s, but these central newspapers retained a focus on the West, as one would expect from Soviet diplomacy. Neither Lenin's zeal for Asia nor older visions of Slavic or Orthodox unity were in evidence. Articles on foreign affairs occupy roughly 10 percent of all space in sample issues of the three newspapers. England, Germany, France, and the United States account for over half the space given to foreign affairs in *Pravda* and the Peasant Newspaper, and over 60 percent in *Trud*, where concern for trade unions swelled coverage. East Central Europe fills 10 percent of foreign reporting, and the Baltic and Scandinavian states less than 5. Most of the residue concerns issues linked to the West. Other nations are ignored, and only chaotic China figures regularly, with 7 percent of the space in the party and peasant papers but only 3 percent in *Trud*.

The notion of the newspaper as a menu of issues accords with the concept of agenda setting, which holds that the press often tells people what to think about but not necessarily what to think. In other words, people take cues from the media as they fit information into culturally shaped patterns of thinking.³³ Cognitive

³⁰ The essay is based on a full reading of these and other newspapers, but a random sample was used to inform the inquiry and to answer questions that could be quantified. References to percentages of space allotted to specific topics refer to this sample of nine issues per year, taken for each newspaper from January 1, 1921 to July 1, 1928, and designed to permit no more than a month between sample issues. The sample included 2,653 articles: 1,656 in *Pravda*, 699 in *Trud*, and 298 in *Krest'ianskaia gazeta*. *Trud* was unavailable to me for 1924–1925.

³¹ I. V. Kuznetsov and E. M. Fingerit, *Gazetnyi mir sovetskogo soiuza, 1917–1970 gg.* (Moscow, 1972), 21, 25, 110.

³² The Bolsheviks never succeeded in creating a substitute for the popular chapbooks (*lubochnaia literatura*) read by prerevolutionary peasants. I discuss this in Jeffrey Brooks, "Literacy and the Print Media in Russia," *Communication*, 11 (1988): 47–61; and "The Breakdown in the Production and Distribution of Printed Material, 1917–27," in *Bolshevik Culture*, Gleason, et al., eds., 151–74.

³³ See Shearon A. Lowery and Melvin L. De Fleur, *Milestones in Mass Communication Research*, 2d edn. (New York, 1988), 327–52, for agenda setting; Doris A. Graber, *Processing the News: How People*

psychologists and media analysts have explored the mental strategies used by authors and readers to process large quantities of information. Some analysts apply the term schema to the hierarchically organized cognitive structures that people use to absorb information.³⁴ Readers use schemata to accept new information and integrate it with what they know. They seek new schemata when old ones fail to match information they cannot ignore. Newspaper writers use schemata to construct their stories, and these constructions may be identified by testing individual articles for applicability and consistency.³⁵ This approach has much in common with the idea of "media packages" or "media frames," that is, combinations of metaphors, examples, slogans, rationales, and visual materials that help both journalists and readers make sense of diverse but related information.³⁶ The meaning promoted by the newspaper staff was particularly important in the Soviet case, since the language of the press was a language of authority.

SOVIET EDITORS AND JOURNALISTS packaged information about the world and interpretive cues to readers in terms of four schemata during the years 1921–1928. Though not always explicit, they were signaled by captions and introductory sentences.³⁷ The schemata encompass four stories about the world that were told and retold throughout the 1920s and beyond: the growth of peaceful relations with other countries, prospects for world revolution, the bad life under capitalism, and foreign dangers. The first pair sustained a sense of belonging to the industrial world, the second pair a desire to withdraw from it. Each schema accounts for roughly one-quarter of the cumulative space allotted to foreign affairs in the three newspapers during the 1920s.

Although Soviet readers may have ignored editors' cues, the organizing power of the four schemata is apparent. Reports on foreign contacts fit positive views of previous ties, belief in a friendly or at least accommodating world, and, by analogy, hope for peaceful development and the sense that Soviet Russia had a

Tame the Information Tide, 2d edn. (New York, 1988), discusses schemata, 131–33, 184–266. For the cognitive importance of such categories, see George Lakoff, *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal about the Mind* (Chicago, 1987); Eva Feder Kittay, *Metaphor: Its Cognitive Force and Linguistic Structure* (Oxford, 1987); and *Beyond Metaphor: The Theory of Tropes in Anthropology*, James W. Fernandez, ed. (Stanford, Calif., 1991).

³⁴ Graber, *Processing the News*, 28, 119–78.

³⁵ For an example of such testing, see Richard K. Herrmann, *Perceptions and Behavior in Soviet Foreign Policy* (Pittsburgh, 1985), 22–49; Stephen G. Walker, "Role Theory and the Origins of Foreign Policy," in *New Directions in the Study of Foreign Policy*, Charles F. Hermann, et al., eds. (Boston, 1987), 269–84.

³⁶ The phrase "media frames" is Todd Gitlin's in *The Whole World Is Watching: Mass Media in the Making and Unmaking of the New Left* (Berkeley, Calif., 1980), 7; the idea of packages is developed by William A. Gamson and Andre Modigliani, "Media Discourse and Public Opinion on Nuclear Power: A Constructionist Approach," *American Journal of Sociology*, 95 (July 1989): 1–37; and Gamson and Kathryn E. Lasch, "The Political Culture of Social Welfare Policy," in *Evaluating the Welfare State: Social and Political Perspectives*, Shimon E. Spiro and Ephraim Yuchtman-Yaar, eds. (New York, 1983), 397–415.

³⁷ I identified the four schemata gradually in the process of coding the articles for the treatment of various issues, including general situations, Soviet and foreign aims, Soviet and foreign roles, models of the world, and the degree of violence and danger described.

place in an international community. Such stories accorded with Soviet efforts to establish diplomatic ties and trade. Accounts of world revolution nurtured respect and compassion for foreign workers and also sustained faith in Marxism. Stories about the bad life under capitalism buttressed Marxist thinking as well but in addition sustained notions of the nastiness of foreign places and peoples, of Soviet superiority, and, somewhat contradictorily, Russian nationalism. Information on a threatening world fed hostility toward foreigners and outsiders, a yearning for national unity, fear, and anger at domestic opponents. Since the central press downplayed nationality issues in the 1920s, the link between xenophobia and national identity within the empire remained ambiguous.

"Peaceful relations" is the most tenuous of the schemata and the most interesting. It was characterized by the absence of military metaphors and Marxist terminology. Soviet diplomats worked for normal relations, and the press carried stories of trade, diplomatic recognition, foreign visits, Soviet travel abroad, and foreign science, technology, and culture. Positive reports account for 18 percent of the cumulative space given to foreign affairs in *Pravda*, 13 percent in *Trud*, and 23 percent in *Krest'ianskaia gazeta*, the last partly due to the promotion of foreign agricultural practices. This schema also includes neutral stories—reports of events abroad, briefs from foreign newspapers, and other bland commentaries that bring the total to a quarter of the cumulative space on foreign affairs in each newspaper.

This cosmopolitan orientation was expressed most strongly in the informational section of the newspapers, which contained anonymous local articles and reports of the wire services. Such articles were less than half as likely, in terms of space, to be written by leading Bolsheviks, editors, or journalists with bylines in *Pravda* and *Trud*. Even though the leaders promoted a wide-ranging suspicion of the capitalist world, their attitudes did not always permeate the rest of the newspapers. Peaceful relations with Western countries was a common theme throughout much of the decade but declined somewhat during the war scares of 1923 and 1927. Trade and recognition occasioned a trickle of anonymous comments, and occasionally leading Bolsheviks and regular journalists were enthusiastic. Karl Radek hailed "business-like" (*po-kupecheski*) trade discussions with the West and gloried in Soviet negotiations with the great powers.³⁸

Unsigned reports on peaceful relations were more common. A wire service story from 1922, "On the International Position of Soviet Russia," contains brief quotes from the foreign press, including one that reads, "Rumors originating in Germany about unofficial discussions between the French and Russians today were the subject of increased commentary in London newspapers."³⁹ A report in the same year captioned "The Most Expensive Plate in the World" was about Swedish famine relief for Soviet Russia; the plate, with a portrait of Lenin, was raffled off at a philanthropic dinner.⁴⁰ This ironic, satisfying fable explained the country's new place among nations. More expansive was an anonymous journalist's observation in 1928 that the British Labor Party's return to power could "save

³⁸ *Pravda*, June 17, 1922.

³⁹ *Pravda*, March 21, 1922.

⁴⁰ *Trud*, August 10, 1922.

the whole world from the disasters that presently threaten it.”⁴¹ Did the “whole world” include the Soviet Union? Apparently so.

Foreign trade was the fulcrum of Soviet-Western relations, and, although the leaders, particularly Stalin, found it a worrisome compromise with deadly enemies, anonymous journalists lauded the agreements. A brief article in *Pravda* of 1921 captioned “The Opinion of the Italian Press” reads in part, “From Rome comes the information that the whole Italian press recommends the renewal of trade relations with Russia as soon as possible.”⁴² A note in *Trud* in the same year on “Goods from Abroad” announces simply, “In Rostov, the representatives of foreign firms have arrived with goods for exchange with Soviet Russia.”⁴³ Such reports were featured throughout the 1920s.

More revealing was the citation of foreign opinions. Reports of praise for the country or its leaders brought foreign views of Soviet life into public discourse. Although cited opinions were invariably favorable, such articles depended on a syllogism that can be stated as either “we merit respect; foreigners respect us; therefore foreigners are correct”; or “foreigners respect us; foreigners are correct; therefore we merit respect.” It was a syllogism that was very much in the Russian tradition. This feeling of inferiority and cultural affinity, which extends back a century or more in Russian cultural life, grew out of engagement with the West, not rejection of it. It is a response that would seem to differentiate the Russian Revolution from the Chinese and the Iranian.

Foreign opinion is cited in 6 percent of the articles about foreign affairs in *Pravda*, 8 percent in *Trud*, and 13 percent in *Krest'ianskaia gazeta*, in which reporters also extolled foreign workers for their support of the Soviet Union.⁴⁴ Typical is a wire service report on the Soviet foreign minister's popularity in Germany during the Genoa Conference (1922), when the two countries signed a treaty: “At the Berlin movie house ‘Scala,’ which holds 3,000 people, the audience gives the People's Commissar an ovation every time he appears on the screen.”⁴⁵ “The English workers support the USSR,” reads a comment on an English visit by Mikhail Tomskii, the Soviet trade union leader.⁴⁶ A tiny unsigned report in the Peasant Newspaper, “Foreign Newspapers about A. I. Rykov,” which appeared in 1924, soon after the death of Lenin, reads simply: “All newspapers write that Comrade Rykov will continue the work of Comrade Lenin. There will not be any changes here. Swedish newspapers call Comrade Rykov an intelligent and careful man. German newspapers call Comrade Rykov an honest and disinterested person.”⁴⁷

This praise of Rykov, an advocate of socialism in one country, illustrates how even those with contrary views used the authority of foreigners to bolster their

⁴¹ *Krest'ianskaia gazeta*, January 17, 1928.

⁴² *Pravda*, January 11, 1921.

⁴³ *Trud*, May 6, 1921.

⁴⁴ The references in *Pravda* were 0.5 percent to foreign communists, 2.2 percent to foreign workers, and 3.6 percent to foreigners more generally; in *Trud*, 6.6 percent to foreign workers, 0.6 percent to foreign communists, and 1.9 percent to others; and in *Krest'ianskaia gazeta*, 11.1 percent to workers and 2.0 to others.

⁴⁵ *Pravda*, May 17, 1922; *Trud*, May 17, 1922.

⁴⁶ *Krest'ianskaia gazeta*, September 21, 1924.

⁴⁷ *Krest'ianskaia gazeta*, February 18, 1924.

legitimacy. To this purpose, a journalist in the Peasant Newspaper in 1926 quoted the Czech leader Eduard Benes' remark that the Soviet Union was "the most honest merchant in Europe."⁴⁸ The analogue to legitimation by foreigners was comparison with them, and such comparisons were not always to the Soviet advantage. Lev Sosnovskii asked in *Pravda* upon returning from the Genoa Conference with foreign guests why the Soviet border was "marked by some kind of horrible hen house, with a torn reddish boot on the roof, and, inside the hen house a Red Army man?"⁴⁹ Even the train in which the Soviet delegation traveled seemed humiliatingly poor. "We build electric stations, trolley lines. Is it really true that the RSFSR cannot repair five railroad cars? To whom are we demonstrating such helplessness?"⁵⁰ The urge to measure and compare spawned a sense of rivalry based on foreign standards. The author of a report titled "The USSR at the International Exhibition in Paris" avowed, "The 'barbarous' Russian people have . . . matched the pace of European civilization and culture, and, perhaps, even outstripped them . . . by means of local literacy cottages and schools."⁵¹

Portrayals of foreign visitors and Soviets abroad were also revealing. These comprise 2 percent of the space in *Pravda* and *Trud* and a larger percentage of the articles. Such articles were uncommon in the Peasant Newspaper. The visitors were varied. *Pravda* welcomed young Italian Comintern delegates to the proletarian "Mecca" in 1921 with an editorial captioned "Holy Land" and described how "they threw themselves down to kiss the land of the Russian Revolution."⁵² Most examples were more mundane. "You have not only enemies but friends," announced leaders of a Swedish and Norwegian peasant delegation arriving in Moscow to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution.⁵³ Important on such occasions were the comments of prominent and friendly foreign cultural figures, such as Henri Barbusse and Romain Rolland, but even the presence of notable foreigners was cited, as was that of the American historian Frank Golder at the 1927 celebration.⁵⁴

Journalists also praised foreign achievements, particularly in science and technology, but such reports comprised only 1 percent of the articles and 2 percent of the total space in the three papers. One author in 1928 urged specialists returning from abroad to popularize foreign achievements in lectures and journals.⁵⁵ "Whoever thinks," wrote another author in a column in *Pravda* in 1927 titled "The American Automobile or the Russian Cart?" "that Americans first provided themselves with excellent roads and then began to build a million automobiles is deeply mistaken."⁵⁶ Peasants with automobiles, he suggested, would "spend money and labor to improve roads." Other reports were less spectacular. A "Reference Section" in *Trud* in 1928 listed American sports

⁴⁸ *Krest'ianskaia gazeta*, March 2, 1926.

⁴⁹ *Pravda*, September 7, 1922.

⁵⁰ *Pravda*, September 7, 1922.

⁵¹ *Krest'ianskaia gazeta*, June 23, 1925.

⁵² *Pravda*, June 25, 1921.

⁵³ *Pravda*, October 27, 1927.

⁵⁴ *Pravda*, October 27, 1927.

⁵⁵ *Pravda*, May 5, 1928.

⁵⁶ *Pravda*, July 22, 1927.

magazines in English and Russian.⁵⁷ A note on a new style of ping-pong in the same year was titled "Amerikanka" (An American Woman).⁵⁸ Though banal, the article was cosmopolitan. It revealed an underlying curiosity and sympathy for foreign ways and people.

The second schema, the idea of world revolution, served as an alternative and partly positive way of making sense of information about the world. The authors of articles about oppressed classes and peoples or foreign communist movements praised revolutionaries and other peoples, just as they militantly denounced capitalism. This specially crafted cosmopolitanism was also a kind of Westernism, except in colonial situations, since readers were encouraged to see some foreigners as people like themselves.

The three papers allotted roughly one-quarter of their foreign space to such articles from 1921 through 1928, although attention to foreign unions slightly expanded *Trud's* coverage. A hopeful tone and faith in struggle distinguished these stories from descriptions of the bad life under capitalism. So did the absence of the implicit unfavorable comparison with the Soviet Union that distinguished articles of the other type. The authors fostered respect for foreigners and their causes. Among these articles were speeches by Soviet leaders and foreign communists, proceedings of the Comintern, wire service reports on revolutionary strife, and informational articles about foreign labor movements. The subject was nearly driven from the press, however, by bouts of flag-waving during the war scares in 1923 and 1927 and then gradually by the rising tide of xenophobia in all aspects of public life at the end of the decade.

The leaders themselves sometimes conferred prestige on foreigners when they discussed revolution abroad. "In which country would proletarian revolution be most advantageous from the communists' standpoint?" asked Trotsky in 1922.⁵⁹ The answer was the United States. Even when Bolsheviks chided foreign revolutionaries about their failures, the effect was often a quarrel among equals. Grigorii Zinoviev invented a dialogue with German workers in 1922, arguing, "You say that you do not want civil war, that you do not consider yourselves communists; very well, we will wait and see what happens in a year or two."⁶⁰

Reporters for the wire service described foreign supporters of the Soviet Union and Soviet support for foreigners. "The French Communist Party Is on the Side of Bolshevism," reads one headline.⁶¹ "On the Path toward the Creation of a Communist Press in England" is another.⁶² This was an imagined world in which Soviet citizens belonged to a revolutionary family. "Massive Dismissal of Revolutionary Workers in the Ruhr," reads the headline over a wire service report in 1928; "Brotherly Aid from the Workers of the USSR" is the subtitle.⁶³ The authors of such articles created the image of Soviet people joining hands with

⁵⁷ *Trud*, January 17, 1928.

⁵⁸ *Trud*, March 27, 1928.

⁵⁹ *Pravda*, October 22, 1922.

⁶⁰ *Pravda*, March 30, 1922.

⁶¹ *Pravda*, April 8, 1924.

⁶² *Pravda*, May 4, 1924.

⁶³ *Pravda*, December 6, 1928.

others. "There is civil war in China," wrote a journalist in the Peasant Newspaper in 1924, "the workers of the whole world follow it with sympathy."⁶⁴

Counter to the almost reflexive cosmopolitanism of the first two schemata was an unevenly fashioned xenophobia and anti-Westernism, packaged in terms of the bad life under capitalism and a dangerous world of resolute enemies. When they wrote of such subjects, the Bolsheviks drew on old images of nasty Germans, dangerous Asians, and bitter religious opponents.⁶⁵ They denounced life abroad in its entirety as a capitalist nightmare in reports that ranged from "Serfdom in France" and condemnations of Western socialists to short pieces on storms, heat waves, floods, and other unpleasantness across the border.⁶⁶ Such articles occupied one-fifth to one-quarter of the space given to foreign affairs in the three papers.

Reports on the grim life abroad often doubled as praise for Soviet life. The author of "Among Us and Among Them," a column in 1925 about villages on the Soviet-Polish border, described Polish peasants watched by menacing gendarmes straining to hear discussions and speeches among Soviet peasants across the border.⁶⁷ "This Is Not England" read the caption of an unsigned article about an English captain who attempted to imprison a Chinese dock worker for stealing a pack of cigarettes in Vladivostok but was thwarted by Soviet authorities.⁶⁸

This sense of superiority was punctured by fearful images in the final schema. Articles about hostile acts and descriptions of aggressive international behavior occupy one-fifth the space given to foreign affairs in *Pravda* and *Trud*, and 36 percent in the *Krest'ianskaia gazeta*, which gave much attention to the war scares of 1923 and 1927. Yet fascism, the most dangerous development for the Soviets, received short shrift after an initial burst of interest. Although the word fascism appeared in articles that made up 6 to 7 percent of foreign reporting in the newspapers, articles primarily about fascism occupied less than a third of that. The Bolsheviks saw its menace at the outset, and in 1922 fascism was mentioned in articles occupying 14 percent of the space of *Pravda*'s foreign reports. Trotsky, Zinoviev, Radek, and others wrote prophetically of the new threat at this time, but the issue slipped from view during the struggle over Lenin's succession.⁶⁹ The foreign threat for most of the 1920s was usually an invasion or "New Blockade" from "the West," which meant England, France, and Poland.⁷⁰

Descriptions of repression abroad also reminded readers of the nastiness of life under capitalism across the border. "Events in Poland: Glory to the Hero and Death to Provocateurs" was the name of an article in 1925 about a condemned Polish revolutionary who died crying "Down with the Bourgeoisie; Long Live the Social Revolution."⁷¹ "The Viennese Workers Bury Their Heroes" carried a

⁶⁴ *Krest'ianskaia gazeta*, September 21, 1924.

⁶⁵ Brooks, *When Russia Learned to Read*, 235–37.

⁶⁶ *Pravda*, April 8, 1926.

⁶⁷ *Pravda*, June 16, 1925.

⁶⁸ *Krest'ianskaia gazeta*, June 23, 1925.

⁶⁹ The Soviet Union had good relations with Italy during most of the 1920s to the chagrin of Italian Communists, as Larry Ceplair points out in *Under the Shadow of War: Fascism, Anti-Fascism, and Marxists, 1918–1939* (New York, 1987), 106–09.

⁷⁰ *Trud*, May 17, 1922.

⁷¹ *Krest'ianskaia gazeta*, August 11, 1925.

similar message.⁷² So did signed columns that concluded, as did one for International Women's Day in 1926, "Wherever the bourgeoisie rules, the moans of tortured people are heard and in answer to them the sobs and complaints of defenseless children and the aged."⁷³ Repression was real, particularly in Eastern Europe, but repeated representations of class enemies who gave no quarter tended to create a one-dimensional picture of the world abroad. Commentaries such as these also served to legitimize the pitiless treatment of enemies at home.

Journalists who persistently wrote about only those foreigners who were shown to be dangerous and predatory opened a path to nativism and persecution. One columnist mocked the Italian founder of an Odessa noodle factory during 1923 in "Without Italians."⁷⁴ "Russian gold flowed into Italy," he wrote, until 1917, when the Italian fled to "his native Palestine."⁷⁵ Isolationism took a xenophobic twist in occasional articles about "ideological" (*ideinyi*) spies at home. "He did not sell important secret information abroad for English pounds and Finnish marks, for silk stockings and Parisian perfumes," wrote a columnist in late 1927, "but for ideological inducements, out of a conscious wish to harm Soviet power."⁷⁶ This reasoning foreshadowed the paranoia that swept the country in 1928 during the trial of engineers and technicians in the Donbass.

THE XENOPHOBES NEEDED SOMETHING MORE than sporadic references to the evils of life abroad and the hostile intentions of foreigners in order to suppress sensibilities embedded in the very language of public discourse, even Bolshevik discourse. To challenge the cosmopolitan orientation of Russian society, the isolationists needed a real enemy.⁷⁷ The British filled this role on two occasions, and two groups of Soviet leaders seized the opportunity for different reasons in the war scares of 1923 and 1927. Both situations were occasions for leaders to assert their legitimacy and appear before the public as defenders of Soviet independence. Yet, in 1923, anti-foreign rhetoric seems largely an ephemeral expedient, whereas in 1927 the promotion of fear of foreigners was an official policy used to crush domestic opposition.

The stated issues in 1923 were Anglo-Soviet rivalry in India and the Near East, British claims to nationalized properties, and Soviet religious persecution, but the real problem was a successor for the ailing Lenin. A British ultimatum on May 8 charging Soviet mistreatment of British citizens and meddling in India and the Near East was printed in *Pravda* on May 11. The Soviet ambassador was assassinated in Lausanne on the same day. *Pravda's* lengthy headline on the following day concluded with the exhortation: "Workers, Peasants, Red Army

⁷² *Pravda*, July 22, 1927.

⁷³ *Krest'ianskaia gazeta*, March 2, 1926.

⁷⁴ *Trud*, September 14, 1923.

⁷⁵ "Palestine" is used here merely to refer to a native place and has nothing to do with the actual Palestine. The same usage is found in the late nineteenth-century popular serial novel, *Razboinik Churkin*.

⁷⁶ *Pravda*, September 9, 1927.

⁷⁷ David J. Finlay, Ole R. Holsti, and Richard R. Fagen, *Enemies in Politics* (Chicago, 1967), 1–24, conceptualize the problem for American foreign policy in the 1950s.

men! All honest citizens of the USSR who do not want our country to be under the yoke of foreign capital, raise your voice against the perfidious villains!"⁷⁸

The editors accused Britain of taking advantage of Lenin's illness to make Russia "a dominion of His Highness the King of Great Britain, the closest relative of Nikolai Romanov." The next day, a cartoonist portrayed the British foreign minister, Lord Curzon, together with Mussolini and Raymond Poincaré, as a three-headed monster; a giant worker labeled "We" punched the head labeled Curzon. Trotsky, Bukharin, and G. V. Chicherin, but not Stalin, were pictured as Russia's defenders in *Pravda* and other papers along with quotes from their speeches: "The Soviet republics will not submit to humiliation" (Chicherin); "England will never convert us into an occupied zone" (Bukharin); and "The word command does not reach Moscow" (Trotsky).⁷⁹

The retort reverberated throughout the central press. "An international gang of incendiaries named 'the Entente' is uneasy while the worker and peasant republic lives, develops, and gains strength," wrote the editors of *Rabochaia Moskva* (Working Moscow).⁸⁰ The "gang" wanted Russia's resources, "and they will not stop at any crime in the name of robbery and conquest." A "worker" wrote in *Bednota* (The Rural Poor), "Comrade Chicherin, don't be afraid of threats," and a "peasant" warned, "Our hand is used to plowing and wants to plow, but it knows how to hold a gun."⁸¹ Opinions were personalized in a press campaign for the air force and "Air Fleet Week." Trotsky had promoted air power months earlier, and now readers were urged to give money to the fleet. Lists of contributors were titled "The Answer to Capitalists' Threats."⁸²

The war scare of 1927 had a different function. Stalin and his allies used the occasion to tar the opposition and direct the public's attention away from economic policy and Stalin's own failures in China. Although much remains unclear about how the leaders managed the press,⁸³ the panic was aimed at the least knowledgeable readers. *Krest'ianskaia gazeta*, the mass circulation peasant paper, warned of imminent invasion and showed terrifying pictures of peasants in gas masks, while *Bednota*, a publication largely for rural party members and administration, assured its audience that no attack was imminent.⁸⁴ *Pravda* and *Trud* were also less inflammatory than the Peasant Newspaper. The crisis began when the British police searched the Soviet trading company Arcos on May 12, and Britain broke diplomatic relations two weeks later. The assassination of the Soviet ambassador to Poland followed on June 7, and the Soviets executed twenty conservatives in response. As in 1923, front pages were crowded with headlines and cartoons but this time without a quick retort from leaders. Stalin was silent for nearly two months, as rhetoric sharpened and military metaphors such as "united front" and "doing one's duty" proliferated.⁸⁵ "The dark forces of world

⁷⁸ *Pravda*, May 12, 1923.

⁷⁹ *Rabochaia Moskva*, May 15, 1923.

⁸⁰ *Rabochaia Moskva*, May 12, 1923.

⁸¹ *Bednota*, May 12, 1923.

⁸² *Pravda*, July 5, 1923.

⁸³ Alfred G. Meyer, "The War Scare of 1927," *Soviet Union*, 5, pt. 1 (1978): 1-25; Stalin, *Sochineniia*, 10: 41-59.

⁸⁴ *Bednota*, August 13, 1927.

⁸⁵ *Pravda*, May 27, 1927, May 28, 1927.

reaction threaten an attack against the USSR," *Pravda's* editors cautioned.⁸⁶ Klimentii Voroshilov, the army chief, warned provincial garrisons of "an armed attack at any moment."⁸⁷ But there is little evidence that an attack was really feared.⁸⁸

The target soon shifted to internal enemies with warnings of sabotage and plots to murder Bukharin, Rykov, and Stalin.⁸⁹ N. Pogodin, a columnist and playwright of the Stalin era, wondered pointedly, "Is this the terror of which the White Guard newspapers now speak so often?"⁹⁰ "A Fury of Espionage" was the caption of *Pravda's* leader the next day.⁹¹ "Two Words," Pogodin quipped in his column, "We are ready" (*My gotovy*). Bukharin charged the opposition with ignoring foreign danger, at which point a rain of abuse fell upon them.⁹² The campaign against the opposition turned even nastier with the proclamation of Defense Week on July 10. Newspapers issued reports of military preparedness, and trials of spies and traitors followed.

Stalin drew all the threads together at the end of July in his "Comments on Contemporary Themes," which covered the danger of war, China, and the opposition's treason.⁹³ At a time when "terrorists and arsonists have attacked our factories and plants," he warned, the opposition plans "desertion." The speech appeared with his picture on the front page of *Krest'ianskaia gazeta*. Denunciations of the opposition and lists of defectors followed, with confessions of guilt and professions of loyalty.⁹⁴ As in the first crisis, the editors simulated public opinion by soliciting public contributions to the military and letters from workers expressing the approved sentiments. A selection of the letters was then published. "We Are Always Ready to Defend the Factory," read one from Odessa.⁹⁵ "The workers have energetically taken up military studies in order to be ready to meet their class enemy with a gun in hand," read another.⁹⁶

One casualty in the press coverage of the war scares was the idea of world revolution. In the Peasant Newspaper, the average space given to this schema dropped by half in 1923 and 1927 and by two-thirds in 1928 to a mere 7.5 percent of all space given to foreign affairs in that year. The scares had a lesser but still important impact in *Pravda* and *Trud*. Between 1926 and 1927, coverage of world revolution dropped in the union paper from 44 percent of all space given to foreign affairs to 27 percent and in *Pravda* from 36 to 22 percent. Amid fears of war, foreigners' struggles lost some of their import and so did world revolution.

The militant anti-Western rhetoric of 1923 proved transitory, but the military metaphors of 1927 reappeared in the first Five-Year Plan and collectivization.⁹⁷

⁸⁶ *Pravda*, May 28, 1927.

⁸⁷ *Pravda*, June 2, 1927.

⁸⁸ Meyer, "War Scare of 1927," 1–25; Stalin, *Sochineniia*, 10: 41–59.

⁸⁹ *Pravda*, June 9, 1927.

⁹⁰ *Pravda*, June 9, 1927.

⁹¹ *Pravda*, June 10, 1927.

⁹² *Pravda*, June 18, 1927.

⁹³ *Pravda*, July 28, 1927.

⁹⁴ *Pravda*, September 27, 1927.

⁹⁵ *Trud*, July 28, 1927.

⁹⁶ *Trud*, July 28, 1927.

⁹⁷ Lynne Viola, *The Best Sons of the Fatherland: Workers in the Vanguard of Soviet Collectivization* (New York, 1987), 25, 37, 60.

The effect of the war scares in consolidating a language of isolationism is not surprising. War and the threat of war have a way of simplifying public discourse. Fear of ostracism in the face of emotional issues such as patriotism or the family can be a powerful factor in shifts of opinion in democratic societies, in which a vocal minority may intimidate a passive majority.⁹⁸ How much easier and more decisive such intimidation must have been in the Soviet Union when Stalin and his followers gained control over the party and the governmental bureaucracies.

THE XENOPHOBES WON THE ARGUMENT. So what difference does it make if the discourse of the 1920s was ambiguous? The answer is a great difference. The newspapers contained cosmopolitanism and its alternative in almost equal measure. Yet the nature of the press in a command economy seems to preclude the identification of publics and public opinion. The evidence of the three spheres in the newspapers suggests, however, that fear and hatred of foreigners came primarily from above in the heavily cued explanatory articles, and it dominated coverage of the world only during the war scares, particularly in 1927. The appearance of military metaphors later employed in the first Five-Year Plan and collectivization is revealing in this respect as an elite response to political challenges, not a popular reaction to economic and social ones. Alternatively, embedded in the very language of the anonymous informational reports and briefs on daily events is an almost subliminal and reflexive affinity for other peoples and nations, especially those of Western Europe and America.

Bolshevik leaders engaged in public myth-making when they spread fear and hatred of foreigners to promote national unity and disarm domestic opponents. The Stalinist version of this ploy, in which implacable foreign adversaries besieged heroic builders of Soviet communism, represents an extension, albeit a crude one, of Marxism and Leninism. Although it was a self-serving political fantasy for the Stalinist leadership in the late 1920s, policy decisions in the 1930s were taken as if the Soviet Union did indeed face a sea of interchangeable foes. Were the Bolsheviks dupes of their own myths? If so, they paid heavily for a public culture of lying, but they were hardly the first to do so.⁹⁹ The encirclement of the Soviet Union was, in retrospect, perhaps no more real than that of Imperial Germany on the eve of World War I.¹⁰⁰

The question of the impact of press-inspired xenophobia is also complex. Western media specialists describe characteristic audience responses that are suggestive for interpreting Soviet experience. These include the greater influence on more educated readers of articles that present two sides of an argument, the importance of credible sources, a widespread tendency to read selectively, and the role of family members and opinion leaders within peer groups in relaying and

⁹⁸ Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann, *The Spiral of Silence: Public Opinion, Our Social Skin* (Chicago, 1984), 78.

⁹⁹ See Jack Snyder, *Myths of Empire: Domestic Politics and International Ambition* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1991), 41, 49, 54, 234; Paul 't Hart, "Irving L. Janis' Victims of Groupthink," *Political Psychology*, 12 (1991): 247-78; Stephen William Van Evera, "Causes of War" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1984).

¹⁰⁰ Stephen Van Evera, "Why Cooperation Failed in 1914," *World Politics*, 38 (October 1985): 110.

validating information.¹⁰¹ It is likely that Soviet readers also picked out the stories of interest to them and that less energetic readers turned to people within their own immediate circle rather than to party members for interpretations and confirmation. Such practices could bolster resistance to official schemata, although they would not counteract the alienating quality of the press itself.

The notion of the press as a "magic bullet" that hits a target audience with a particular message has long been abandoned. Readers can find various, though not unlimited, meanings in texts and play havoc with authoritative presentations of events in the news.¹⁰² The editors of Soviet newspapers occasionally showed their awareness of this response, as in their presentation of the United States.¹⁰³ America flourished in the popular imagination of prerevolutionary Russians, and interest persisted in the 1920s, even though diplomatic recognition by the United States came only in 1933, long after that by other states.¹⁰⁴ The Bolsheviks idealized America as a trading partner and leader in technology and science, a role Germany filled before the revolution. Reveries about benefits from American recognition sounded throughout the 1920s.¹⁰⁵ Taylorism and Fordism sparked analogous fantasies, although they were considered a means to surpass America.¹⁰⁶ Such views probably helped undermine the effort to fit America into the schema of the bad life abroad. Editors and journalists addressed resistant readers with ironic or satiric captions, such as "In Rich America" and "In the Democratic Heaven."¹⁰⁷ They said in effect: we know what you think, and this will prove you wrong. In trying to do so, they reified the views they sought to dispel.

What does the holding power of cosmopolitan orientations in the media imply about policy options during the 1920s? By restricting economic ties and cultural relations, Stalin and his supporters removed themselves and their country from a sphere of widely shared values and judgments, as well as from international public life. They silenced open opposition, but the persistence of respect for foreigners and interest in foreign places during the 1920s suggests a popular resistance to the new direction of Soviet public life, even though this resistance

¹⁰¹ This research is summarized in Lowery and De Fleur, *Milestones*, 129–32, 144, 155–70.

¹⁰² See James Curran and Colin Sparks, "Press and Popular Culture," *Media, Culture, and Society*, 13 (1991): 215–37; see John Fiske, *Reading the Popular* (Boston, 1989), 148–97, on the difficulties of controlling the interpretation of news events in the Western media.

¹⁰³ I discuss this in Jeffrey Brooks, "The Press and Its Message: Images of America in the 1920s and 1930s," in *Russia in the Era of NEP: Explorations in Soviet Society and Culture*, Sheila Fitzpatrick, Alexander Rabinowitch, and Richard Stites, eds. (Bloomington, Ind., 1991), 231–52.

¹⁰⁴ Brooks, *When Russia Learned to Read*, 141–46, 207–09; and "Press and Its Message," 231–52; see articles by Hans Rogger, "Amerikanizm and the Economic Development of Russia," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 23 (July 1981): 382–420; "America in the Russian Mind—or Russian Discoveries of America," *Pacific Historical Review*, 47 (February 1978): 27–51; "America Enters the Twentieth Century: The View from Russia," in *Felder und Vorfelder russischer Geschichte: Studien zu Ehren von Peter Scheibert*, Inge Auerbach, et al., eds. (Freiburg, 1985), 387–88; "How the Soviets See Us," in *Shared Destiny: Fifty Years of Soviet-American Relations*, Mark Garrison and Abbott Gleason, eds. (Boston, 1985), 107–46.

¹⁰⁵ *Pravda*, June 18, 1922; *Krest'ianskaia gazeta*, April 9, 1926.

¹⁰⁶ Charles S. Maier, "Between Taylorism and Technocracy," *Journal of Contemporary History*, 5 (1970): 29; Kendall E. Bailes, "The American Connection: Ideology and the Transfer of American Technology to the Soviet Union, 1917–41," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 23 (July 1981): 421–48; Richard Stites, *Revolutionary Dreams: Utopian Vision and Experimental Life in the Russian Revolution* (Oxford, 1989).

¹⁰⁷ *Rabochaia Moskva*, August 16, 1922, August 25, 1922.

counted for little in the politics of the moment. By the end of the 1920s, Soviet public discourse had become increasingly anti-foreign, but a lasting and truly xenophobic national identity failed to take hold. Russian history reveals the counterpoint. The xenophobia of the Stalin era faded after 1953, first into ambivalence and then gradually into a widely felt desire to participate fully in world systems and interact with other peoples.

The question of xenophobia also bears on our understanding of the Bolshevik Revolution and of the historic balance of Russian cultural and political traditions. To accept xenophobia as a core value of the Russian people and to see Soviet withdrawal from the international community as its natural expression is to embrace the xenophobic schemata as the truest reading of Soviet experience and mistake public myth-making, however successful, for something more fundamental. The study of the cultural construction of Soviet relations with the West suggests another conclusion.

The new national public culture of late imperial Russia that depended on common literacy was cosmopolitan, and rightist notions of the Russian identity as well as anti-Semitism were marginalized within it, despite substantial subsidies from the autocracy. The continuing presence of positive images of foreigners in the Bolshevik press was an affirmation of their cultural value that was repeated in other media as well. Films about foreign visitors were common in the 1920s and 1930s, beginning with Lev Kuleshov's *Extraordinary Adventures of Mr. West in the Land of the Bolsheviks* (1924).¹⁰⁸ Soviet journalists who legitimated their leaders by reference to foreigners also acknowledged the power of the cosmopolitan sensibility embedded in their language and culture. This sensibility represented a cultural consensus nearly a century in the making that, until 1917, was based on an increasingly open exchange of opinion in a widening public sphere. It was popular in the sense that any national culture is popular, even though some are excluded from it. Although it remained remote to some peasants, those who became literate adopted it readily, as did the Bolshevik journalists, who used a cosmopolitan lexicon to situate themselves and their country in the world despite their other, contrary objectives.

The vision of inevitable and unending conflict with capitalist nations, what Alexander Erlich called "a sense of irreducible bipolarity in the world" characteristic not only of the Stalin era and the Stalinists but also to a large extent of Lenin, was never finalized in the public discourse of the 1920s.¹⁰⁹ The Soviet Union was bound to Western nations and a wider world by an immense fabric of perceptions, ideas, and images. To tear it up and weave another was beyond the Stalinists' power, and they never fully dispelled the cosmopolitanism they hated.

¹⁰⁸ Neya Zorkaia, *The Illustrated History of the Soviet Cinema* (New York, 1989), 50.

¹⁰⁹ Alexander Erlich, *The Soviet Industrialization Debate, 1924–1928* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960), 180.

From Romance to Rhetoric: The Alexandrian Library in Classical and Islamic Traditions

DIANA DELIA

FOR TWO MILLENNIA, THE WESTERN INTELLECTUAL TRADITION has mourned the demise of the great Alexandrian library, founded by Demetrios of Phaleron at the beginning of the third century B.C. In Athens, Demetrios had acquired a substantial scholarly reputation from his own copious publication and association with Aristotle and Theophrastos, Aristotle's successor as head of his philosophical school.¹ Having ruled Athens autocratically for a decade as regent of Cassander, Demetrios escaped from Attica in 307 B.C., when Piraeus was seized by Antigonid forces, and went into exile. Granted political sanctuary in Egypt by the first member of the new Ptolemaic dynasty, Ptolemy I (Soter), Demetrios settled down at Alexandria, a fledgling city founded only a short time earlier (in 331/330 B.C.) by Alexander the Great. Here, Demetrios advanced his scheme of transforming Alexandria into a replica of Athens, a plan that was fully endorsed by the king.² Since Demetrios was a prominent scholar in his own right, it is not surprising that he devoted his energies to building a research institute modeled after the Aristotelian Lyceum and likewise dedicated to the nine divine female patrons of

I wish to express my thanks to the American Research Center in Egypt for a 1983–1984 fellowship enabling me to study the topography of ancient Alexandria, to Texas A&M University and the Center for Hellenic Studies for a 1991–1992 faculty study leave and junior fellowship, respectively, to Phyllis Culham for reading and extensively commenting on an earlier version, and especially to Levon Avdoyan, Patricia A. Myers-Hayer, and George N. Atiyeh at the Library of Congress for their kind assistance in the course of my research there. Abbreviated versions of this article were delivered at the American Society of Papyrologists panel at the American Philological Association Meeting, San Francisco, December 29, 1990, and at Howard University on March 5, 1992. I am grateful for the comments and criticism generated by my colleagues on those occasions.

The abbreviations employed in the citations that follow are the standard ones used in *L'année philologique*.

¹ On Demetrios, see Diodorus Siculus 18.74.3, 20.27.1, 45.2–5; Diogenes Laertius 5.75–85; and Suidas and Hesychius: *Δημήτριος*. On Theophrastos' succession to the head of Aristotle's philosophical school in 323 B.C., see Diog. Laert. 5.36. Demetrios was both Theophrastos' pupil and his friend: Diog. Laert. 5.39 and 75.

² In Diana Delia, *Alexandrian Citizenship during the Roman Principate* (Atlanta, Ga., 1991), I have demonstrated the great extent to which Alexandrian citizenship and citizen institutions were modeled after those of Athens. See also Strabo 17.1.16; P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford, 1972), 1: 200–01; and Aristide Calderini, “*Ἀλεξανδρεῖ*,” *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell'Egitto greco-romano* (Cairo, 1935), 109–10, for the suburb of Eleusis. On the founding of the library by Ptolemy I, see *Aristeas to Philocrates; Letter of Aristeas*, Moses Hadas, ed. and trans. (New York, 1951); compare Justin, *Apol.* 1.31. Note, however, Euseb., *HE* 5.8.11–15, and Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 3.21.2 (Sagnard), who expressly note that Ptolemy II founded the library.

the arts known as the Muses.³ Accordingly, the entire temple complex was known as the *Mouseion* (in Latin, *Museum*).

Since the Alexandrian *Museum* complex has never been found, we must depend on the surviving ancient literary sources for what they reveal about its topographical location and plan. It appears to have been a substantial compound situated in the vast royal district of the city bordering the Eastern Harbor and extending as far south as the major longitudinal thoroughfare. In addition to the temple proper, which served as the nerve center, the *Museum* possessed an exedra, or hall furnished with recesses and seats accommodating both lecture and study, a colonnaded walk, and a communal residence replete with a dining hall.⁴ As was the custom, it was adorned with paintings and statues of eminent literati.⁵ Since Aristotle and his followers were accustomed to stroll as they discussed philosophy, thereby acquiring the nickname of Peripatetics, the extensive gardens and shaded walks for protection in inclement weather were desirable features. Within the temple complex, although not in the temple proper, a companion *bibliothēke*, or library, was constructed to house the manuscripts on which scholars of the *Museum* necessarily relied and on which they practiced the art of scholarly recension.⁶ Until late antiquity, the *Museum* and library flourished symbiotically, each supporting the other in the advancement of scholarship. The situation of the library within the *Museum* complex is vital for understanding the library's destiny when we come to consider the ancient testimony about its alleged destruction in

³ Clio (history), Urania (astronomy), Calliope (epic song), Euterpe (lyric song), Polyhymnia (sacred song), Erato (erotic song), Melpomene (tragedy), Thalia (comedy), and Terpsichore (dance).

⁴ Strabo 17.1.8. Unfortunately, the treatise of the Aristotelean scholar and contemporary of Strabo, Aristonikos of Alexandria, called "On the Alexandrian Museum," has not survived, although it is cited by Photius, *Bibl.* 104b 40. On Aristonikos, see also Pauly-Wissowa, *RE* II, cols. 964–66. On the plan of the *Museum*, see further Calderini, *Dizionario*, 1: 128–30; and Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1: 312–20. Lyceum members also observed a communal lifestyle, and manuscripts likewise appear to have been stored on the premises; Diog. Laert. 5.51–53.

⁵ For paintings in temples, see Pliny, *NH* 35.2.9–10. Synesios of Cyrene visited the *Museum* and observed the statues of philosophers therein; *Phalaks encomium* 6, Nicholas Terzaghi, ed., *Synesii Cyrenensis hymni et opuscula* (Rome, 1944), 2: 199. Ammianus (22.16.12) described the embellishment of the Serapeum with extensive columned halls, lifelike statues, and a number of other works of art. The Lyceum possessed a portrait of its founder, Aristotle, as well as a statue of his ancestor, Nikomachos; Diog. Laert. 5.51–52. Karl Dziatzko, "Die Bibliothekslage von Pergamon," *Sammlung bibliothekswissenschaftlicher Arbeiten*, 10 (1896): 45, believed that the holes in the upper walls of a chamber in the Athene Nikephoros temple complex at Pergamum supported ornamental friezes or reliefs and that remains of smaller statues discovered nearby likewise served as adornment. On the basis of such parallels, it is almost certain that the exedra containing portrait statues of poets and philosophers in the Memphite Serapeum was part of a temple-library complex there. Independently, from papyrological evidence, Dorothy J. Thompson also suggested that a library existed there; "Ptolemaios and the 'Light House': Greek Culture in the Memphite Serapeum," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*, n.s. 33 (1987): 105–21. For the statues in the exedra, see Jean-Philippe Lauer, "Les statues grecques du dromos du Sérapéum à Saqqarah découvertes par Mariette en 1851," *Bulletin de l'Institut Egyptien*, ser. 6, 34 (1951–52): 208–27; J. Ph. Lauer and Charles Picard, *Les statues ptolémaïques du Sarapieion de Memphis* (Paris, 1955); Ch. Picard, "L'importance des statues grecques du Sérapéum de Memphis," *Bulletin de l'Institut Egyptien*, ser. 6, 38 (1955): 5–13; compare Strabo 17.32.

⁶ Livy (in Seneca, *De tranquillitate animi* 9.5) refers to the great library as a "splendid monument" (*pulcherrimum monumentum*), employing these terms figuratively to signify an admirable achievement and glorious memorial to the collective conscience of the ancient world.

48/47 B.C. The continued existence of the *Museum* into the third century A.D. signifies the perpetuation of the library housed within and sustaining it.⁷

THE NOTION THAT A LIBRARY OUGHT TO COMPRISE A BUILDING in its own right is a modern assumption. Indeed, the placing of libraries inside temples was a venerable tradition in pharaonic Egypt. During the New Kingdom, the *pr-mdj3t* ("House of the Book") was a room set aside in a temple that served as a repository for religious literature. The most famous of these, its ceiling decorated with astronomical representations, was located behind the columned hall in the Theban Ramesseum and can still be viewed today.⁸ Cupboard niches cut into the walls and associated wall paintings attest to the existence of libraries in temples at Edfu and Philae, too.⁹ This practice continued into the Hellenistic and Roman periods, during which libraries were frequently incorporated into the building plans of temples throughout the Mediterranean. Indeed, the word *bibliothēke* refers to a collection of books, not necessarily to a library building.¹⁰

⁷ That the *Museum* continued in existence into the third century A.D. is demonstrated by Evaristo Breccia, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée d'Alexandrie* (nos. 1–568): *Inscrizione greche e latine* (Cairo, 1911), no. 146 (see Fig. 2 herein). Dio Cassius (Xiphilinus), moreover, relates that Caracalla's hatred of philosophers was so great that he burned their books and abolished their common dining at Alexandria along with the other privileges that they had enjoyed; 78.7.3. Suidas and Hesychius: *θεῶν*, assumed that Hypatia's father, the mathematician Theon, was a *Museum* member (see also *RE* Va, cols. 2075–80).

⁸ Diod. Sic. 1.49; and Bertha Porter and Rosalind L. B. Moss, eds., *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*, 2d edn., rev. and enl. (Oxford, 1972), 2: 439–41. Luciano Canfora, however, is mistaken in his claim that the Theban Ramesseum served as a royal tomb since, during the New Kingdom, pharaohs were buried in the Valley of the Kings; see Canfora, *The Vanished Library: A Wonder of the Ancient World*, Martin Ryle, trans. (Berkeley, Calif., 1990), 3–12.

⁹ Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* . . . , Vol. 6 (Oxford, 1939), 134–35, 221. See also A. H. Gardiner, "The House of Life," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 24 (1938): 177; W. Helck, "Bibliothek," *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* (Wiesbaden, 1975), vol. 1, cols. 783–85; and Donald B. Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals and Day-Books: A Contribution to the Study of the Egyptian Sense of History* (Mississauga, Ont., 1986), 91. It is uncertain whether the "House of Life" served the same purpose, for Gardiner, 176, argued that this was where scribes were employed or trained, not where books were actually stored; compare, however, E. A. E. Reymond, "From the Contents of a Temple Library," in *Das römisch-Byzantinische Ägypten: Akten des internationalen Symposiums 26.–30. September 1978 in Trier* (Mainz, 1983), 81–84. By Dynasty XXII, ancient documents and legislation were being housed in temple libraries as well; see Redford, 319, compare 215.

¹⁰ For example, the Pergamene library was located in the sanctuary of Athene Nikephoros, to which Eumenes II had appended a grove and which Attalus II endowed with statue dedications and storerooms of books; Strabo 13.4.2. For a catalog of Hellenistic and Roman temple libraries and this definition of *bibliothēke*, see Lora Lee Johnson, "The Hellenistic and Roman Library: Studies Pertaining to Their Architectural Form" (Ph.D. dissertation, Brown University, 1984), 8, 47.

Other temples at Alexandria also included libraries: the Serapeum complex, rebuilt during the reign of Ptolemy III, included a library and served as an annex to the *Museum* collection: Aphthonios, *Progymnasmata* 12; in Rufinus, *HE* 2.23; see also Giuseppe Botti, *L'acropole d'Alexandrie et le Sérapéum d'après Aphthonios et les fouilles* (Alexandria, 1895); and John Tzetzes, Plautine scholium to Aristophanes, *Ploutos*, Georg Kaibel, ed., *Comicorum graecorum frag.* (Berlin, 1899), 13. Likewise, the Kaisareion, or Sebasteion, built by Cleopatra VII, was described by Philo of Alexandria as a huge and conspicuous complex, embellished with paintings and statues, and including porticoes, libraries, chambers, groves, gateways, and wide open courts (*Leg.* 151). A further annex was added during the reign of Claudius in honor of his accession; Suetonius, *Claud.* 42; compare, however, *P. Lond.* VI 1912.48–51. The Alexandrian temples of Isis Nania (Naneion), Deified Hadrian (Hadrianeion), and apparently Hermes (Merkourion), by contrast, were repositories of official documents, not private libraries; *P. Oxy.* I 34v (A.D. 127) and XI 1382 (A.D. II); see also *P. Oxy.* II 238, n. to ll. 2–4; Calderini,

Members of the *Museum* were individually recruited from cities all over the Mediterranean and paid handsome stipends by the Ptolemies and, later, by Roman emperors, for as long as they pursued their studies there. These scholars formed an elite group, reaping a variety of rewards: stipends, free living accommodations, and communal meals, as well as full exemption from the Roman poll tax, a privilege ordinarily enjoyed only by Roman citizens and citizens of Greek cities.¹¹ The prospect of a comfortable life supported by royal patronage and the opportunity to pursue scholarship in the company of other eminent thinkers attracted a large number of immigrants and created an intellectual community in Alexandria.

The literary, rhetorical, philosophical, and scientific pursuits of *Museum* members were enhanced by the rapid accumulation at Alexandria of an impressive collection of manuscripts unrivaled by any other city, even Athens. But it must be remembered that the Alexandrian library was a private, not public, collection.¹² Nevertheless, the intellectual stimulus of the *Museum* and library was so great that, within a century of their establishment, a native tradition of scholarship, literature, and scientific inquiry had begun to take root at Alexandria. Not everyone admired these institutions: the pampered existence of *Museum* members inspired the scorn of one Sophist, Timon of Phlius, who likened the institute to a gilded cage housing the *rarae aves* of the Mediterranean, cooped up together like hens pecking away at royal subventions, while the anthologist Athenaeus preserved the criticism of Axionikos of Chalcidice, who compared *Museum* members to parasites.¹³

The royal quarter, or Basileia, in which the *Museum* and library were situated was one of five neighborhood districts into which the city proper was divided.¹⁴ A narrative sketch of this area as it appeared during the last quarter of the first century B.C. is preserved in the *Geography* of Strabo, who traveled extensively in Egypt from 24 to about 19 B.C. accompanying the prefect, C. Cornelius Gallus.¹⁵ In his day, Strabo notes, the Basileia comprised fully one-quarter to one-third of the entire city area, an estimate, as one can readily observe from Figure 1, that is justified if, as Strabo claims, the district was bounded on the east by the Lochian promontory and stretched westward as far as the Kaisareion.¹⁶ Thus the western

Dizionario, 1: 104, 131; and W. E. H. Cockle, "State Archives in Graeco-Roman Egypt from 30 B.C. to the Reign of Septimius Severus," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 70 (1984): 117.

¹¹ On the exemption of *Museum* members from the poll tax, see Sherman Leroy Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian* (1938; rpt. edn., New York, 1969), 120, 408 n. 28.

¹² Note the language attributed to Ptolemy II by Aristeeas at section 39, in which the king commissioned a Greek translation of the Torah to add to the royal books in his library. It was not until the second century B.C. that the first public library was founded—at Athens—by a Ptolemy; *CIA* II 482; compare 468, 478. In Rome, the first public library was instituted not, as generally thought, by Julius Caesar, who did not live to see this project implemented (Suet., *Caes.* 44), but by C. Asinius Pollio; Pliny, *NH* 7.30.115, 35.2.10.

¹³ Athenaeus 1.22d, 6.240b-c; see also Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 2: 471 n. 88.

¹⁴ Pseudo-Callisthenes 1.32.

¹⁵ Strabo 2.5.12.

¹⁶ Strabo 17.1.8–9. The Basileia was also known as Brouchion; Ammianus Marcellinus 22.16.15; Epiphanius, *De mens. et pond.* 259; *Vita Apollon Dyskolos* in *Gramm. Gr.*, II.3, p. xi (Schneider-Uhleg); Jerome, *Vitae patrum*: SS. Antonii et Hilarionis; and Calderini, *Dizionario*, 1: 105–06. Cape Lochias also defined the eastern limit of the Eastern Harbor. The Kaisareion was situated on the shore of the

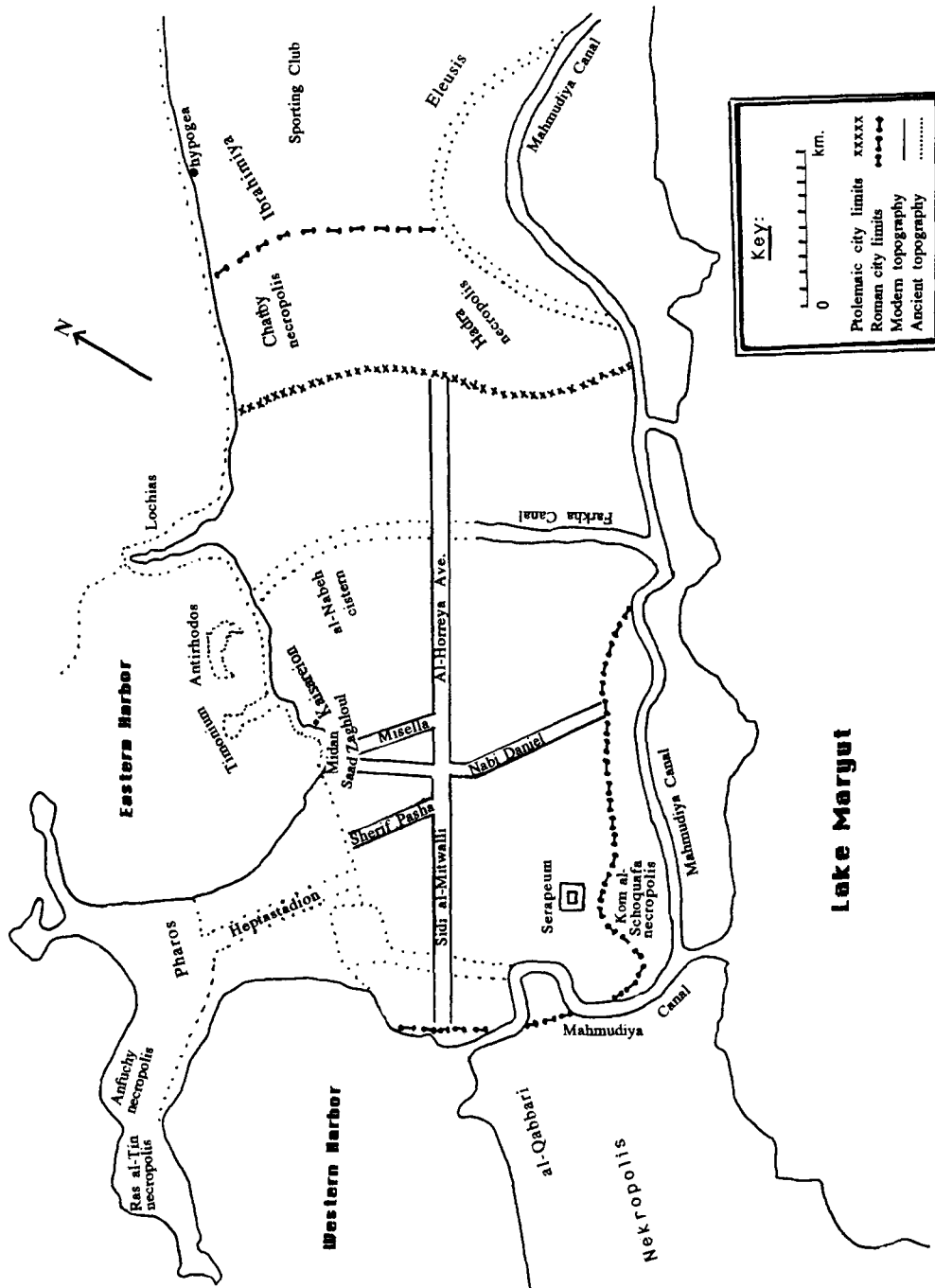


FIGURE 1: Alexandria

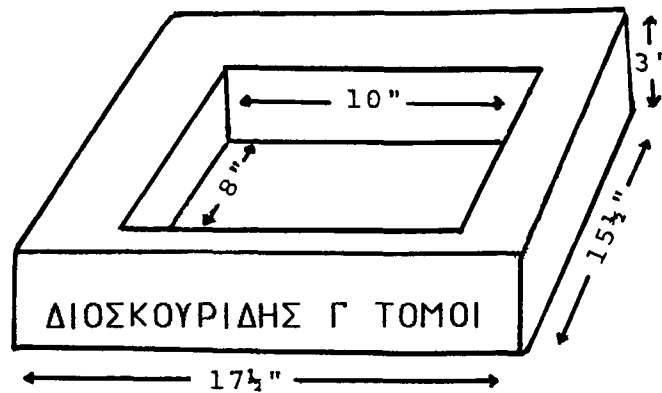


FIGURE 2: The storage bin found in the garden of the Prussian Consulate General, near the intersection of Nabi Daniel Street and al-Horreya Avenue.

limit of the royal quarter extended to the general vicinity of the Heptastadion, the mole or causeway connecting the island of Pharos to the African continent.¹⁷

Two archaeological discoveries are critical in pinpointing the location of the *Museum* complex more precisely. In 1847, a hollowed-out granite block, inscribed ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΗΣ Γ ΤΟΜΟΙ ("Dioskourides 3 volumes") was unearthed in the garden of the Prussian consulate general, on the southeast corner of the intersection of Nabi Daniel Street and al-Horreya Avenue (see Figure 2).¹⁸ A cavity, 10 inches wide by 8 inches long and 3 inches high, had been cut into the block, yielding a storage bin for three papyrus rolls.¹⁹ It is likely that a stone slab lid originally sealed the bin as protection against humidity.²⁰ Only rare manu-

Eastern Harbor at the site now occupied by the Ramleh tram station immediately east of Midan Saad Zaghloul; Tassos D. Néroutsos, "Notice sur les deux obélisques qui étaient placés devant le Césaréum à Alexandrie," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 2 (1878): 175–80; Tassos D. Néroutsos, *L'ancienne Alexandrie: Etude archéologique et topographique* (Paris, 1888), 10–20; S. B. (Monseigneur) Kyrillos II, "Le temple du Césaréum et l'église patriarcale," *Bulletin de la Société Khédiviale de Géographie du Caire*, ser. 5, no. 6 (1900): 329–54; and Evaristo Breccia, *Alexandria ad Aegyptum* (Bergamo, 1922), 55.

¹⁷ Situated on the island of Pharos was the famous Alexandrian lighthouse, one of the wonders of the ancient world. See Calderini, *Dizionario*, 1: 156–64.

¹⁸ Giuseppe Botti, *Plan de la ville d'Alexandrie à l'époque ptolémaïque* (Alexandria, 1898), 64–66; A. J. Reinach, "ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΗΣ Γ ΤΟΜΟΙ," *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie*, 11 (1909): 350–70, who broadly dates the lettering between 220 B.C. and A.D. 140. Accordingly, it is uncertain which Dioscourides is here concerned: the third-century B.C. epigrammist, the medical writers of the first century B.C. or the first century A.D., or the medical writer known as pseudo-Dioskourides, postdating the first century A.D.; Suidas and Hesychius: Διοσκορίδης; see also Luci Berkowitz and Karl A. Squitier, *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae Canon of Greek Authors and Works*, 3d edn. (Oxford, 1990), s.v. Dioskorides.

¹⁹ A comparison with the statue bases unearthed near the Pergamene temple of Athene Nikephoros (presumably deriving from the library therein) demonstrates that the Alexandrian hollow bin did not serve the same purpose. The Pergamene statue bases are solid (not hollow); some exhibit depressions made by the weight of statue feet on the bases, and others have dowel holes through which statues were affixed. All are inscribed with the name and patronymic or ethnic of the scholar honored, not a name followed by a number of books; Dziatzko, "Die Bibliothekslage von Pergamon," 38–47; Johnson, "Hellenistic and Roman Library," 54–55 and figure 16.

²⁰ Each papyrus roll measured slightly less than 10 inches (25 cm.) high and approximately 2.5 inches (6 cm.) in diameter; Reinach, "ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΗΣ," 367. The average height of papyrus rolls in the Hellenistic and Roman eras ranged between 8 and 12 inches (20 to 30 cm.), with some as high as 16 inches (40 cm.) but others not even 2 inches (5 cm.) high; Wilhelm Schubart, *Das Buch bei den*

ΑΙΛΙΟΝΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟ[Ν]
 ΤΟΝΡΗΤΟΡΑ
 ΟΙΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΙ
 [ΦΛ]ΑΟΥΙΟΥΙΕΡΑΚΟΣ
 [ΤΟΥ]ΣΥΣΣΙΤΟΥΑΝΑΘΕΝΤΟΣ
 [ΤΟΝ ΔΙΔΑΣΚΑΛ]ΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΤΕΡΑ

FIGURE 3: Inscription on the statue base dedicated to the rhetor Aelius Demetrios, found in Sherif Pasha Street.

scripts would have required such custom-made stone bins for their preservation; standard editions would have been shelved in book cupboards (*armaria*) or on self-supporting shelving (*loculamenta*) lining stack walls.²¹

About 1890, a statue base dedicated to the rhetor Aelius Demetrios by Flavius Hierax on behalf of his colleagues, the philosophers dining in common (that is, members of the *Museum*), was unearthed a short distance northwest of the same intersection (see Figure 3).²² Writing in the early fifth century A.D., Synesios of Cyrene relates that he had visited the site of the *Museum* and seen the remains of similar statues of rhetors and philosophers that had adorned it.²³

As the book bin was not reinscribed or incorporated into other structures, the place it was found may very well reflect original provenance. Although reused, the heavy statue base may not have been moved far from its former location. Accordingly, the *Museum* and library may have been situated in the vicinity of this crossroads, approximately one-third mile (0.6 km.) inland from the modern corniche constructed in the nineteenth century by Muhammad Ali, somewhat further inland from the ancient shoreline.²⁴ Remains of a huge granite colonnade still visible from Nabi Daniel Street demonstrate that the modern concourse is

Griechen und Römern, 2d edn. (Berlin, 1921), 56–57. Eric G. Turner notes that “it is rare to find papyri more than 37 cm. (15”) long in the Roman period and about 28–30 cm. (11–12”) is a good height then”: Turner, *The Terms Recto and Verso: The Anatomy of the Papyrus Roll*, *Proceedings of the XV International Congress of Papyrology*, Brussels-Louvain, 1977 (Brussels, 1978), 14–15; and E. G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (Philadelphia, 1977), 44. On the greater heights of rolls in the pharaonic period, see J. Černý, *Paper and Books in Ancient Egypt: An Inaugural Lecture Delivered at University College, London, 29 May, 1947* (London, 1952), 14–17.

²¹ For *armaria*, see Vitruvius 7 praef.; Pliny, *Ep.* 2.17.8; Orosius, *Hist. adv. pagan.* 6.15.31–32; *Dig.* 32.52.7 (Ulpian); and E. Budde, “Armarium und Kibotos: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des antiken Mobiliars” (Dissertation, University of Münster, 1939). On *loculamenta*, see Seneca, *Dial.* 9.9.7. See also *Dig.* 30.41.9, 12 (Ulpian); and Johnson, “Hellenistic and Roman Library,” 152–56.

²² On the grounds of the Adib house on Sherif Pasha Street; Breccia, *Catalogue général*, no. 146. Aelius Demetrios most probably ought to be identified as the late second-century A.D. Sophist and author of handbooks of rhetoric mentioned by Diogenes Laertius at 5.84; see also *RE* IV, col. 2844. During the reign of Diocletian (A.D. 284–305), the base was reused for an inscription honoring this ruler; Breccia, *Catalogue général*, no. 88.

²³ Synesios, *Phalacas encomium* 6. See also above, note 5.

²⁴ Compare R. M. Blomfield, “The Sites of the Ptolemaic Museum and Library,” *Bulletin de la Société Archeologique d’Alexandrie*, 6 (1904): 34. See also Breccia, *Alexandrea ad Aegyptum*, 94–95; and Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:8–10. Strabo noted that two very broad streets intersected the city at right angles to one another; 17.1.8.

adjacent to a main north-south artery of the city.²⁵ Identification of al-Horreya Avenue with the general course of the major east-west thoroughfare of the ancient city, Via Canopica, is beyond dispute. Via Canopica was the porticoed avenue running from the eastern Canopic gate to the western Necropolis portal vividly described by the second-century A.D. native Alexandrian author Achilles Tatius.²⁶ Nearby was the Soma, or area enclosing the tombs of Alexander the Great and his Lagid successors, located by ancient testimony in the heart of the ancient city and probably situated near the mosque of the prophet Daniel on the street that still bears his name.²⁷

THE CELEBRATED WEALTH OF EGYPT enabled its rulers to devote considerable resources to the acquisition of books. Directors appointed to supervise the royal library endeavored to amass as comprehensive a corpus of Greek literature as possible, although some ancient works had, regrettably, already been lost. Complementing the texts of classical Greek authors were learned commentaries and the Greek translations of non-Hellenic works. The most famous of these undoubtedly is the Greek translation of the first five books of the Old Testament by Jewish scholars invited to Alexandria by Ptolemy II (Philadelphos, 283–246 B.C.). Their enterprise initiated the compilation of a complete Greek Old Testament during the Hellenistic age that came to be known as the *Septuagint* after

²⁵ On the proximity of Nabi Daniel to a major latitudinal concourse, see Néroutsos, *L'ancienne Alexandrie*, 8; Botti, *Plan de la ville d'Alexandrie*, 64–66; and Evaristo Breccia, "Fouilles et Trouvailles," *Le Musée Greco-Romaine, 1925–1931* (Bergamo, 1932), 51–52. It continues to be a busy street today, serving as the most direct route from Midan Saad Zaghoul to the Cairo railroad station.

²⁶ *Leucippe et Clitophon* 5.1. Achilles goes on to note that after this avenue passed through "Alexander's quarter" (the Soma), it intersected at right angles with another porticoed thoroughfare at the most splendid part of town. Compare Strabo 17.1.8, 10. On the Via Canopica, see Al-Falaki Mahmoud-Bey, *Mémoire sur l'antique Alexandrie* (Copenhagen, 1872) 18–20; Néroutsos, *L'ancienne Alexandrie*, 7–9; Botti, *Plan de la ville d'Alexandrie*, 16–17; Alexandre Max de Zogheb, *Etudes sur l'ancienne Alexandrie* (Paris, 1910), 11–15; Calderini, *Dizionario*, 1: 83; and M. Rodziewicz, "Le débat sur la topographie de la ville antique," *Revue de l'Occident et de la Méditerranée*, 46 (1987): 43–44.

²⁷ Based on Strabo (17.1.8), it is certain that the Soma was situated in the royal quarter, while the second-century Sophist Zenobios located it in the heart of the ancient city; *Proverb.* 3.94; E. L. Leutsch and F. G. Schneidewin, eds., *Proemio-graphi graeci* (Göttingen, 1839), 1: 81; compare Suidas: Σῆμα. The Arabic name for the elevation at the western foot of Kom al-Dikka hill that dominates the city center appears to be Kom al-Demas, which means "Burial Knoll." Here, under the mosque of the prophet Daniel, Mahmoud-Bey discovered evidence of magnificent pagan sepulchers along with Christian and Arab burials dating from the sixth through eleventh centuries A.D.; Mahmoud-Bey, *Mémoire sur l'antique Alexandrie*, 49–52; Zogheb, *Etudes sur l'ancienne Alexandrie*, 163–64.

From antiquity down to our own day, a tradition associating the tomb of Alexander the Great with the mosque of the prophet Daniel on Nabi Daniel Street has prevailed, owing, perhaps, to conflation of the two; revelations of Daniel prophesied the Macedonian conquest of Persia (Daniel 8), and both men died in Babylon; see also Josephus, *AJ* 10.272–74, 11.337. Until the sixteenth century, Alexander's tomb continued to be a site of pilgrimage and only later appears to have been associated with Daniel once Muslims no longer recalled its original significance. For Muslim pilgrimages to Alexander's tomb, see the accounts of Leo Africanus and others recounted by Néroutsos, *L'ancienne Alexandrie*, 57; and Breccia, *Alexandrea ad Aegyptum*, 99. See also Evaristo Breccia, "Le tombeau d'Alexandre le Grand," *Le Musée Greco-Romaine, 1925–1931*, 37–48; and "La tomba di Alessandro Magno," *Egitto greco e romano*, 3d edn. (Pisa, 1957), 28–55. See also Mahmoud-Bey, 50–52; and Zogheb, 161–74. Compare, however, F. al-Fakharani, "An Investigation into the Views concerning the Location of the Tomb of Alexander the Great," *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Alexandria University*, 18 (1964): 169–99.

the seventy-odd scholars who had begun the project.²⁸ Contemporaneously, the Egyptian priest and scholar Manetho composed works in Greek on Egyptian history and religion.²⁹ Egyptian, Ethiopian, Indian, Persian, Elamite, Babylonian, Assyrian, Chaldaean, Phoenician, Syrian, and Latin masterpieces were probably translated and preserved in Greek as well.³⁰ In time, original works by the Alexandrian poets, rhetoricians, historians, and scientists fostered under Ptolemaic patronage also were added.

Agents of the Ptolemies scoured the major book markets of the day—at Athens, Ephesus, Syracuse, and Rhodes—in quest of exotica. Encountering competition from the Attalids of Pergamum in this endeavor, the Ptolemies suppressed the export of papyrus (*charta*), which forced the Pergamenes to manufacture another writing material, parchment (*membrana*), from cured animal skins.³¹ No effort appears to have been spared in the endeavor to indulge the Ptolemies' bibliomania, as two anecdotes about Ptolemy III (Euergetes I, 246–221 B.C.) amply illustrate. This king ordered all ships that put in at Alexandria to be searched and every book found on board to be seized and copied. The copies were returned to the owners while the king retained the originals for his library. Manuscripts thus acquired were labeled ἐκ πλοίων ("from the ships") to distinguish their provenance from manuscripts purchased abroad. Similarly, Ptolemy III allegedly refused to supply the Athenian populace with grain during a severe famine unless permitted to borrow the Athenian master copies of Aeschylean, Sophoclean, and Euripidean dramas. He deposited the sum of 15 talents as security for their safe return and promptly shipped the grain. Predictably, however, the king returned to the Athenians only copies of the texts, retaining the originals and forfeiting his deposit, a substantial sum equivalent to the annual wages of three hundred laborers in fifth-century Athens.³² Hence the Alexandrian library was built in three ways: by means of confiscation, copying, and the production of new works and translations. The rapacious acquisitiveness of the Ptolemies became proverbial, and, centuries later, the Roman Stoic philosopher, the younger Seneca, claimed that the Ptolemies had collected so many manuscripts not for the sake of learning but merely as ornaments to display their wealth and power.³³

²⁸ Aristeas, *passim*; Josephus, *AJ* 12.11–118; Eusebius, *HE* 5.8.11–15; Babyl. Talmud, *Megillah* 9a; John Tzetzes, *Ploutos* (Kaibel), 19–20.

²⁹ Manetho's *Aegyptiaca* and treatises on Egyptian religious beliefs and practices have survived only in fragmentary form, primarily as quotations in the *contra Apionem* of Josephus and in Eusebius' ecclesiastical history. See Felix Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (Leiden, 1958), IIC 609.

³⁰ Epiphanius, *De mens. et pond.* 270–80; John Tzetzes, *Ploutos* (Kaibel), 19, 31–32. The surviving fragments of ethnographic treatises can be found in Jacoby, *Die Fragmente*, IIC.

³¹ Varro in Pliny, *NH* 13.21.70. On the acquisitiveness of the Attalids, see Strabo 13.1.54, who relates the tradition that citizens of Skepsis actually buried the books from the personal libraries of Aristotle and Theophrastos to preserve them from the rapacious agents of the Attalids, just as the French later hid valuable works of art during the Nazi occupation. On literary redaction also carried out at Pergamum, see Isid. Perg. in Diog. Laert. 7.34.

³² Galen, *Comm. in Hippocrat. epidem.* 3.17a, 605–07; *CMG* V 10.2.1.78–79. According to the Erechtheion building accounts, an average workman's daily wage was one drachma per day; *IG* I² 374 (408/7–407/6 B.C.).

³³ Seneca, *De tranquillitate animi* 9.5.

AS THE LIBRARY EXPANDED, perhaps as early as the reign of Ptolemy II, it became necessary to store surplus volumes in an annex, likewise located within the sacred precinct of a temple; this was the Great Serapeum, located in the south-central extremity of the city known as Rhacotis.³⁴ Historians are completely in the dark about how volumes were distributed between the *Museum* library and the annex, dubbed the “daughter” collection by Epiphanios,³⁵ and whether allocation was determined by subject matter, special editions, or for convenience in storing duplicate copies.³⁶ Accessions, cataloging, and copying processes were carried out at remote facilities situated close by the harbor. During the Roman Principate, additional annexes were built in the Kaisareion and the Claudianum temples as well.³⁷

It is impossible to assess the size of the collective library holdings. The literary authorities, all Roman in date, by no means concur on the size of the main library’s collection, a figure that clearly was not static. At about 50 B.C., the main Alexandrian library was estimated to have possessed between 400,000 and 700,000 volumes—the term volume signifying a single papyrus roll, which might contain several brief works or only part of a magnum opus.³⁸ Figures in ancient sources, however, bring to mind the sobering pronouncement of A. H. M. Jones: “it is unlikely that I shall be able to conceal the ignominious truth, that there are no ancient statistics.”³⁹ Jones was keenly aware that statistical appetites are a

³⁴ Writing in the third century B.C., Cyrenaean poet and library director Callimachus exhorted his audience to “come, gather, at the shrine before the walls, where the old man who invented the ancient Panchaeon Zeus [Euhemeros of Messene, *RE* VI, cols. 962–72, no. 2] babbles and scribbles his impious books,” alluding to the Great Serapeum library complex; *Iambus* I, fr. 191.9–11. It follows that Euhemeros, who took up residence at Alexandria after extensive travels, was not a *Museum* member. See also Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1: 289–93, 2: 453 n. 825; and *RE* VI, cols. 952–72.

³⁵ Epiphanios, *De mens. et pond.* 325–27.

³⁶ During the third century B.C., Callimachus drew up an annotated index of the great library’s contents according to subject and author. Consisting of 120 papyrus rolls, it was known as the *pinakes* or “tablets,” presumably because subject headings were copied off tablets that hung in the library proper; Suidas and Hesychius: *Καλλιμαχος*. See also Schubart, *Das Buch bei den Griechen*, 40; Friedrich Schmidt, *Die Pinakes des Kallimachos* (Berlin, 1922), 23–28; Rudolf Pfeiffer, *Callimachus* (Oxford, 1948–53), *pinakes* frags. nos. 429–53; and Rudolf Blum, *Kallimachos: The Alexandrian Library and the Origins of Bibliography*, Hans H. Wellisch, trans. (Madison, Wis., 1991). Within each *pinax*, authors were listed alphabetically along with biographical data and lists of their works annotated on the grounds of authenticity. If, indeed, Callimachus’ *pinakes* reflected the organization of the main library collection, it would appear that volumes were ordinarily filed according to subject matter and alphabetically within these divisions by authors’ names in much the same manner as our Dewey Decimal and Library of Congress systems employed in libraries today. It follows, then, that “mixed rolls” contained multiple treatises on the same general subject.

³⁷ Philo, *Leg.* 151; Suet., *Claud.* 42. Compare, however, *P. Lond.* VI 1912.48–51, in which Claudius refuses cult honors. Accordingly, temple and cult must have been constituted posthumously. See also Calderini, *Dizionario*, 1: 104.

³⁸ John Tzetzes, *Ploutos* (Kaibel), 31, relates that the main library consisted of 400,000 rolls containing multiple works (*συμμιγείς*) plus an additional 90,000 single-opus rolls (*ἀμιγείς*); moreover, the “external” (Serapeum) library contained another 42,800 single-opus rolls: John Tzetzes (Kaibel), 19. The 40,000 volumes mentioned by Seneca, *De tranq. animi* 9.5, and Orosius, *Hist. adv. pagan.* 6.15.31–32, may reflect scribal errors in copying the figure 400,000 and, in any event, are estimates of the number of volumes that allegedly burned in the fire of 48/47 B.C. Aristas 10, and Josephus, *AJ* 12.13, estimated the great library’s holdings at 500,000 volumes; Aulus Gellius, *NA* 7.17.3, estimated it to be nearly 700,000 (corr. ex 70,000) volumes; compare Amm. Marc. 22.16.12–13, who confused main and Serapeum libraries.

³⁹ A. H. M. Jones, *Ancient Economic History, an Inaugural Lecture Delivered at University College, London* (London, 1948), 3.

modern phenomenon. Lacking modern inventory systems, ancient librarians, even if they cared to, scarcely had the time or means to count their collections. Even were we to assume that the figures of 400,000 to 700,000 volumes are not products of scribal error, endemic whenever figures were copied from one manuscript to another, they are still so vague that they may be considered only the roughest of estimates. To be sure, the size of the Alexandrian library collection was so great that even the usually helpful Athenaeus did not attempt a description: "And concerning the number of books, the establishing of libraries and the collection in the *Museum*, why need I even speak, since they are all in men's memories."⁴⁰

Volumes of papyri were kept in storerooms and hallways lined with shelves or fitted with cupboards specially made to fit within niches carved into walls. The Greek key-shaped recesses that were cut into subterranean passageway walls leading out from the atrium west of Diocletian's column on Serapeum Hill at Alexandria may have served this purpose.⁴¹ Above each niche, the walls were pierced to accommodate torches, enabling the library staff to locate works and to scrutinize the *syllabi*, or label tags, on papyrus rolls.⁴² Such libraries did not require reading rooms or grounds of their own because the temple complexes in which they were situated provided these facilities. They were not structures in their own right but merely comprised storerooms or stacks within the *Museum* complex.⁴³ This arrangement explains Strabo's failure to mention a separate library building when he described the *Museum*, for none existed.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Athenaeus 5.203.

⁴¹ Alan Rowe, "Discovery of the Famous Temple and Enclosure of Sarapis at Alexandria," *Annales de Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, supp. 2 (Cairo, 1946): 35–36, fig. 7; "The Great Serapeum of Alexandria," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 39 (1956–57): 498–99, and Rowe's revised plan facing p. 493. Orosius, *Hist. adv. pagan.* 6.15.32, also noted the existence of book cupboards (*armaria librorum*) in the temples at Alexandria. For niches cut into the walls of the temples at Edfu and Philae, see above, note 8. Botti conjectured that sacred animals had been buried in these niches: Giuseppe Botti, *Fouilles à la colonne Théodosienne* (1896) (Alexandria, 1897), 115–18. Rowe supposed that the raised portion of the niche served as a sloping libation table, but its orientation, pivoted ninety degrees to the east of the devotee standing before it, is extremely awkward. I believe that each niche accommodated a rectangular, built-in cupboard and that the raised section served either as a ledge on which papyrus rolls extracted from the cupboard or awaiting filing were placed or as a support for stone bins housing rare editions. Rowe claimed that the atrium and its underground passages are probably Roman in date. Johnson, "Hellenistic and Roman Library," 149, considers niches to be the most characteristic feature of monumental Roman libraries, dating the earliest incorporation of niches into a library to the Palatine library built by Domitian.

⁴² For *syllabi*, see Cicero, *ad Att.* 4.4a.

⁴³ Compare Mostafa El-Abbadi, *The Life and Fate of the Ancient Library of Alexandria* (Paris, 1990), 90–93, 156, who contends that the *Museum* and great library comprised two separate buildings.

⁴⁴ Compare El-Abbadi, *Life and Fate*, 153, who interprets Strabo's silence as an imposed ban on discussion of the destruction of the library under the Julio-Claudians. He goes on, however, to claim that Strabo alludes to it in another section of his *Geography* (2.1.5), where Strabo notes that Eratosthenes had a very large library at his disposal as Hipparchos himself claimed. If the library had not been destroyed, argues El-Abbadi (154), why would Strabo need to cite a second-century source in support of his claim? The reason, however, that Strabo refers the reader back to Hipparchos' description of the sources that Eratosthenes used is because Hipparchos' *floruit* was less than half a century after Eratosthenes' death, while Strabo lived another century and a half later. Even by Strabo's time, many of the works in the Ptolemaic library that had been available to Hipparchos had fallen into disuse or had become worn out. Likewise, Strabo declines to prove or disprove Eratosthenes' mathematical claims and refers the reader to Hipparchos' discussion of them because he does not feel himself to be a competent authority on that subject; he does, however, correct Eratosthenes on several geographical points (2.1.41).

THE SCOPE OF THIS ARTICLE precludes discussion of the succession of distinguished heads of the library, who appear to have been, ex officio, *Museum* members and who can be identified thanks to the survival of a papyrus preserving their names.⁴⁵ It must suffice to note that their foremost responsibility was to direct critical recension of Greek manuscripts in the library collection by *Museum* members through their own careful editing and the preparation of scholarly commentaries.⁴⁶ The production of the purest, best editions of the Homeric poems seems to have been a primary goal.⁴⁷ Zenodotos of Ephesus, who succeeded Demetrios as library director around 282 B.C., is credited with dividing the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* into twenty-four books each, the same number of letters in the Greek alphabet, and with marking allegedly spurious verses with an obelus.⁴⁸ The recension of classical Greek plays was particularly difficult since all but signed original editions had been repeatedly altered in performance to include the interpolations of actors and directors. But, in the course of time, a canon of the best and most authentic works of antiquity was preserved for posterity.⁴⁹ With the library in such capable hands and the *Museum* attracting the most promising literati and scholars of the age, late Hellenistic times saw a movement of the best men of letters eastward to Alexandria and westward to Rome, away from the venerable old centers of learning such as Athens, which writers henceforth merely acknowledged in respectful eulogy.

The extraordinary caliber of scholarship and the original intellectual achievements that were fostered under the Ptolemies and Roman emperors are impressive, although I would not wish to imply that every *Museum* appointment proceeded solely on the basis of scholarly merit. As early as the reign of Ptolemy VIII (Euergetes II, 145–116 B.C.), military personnel appear to have assumed direction of the *Museum*, perhaps anticipating the practice of Roman emperors who appointed political favorites to the *Museum* as a sinecure.⁵⁰ The *Museum* and library nevertheless weathered such storms until the next crisis came a century later.

Following up his victory at Pharsalus in Thessaly, Julius Caesar pursued Pompey to Egypt, where the contest for power waged by siblings Ptolemy XIII and Cleopatra VII culminated in the assassination of Pompey and the Alexandrian war of 48/47 B.C. During this campaign, Caesar ordered his troops to set fire to the Ptolemaic fleet stationed in the Eastern Harbor. Strong winds—no doubt

⁴⁵ *P. Oxy.* X 1241.ii (A.D. II). See also Edward Alexander Parsons, *The Alexandrian Library: Glory of the Hellenic World* (Amsterdam, 1952), 121–62; and Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1: 330–34.

⁴⁶ The pungent wit of Callimachus (fl. ca. 260–40 B.C.), evaluating the work of his own student, the long epic poem *Argonautica* by Apollonius Rhodius, produced the most delightful observation, “Big book, big evil,” a sentiment with which generations of undergraduate students have heartily concurred.

⁴⁷ Friedrich W. Ritschl, *Die alexandrinischen Bibliotheken unter den ersten Ptolemäern* (Breslau, 1838), 36–71. A cursory examination of Roger A. Pack, *The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt*, 2d edn. (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1965), reveals that even in modest Oxyrhynchite and Fayûm towns and cities, the Homeric poems remained the most widely read texts well into the Roman period.

⁴⁸ Suidas and Hesychius: Ζηνόδοτος; *RE* Xa, cols. 23–45.

⁴⁹ Parsons, *Alexandrian Library*, 221–22; Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1: 447–79.

⁵⁰ Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1: 333; N. Lewis, “The Non-Scholar Members of the Alexandrian Museum,” *Mnemosyne*, 16 (1963): 257, 67; and “Literati in the Service of Roman Emperors: Politics before Culture,” in Lionel Casson and Martin Price, eds., *Coins, Culture and History in the Ancient World: Numismatic and Other Studies in Honor of Bluma L. Trell* (Detroit, Mich., 1981), 149–66.

the same Etesian winds that to this day revitalize the city in the late afternoon—spread the flames to adjacent dockyards and warehouses.⁵¹ But did the library, in fact, burn?

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES WERE SURPRISINGLY SILENT. A century later, the younger Seneca remarked on the loss of some 40,000 papyrus rolls without suggesting that the main library itself was destroyed.⁵² Three generations after Seneca, however, Plutarch wrote of a conflagration spreading from the Eastern Harbor that destroyed “the great book collection,”⁵³ promulgating the irresistible irony that so eminent a man of letters as Caesar had, in a single stroke, annihilated the ancient world’s most outstanding monument to intellectual achievement.⁵⁴

Plutarch’s statement that the fire spreading from the dockyards destroyed the great book collection, generally understood as signifying the main library, nevertheless appears to be confused or exaggerated.⁵⁵ It is rendered suspect by the complete absence of notices of the catastrophe in contemporary sources. Among these was Aulus Hirtius, who did not report any damage to the library in his account of the Alexandrian campaign. While this may perhaps be dismissed as a discreet oversight, the silence of that omnivorous bibliophile and gossip, Cicero, cannot be similarly ignored; on the contrary, it is compelling. Nor did an eyewitness, Strabo, mention restoration of the *Museum* in his detailed description of the Basileia. Indeed, the very fact that the *Museum*, which the main library serviced, flourished into the third century A.D. implies the library’s continuous survival.⁵⁶ C. B. R. Pelling’s critical assessment of Plutarch’s reliability—“he sometimes relied on his memory. Conflation, compression and imaginative

⁵¹ Caesar, *Bell. Civ.* 3.111. On the Etesian winds, see Strabo 17.1.7. See also Paul Graindor, *La guerre d’Alexandrie* (Cairo, 1931).

⁵² Seneca, *De tranq. animi* 9.5; see also Orosius, *Hist. adv. pagan.* 6.15.31–32. Both accounts may derive from the lost 112th book of Livy. Compare Lucan, *Phars.* 10.439–41, 486–505, who describes a rapidly spreading fire but does not imply the destruction of the library—a curious lapse in this most vitriolic critic of Caesar had the library indeed caught on fire.

⁵³ Plutarch, *Caes.* 49.

⁵⁴ Orosius, *Hist. adv. pagan.* 6.15.31: *singulare profecto monumentum studii curaeque maiorum.*

⁵⁵ Plutarch, *Caes.* 49: Ἡναγκασθη δια πυρος απώσασθαι τὸν κίνδυνον, ὃ καὶ τὴν μεγάλην βιβλιοθήκην ἐκ τῶν νεωρίων ἐπινεμόμενον διεφθαιρε. El-Abbadi, *Life and Fate*, 152–53, places great emphasis on Plutarch’s account on the grounds that Plutarch had intimate and personal knowledge of Alexandria. Although it is true that Plutarch noted that he had visited Alexandria on one occasion (*Quaes. conviv.* 5.5.1; *Mor.* 678c), this occurred when he was a mere youth since his grandfather was still alive upon his return. This same grandfather served as Plutarch’s source for the luxurious life enjoyed by Antony and Cleopatra at Alexandria, having gleaned the details from his physician friend, Philotas of Amphissa, who had studied medicine there; Plutarch, *Ant.* 28. See also Konrat Ziegler, *Plutarchos von Chaironeia*, 2d edn. (Stuttgart, 1964), 18–19; and C. P. Jones, *Plutarch and Rome* (Oxford, 1971), 15, n. 4. Plutarch’s teacher, the Egyptian philosopher Ammonianos, was another likely source about Alexandria; in A.D. 66 or 67, Plutarch became his student at Athens; Jones, *Plutarch and Rome*, 13, 16–17; C. P. Jones, “The Teacher of Plutarch,” *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 71 (1966): 205–13. None of this, however, suggests that Plutarch ever visited the *Museum* or learned about the status of the library when, as an adolescent, he visited the city.

A possible source of Plutarch’s charge that Caesar destroyed the library is Asinius Pollio or a similarly flagrantly anti-Caesarian source. See Rita Scuderi, *Commento a Plutarcho, “Vita di Antonio”* (Florence, 1984), 17–18; Plutarch, *Life of Antony*, C. B. R. Pelling, ed. (Cambridge, 1988), 27–28; and “Plutarch’s Method of Work in the Roman Lives,” *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 99 (1979): 84–88.

⁵⁶ See above, note 6.

embroidery would then arise easily and unconsciously: such is the nature of story telling"—inspires little confidence in his reporting.⁵⁷ Plutarch himself relates that his proper concern in composing the *Lives* was not to write history at all but rather to sketch the virtues and vices of his subjects so that they might serve posterity as moral exemplars.⁵⁸

In contrast, writing in the Severan age, Dio Cassius explicitly noted that only the dockyards, and the storehouses of grain and of books located there, were destroyed.⁵⁹ These storehouses, situated along the southwestern rim of the Eastern Harbor, north of Nabi Daniel Street, served as accessions facilities. There, volumes were kept until properly cataloged.⁶⁰ Some of these books may have been copies of manuscripts packed for export from one of the largest book-producing centers of the ancient world.⁶¹ The lack of wooden joinery on the exposed sections of Alexandrian public buildings would have inhibited the rapid spread of fire, and only the warehouses along the Eastern Harbor, where the Kaisareion and Timonium were later constructed, burned.⁶² Accordingly, Plutarch may have confused the books stored in these warehouses, *bibliothekai*, with the library collection, *bibliotheke*.⁶³

Antony's gift to Cleopatra of the Pergamene library collection may have partially redressed the losses.⁶⁴ Despite the casualty, the main library at Alexandria, along with its annexes in the Serapeum and other city temples, continued to flourish into late antiquity. The literary sources do not conclusively prove that the main library was destroyed in 48/47 B.C., and the burden of proof rests squarely with scholars who attempt to substantiate this claim.

NEVERTHELESS, SUBSEQUENT CALAMITIES ENSURED that only a few manuscripts survived into late antiquity. In A.D. 215, the Roman emperor Caracalla massacred

⁵⁷ C. B. R. Pelling, "Plutarch's Adaptation of His Source Material," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 100 (1980): 131.

⁵⁸ Plutarch, *Alex.* 1.

⁵⁹ *Τε καὶ τὸ νεώριον τὰς τε ἀποθήκας καὶ τοῦ σίτου καὶ τῶν βιβλίων*; 42.38.2; compare Orosius' claim that the books that burned were in the buildings *proximis forte aedibus* ("that happened to be close to the shore"); *Hist. adv. pagan.* 6.15.31. It is regrettable that the 112th book of Livy's account has been lost, rendering it impossible to surmise whether he was the main source followed by both of these authors as well as by Lucan; compare Canfora, *Vanished Library*, 70, 134–36.

⁶⁰ For the storehouses (*ἀποστάσεις*, *ἀποθήκας*), see Strabo, 17.1.9; Galen, *Comm. in Hippocrat. epidem.* 3.17a, 606–07; CMG V 10.2.1.79; and Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1: 326. See also El-Abbadi, *Life and Fate*, 100.

⁶¹ Naphtali Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity* (Oxford, 1974), 94–95; and Erich Leider, *Der Handel von Alexandria* (Hamburg, 1933), 14.

⁶² For the near-fireproof construction of Alexandrian public buildings, see Caesar (Hirtius), *Bell. Alex.* 1. A reading of *Bell. Alex.* 13, however, reveals that wood-beam construction was employed under the rough-cast or tiled roofs. For the location of the Kaisareion and Timonium, see Calderini, *Dizionario*, 1: 118–19, 154–55. Lucan's rapidly spreading fire must therefore be viewed as the product of hyperbole and poetic license.

⁶³ Canfora, *Vanished Library*, 97, 77.

⁶⁴ Plutarch, *Ant.* 58, where 200,000 book rolls are cited in an accusation made against Antony; the rhetorical genre in which the figure is cited renders it suspect. On bold exaggerations of this sort as a standard rhetorical strategy, see George Kennedy, *The Art of Rhetoric in the Roman World, 300 B.C.–A.D. 300* (Princeton, N.J., 1972), 271. Whatever its size, this gift may have occasioned the construction of the library annex in the Kaisareion.

Alexandrian youth and punished the *Museum*, abolishing its funding and the stipends of its members.⁶⁵ Unfunded, the *Museum* may have struggled along for a few years before its activities came to a halt, but the cessation of stipends virtually guaranteed that foreign scholars would no longer flock to this particular temple of wisdom. In A.D. 272, the entire royal district was ravaged during Aurelian's invasion, which aimed at recapturing the city occupied first by the army of the Palmyran queen, Zenobia, and subsequently by the supporters of the usurper, Firmus.⁶⁶ It is unlikely that the *Museum* complex survived this catastrophe unscathed. If it was reduced to ruins, the remnants of its collection that had not been preempted by private collectors would have been transferred to the Serapeum, Kaisareion, and Claudianum annexes.⁶⁷ Twenty-three years later, in the summer of A.D. 295, Diocletian visited Alexandria in response to widespread disaffection in Egypt. The city was taken by storm and sacked; citizens were slaughtered and their private book collections confiscated and burned.⁶⁸ The reinscription of a *Museum* monument by a private individual at this time suggests the reign of Diocletian as a *terminus ad quem* for its demise and of the library housed within it. Further damage was caused by an earthquake in the summer of 365.⁶⁹

Aphthonios, who visited Alexandria around 315, noted that, although a library still existed in the Serapeum complex, only those alcoves containing philosophical works were accessible, and the stacks associated with the cult of pagan deities had been closed.⁷⁰ In 391, the emperor Theodosius I banned pagan rituals.⁷¹ That same year, a Christian mob led by the patriarch of Alexandria, Theophilus, gutted and sacked the Serapeum.⁷² Within a generation, when a throng of angry Christians brutally murdered the pagan neo-Platonic mathematician-philosopher

⁶⁵ Herodian 4.9.4–8; Dio Cassius (Xiph.) 78.22–23; *HA: Carac.* 6.2–3; John Malalas, *Chron.* in Karl Müller, ed., *Fragmenta historicorum graecorum*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1851–85), 4: 590. See also P. Benoît and J. Schwartz, "Caracalla et les troubles d'Alexandrie en 215 après J.-C.," *Etudes de Papyrologie*, 6 (1940): 17–33; and above, note 6.

⁶⁶ *HA: Aurelianus* 32; *Tyr. Trig.* 30.3; *Firmus* 3; *Amm. Marc.* 22.16.15.

⁶⁷ Abū al-Faraj's account of the Arab conquest of Alexandria takes it for granted that John the Grammarian (John Philoponus) endeavored to gain possession of the surviving books of wisdom: *al-Mukhtaṣar fī al-duwal*, in *Historia compendiosa dynastiarum*, Edward Pococke, ed. (Oxford, 1663), 180.

⁶⁸ In response to which, an obsequious Alexandrian populace erected a column (*amūd al-sāwari*, "Column of Pillars," commonly but incorrectly known as "Pompey's Pillar") dedicated "to the most pious emperor, savior of Alexandria, the invincible Diocletian"; John Malalas, *Chron.*, Müller, ed., *Fragmenta historicorum graecorum*, 4: 601; John of Nikiou, R. H. Charles, ed., *Chron.* 77.1–6; Suidas: *Διοκλητιανός*. On the existence of private book collections at Alexandria, note Julian's description of the library of George of Cappadocia, as "very large and complete, containing philosophers of every school and many historians, especially numerous books of all kinds by Galilaeans [i.e., Christians]"; Julian, 411c-d (*ad Porphy.*); compare 378b (*ad Ecdic.*). See also John Mosch, *Prat. spirit.* 170 = Migne, PG 87, col. 3040d.

⁶⁹ See above, n. 21; Sozomon, *HE* 6.2.

⁷⁰ Aphthonios, *Prosgymnasmata* 12.

⁷¹ *Cod. Theodos.* XVI.10.11. See also Noel Q. King, *The Emperor Theodosius and the Establishment of Christianity* (Philadelphia, 1960); and Adolph Lippold, *Theodosius der Grosse und seine Zeit*, 2d edn. (Munich, 1980), 45–51.

⁷² Rufinus, *HE* 2.23–30; Theodoret, *HE* 5.22; Eunapios, *Vit. Soph.* 472; Socrates, *HE* 5.26–27; Sozomon 7.15, 20; Zosimus 5.23; John of Nikiou, *Chron.* 88.38 (Charles). See also E. Chastel, "Destinées de la bibliothèque d'Alexandrie," *Revue historique*, 1 (1876): 488–94; Adolf Bauer and Josef Stydzowski, *Eine alexandrinische Weltchronik* (Vienna, 1905), 55–58, pl. 6 recto; J. Schwartz, "La fin du Serapeum d'Alexandrie," in A. B. Samuel, ed., *Essays in Honor of C. Bradford Welles* (New Haven, Conn., 1966), 97–111; Agostino Favale, *Teofilo d'Alessandria, 345–c.412* (Turin, 1958); and King, *Emperor Theodosius*, 79–82, for Theodosius's complicity.

Hypatia, the Kaisareion had already been transformed into a church.⁷³ Even had the cult of the Muses survived into the fourth century, it is inconceivable that it survived similar reprisals.

Writing at the beginning of the fifth century A.D., Eunapius describes the pagan temples at Alexandria as "scattered to the winds," in terms of their cult ceremonies. The actual buildings, in many cases, had been converted into Christian churches.⁷⁴ His contemporary, the presbyter Orosius, proffers an eyewitness report that Christians had thoroughly plundered the contents of Alexandrian libraries.⁷⁵

During the course of centuries, in an era technologically unsophisticated with respect to the conservation of manuscripts, papyrus and parchment rolls had suffered the ravages of time and wear, construction of stone bins for storage of rare manuscripts notwithstanding. Moreover, the policy of selective copying and preservation by Christians of only those philosophical treatises that did not countermand their religious tenets contributed to the loss of countless manuscripts.

ALTHOUGH NUMEROUS OTHER LIBRARIES throughout the ancient Mediterranean—in Asia Minor, the Persian empire, Athens and Rhodes, for example—have disappeared, no one ponders their fate.⁷⁶ In the Western tradition, the romantic lament for the lost wisdom of the ancient world is reserved for the great library at Alexandria. The legend of the main library and its magnificent collection inspired the ruminations of medieval Arab historians in the thirteenth century. The dazzling impression that the size and splendor of Alexandria made on Arabs and the potential danger it posed to an absolute faith are revealed by Ibn Duqmāq, who cited 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Jurajj as claiming that, although he had made the pilgrimage to Mecca sixty times, "if God had suffered me to stay a month at Alexandria and pray on its shores, that month would be dearer to me than the sixty pilgrimages which I have undertaken." In Ibn Duqmāq's own experience, "if a man make a pilgrimage around Alexandria in the morning, God will make for him a golden crown set with pearls, perfumed with musk and camphor and shining from the east to the west."⁷⁷

⁷³ In A.D. 415; John of Nikiou, *Chron.* 84.87–103 (Charles); Socrates, *HE* 7.15. Synesios' ardent praise of his teacher, Hypatia, whose doctrines appear to have endorsed theurgic (magical) practices, indicates that she had considerable impact on Christian and pagan disciples alike; *Ep.* 4.113, 136 (Hercher); *ad Paeon.* = *Ep.* 158. See also Jay Bregman, *Synesios of Cyrene: Philosopher-Bishop* (Berkeley, Calif., 1982), 37–39; Suidas and Hesychius: 'Υπατία; and *RE* IX, cols. 242–49.

⁷⁴ Eunapios, *Vit. Soph.* 471–72.

⁷⁵ Orosius, *Hist. adv. pagan.* 6.15.32. Ammianus likewise lamented that libraries at Rome had been "shut up forever like tombs"; 14.6.18. See also Suidas: 'Ιοβιανός.

⁷⁶ At Bithynian Heraclea, Rhodes, Athens, and Rome, for example; William Linn Westermann, *The Library of Ancient Alexandria; Lecture Delivered at the University of Alexandria, Monday, December 21, 1953* (Alexandria, 1954), 14–15. On ancient libraries in general, see K. Dziatzko, "Bibliotheken," *RE*, 3 (Stuttgart, 1897), cols. 405–24.

⁷⁷ *Description de l'Égypte par Ibn Doukmaq*, Karl Vollers, ed. (Cairo, 1893), 117–18; Alfred J. Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt and the Last Thirty Years of the Roman Dominion*, 2d edn., P. M. Fraser, ed. (Oxford, 1978), 369 n. 4.

In contrast to the classical tradition, which attributed the destruction of the Ptolemaic library to accident, Arab historians 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī, Ibn al-Qifṭī, and Abū al-Faraj credited the dashing Muslim general 'Amr with its deliberate ruin during the Arab conquest of Egypt in A.D. 642.⁷⁸ The second caliph, 'Umar, allegedly doomed the great library by decreeing as superfluous all books that conformed with the holy Qur'ān and as undesirable all volumes that contradicted it. Thereupon, 'Amr reportedly consigned the entire collection to the flames, heating some four thousand public baths at Alexandria for a full six months.⁷⁹ Bold tales of this sort glorified both the magnificence of the ancient city and the Arabs who had conquered it.

But several considerations render the Islamic tradition suspect. It is scarcely likely that many pagan manuscripts from the main library and annexes survived the depredations of Christian zealots during late antiquity. Also, this story suddenly surfaced in the thirteenth century after five and a half centuries of silence. And precisely the same response of 'Umar is recorded by Ibn Khaldūn in connection with the destruction of another library in Persia.⁸⁰

Romanticism combined with nationalistic fervor to fabricate an utterly fantastic legend about the destruction of the great Alexandrian library—not by the Romans but by the most recent subjugators of Egypt. "Listen and wonder," Ibn al-Qifṭī skeptically concluded, as well one might! Though clearly apocryphal, the tale nevertheless reflects an older, reactionary tradition concerning the well-attested reluctance of 'Umar and his successors officially to acknowledge any book

⁷⁸ 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī composed his history of Egypt in Cairo at the beginning of the thirteenth century; *Kitāb al-ifādah wa-al-i'tibār*, J. White, ed. (Oxford, 1800), 114; see also Silvestre de Sacy, trans., *Relation de l'Égypte par Abd-Allatif* (Paris, 1810), 183. Ibn al-Qifṭī wrote his history of wise men circa 1227; *Tārīkh al-hukamā'*, J. Lippert, ed. (Leipzig, 1903), 355–56. Abū al-Faraj, also known as Bar Hebraeus (A.D. 1226–89), reproduced Ibn al-Qifṭī's account in his *al-Mukhtaṣar fī al-duwal*, in *Historia compendiosa dynastiarum*, Pococke, ed., 181–82; on the problems associated with his account, see Butler, *Arab Conquest of Egypt*, 405–06. Abū al-Faraj's account was followed by Abū al-Fidā' in the early fourteenth century and later by al-Maqrīzī in his history of the Copts, *Kitāb al-khiṭa'*; Butler, 402. Failure to report the Arab destruction of the Alexandrian library in the eyewitness account of John of Nikiou, in the works of contemporary Christian historians such as Severus of Ashmunein and Eutychius, and in Al-Balādhurī and Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's detailed accounts of the Arab conquest of Egypt renders this tradition highly suspect. See Butler, chap. 25; P. Casanova, "L'incendie de la bibliothèque d'Alexandrie par les Arabes," *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres* (1923): 163–71; and "L'incendie de la bibliothèque d'Alexandrie par les Arabes," *Revue des bibliothèques* (1923): 261; G. Furlani, "Sull'incendio della biblioteca di Alessandria," *Aegyptus*, 5 (1924): 205–12; Parsons, *Alexandrian Library*, 371–402; and El-Abbadi, *Life and Fate*, 167–78.

⁷⁹ Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, *Futuh Miṣr*, Charles Cutler Torrey, ed., *The History of the Conquest of Egypt, North Africa and Spain: Known as the Futuh Miṣr of Ibn Abd al-Hakam* (New Haven, Conn., 1922); see also Diana Delia, "The Population of Roman Alexandria," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 118 (1988): 273–90. Fewer than half this number of baths are noted in the *Chronicle* of Michael Bar Eliās 5.3, J.-B. Chabot, ed. and trans. (Paris, 1899–1924), 1: 113–15; and P. M. Fraser, "A Syriac notitia urbis Alexandrinae," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 37 (1951): 103–08.

⁸⁰ Ibn Khaldūn 3.89–90. Likewise, Ibn Khaldūn recorded several parallels: that at the time of the Chaldean conquest of Jerusalem, Nebuchadnezzar burned the Torah and destroyed the Jerusalem temple, scattering its stones (*al-Muqaddimah*, 2.224); that Alexander the Great appropriated the intellectual and scientific works of the Persians at the time of the Macedonian conquest (3.89); and that the Tatar ruler, Hulāgū, threw the books that he found into the Tigris when he conquered Baghdad in A.D. 1258 (2.192). For modern embellishments on the Alexander tradition, in all probability arising from the conflation of two traditions—Alexander's alleged confiscation of Persian books with his calculated destruction of the palace at Susa (Arrian 3.18.11–12, Plutarch, *Alex.* 38; Diod. Sic. 17.72; and Curt. 5.7.3–9)—see Murtadha Mutahhari, *The Burning of Libraries in Iran and Alexandria* (Tehran, 1983), 16.

other than the Qur'ān and the early controversy concerning the authority of the *Ḥadīth*, the collection of sayings and deeds of the Prophet and his immediate followers.⁸¹ Moreover, the Arab historians who recorded this tradition flourished during the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, when the celebrated exploits of Salāḥ al-Dīn, especially the spectacular recovery of Jerusalem from the Christian crusaders in 1187, reminded Arabs of an earlier age when the fledgling forces of Islam had originally embarked on a holy war against Christendom.⁸² Accordingly, 'Umar's rejection of pagan and Christian wisdom may have been devised and exploited by conservative authorities as a moral exemplum for Muslims to follow in later, uncertain times, when the devotion of the faithful was once again tested by proximity to nonbelievers.⁸³

⁸¹ Although the Qur'ān had already been preserved by memory or in writing during the life of Muhammad, the revelations had not been assembled before his death. Several *Ḥadīth* attribute the impetus for collection of the Qur'ān to 'Umar, indicating his great concern about authentication and repression of variant recensions; see A. Shibli Nu'mani, *Omar the Great: The Second Caliph of Islam*, 2d edn. (Lahore, Pakistan, 1943), 2: 139–41; and John Burton, *The Collection of the Qur'ān* (Cambridge, 1977), 118–23, 152. On the controversy that raged after the death of Muhammad as to whether other writings, preserved as *Ḥadīth*, should be authorized to supplement the Qur'ān, see I. Goldziher, "Kämpfe um die Stellung des Hadit im Islam," *Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 61 (1907): 860–72; see also Nu'mani, 2: 243–55.

⁸² As Franz Rosenthal observes, the age of the Crusades provided a great impetus to the writing of history among Arabs. "At no other time in the history of the central region of Islam did the rhythm of the change from fear to hope and from hope to fear make contemporary happenings appear so worthy of the attention of the historian as it did then"; Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, 2d edn. (Leiden, 1968), 175. See also Casanova, "L'incendie de la bibliothèque d'Alexandrie," 259–60, 263.

On Salāḥ al-Dīn, see Stanley Lane-Poole, *Saladin and the Fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem* (London, 1898); Hamilton A. R. Gibb, "The Arabic Sources for the Life of Saladin," *Speculum*, 25 (1950): 58–72; "The Achievement of Saladin," in Stanford J. Shaw, ed., *Studies on the Civilization of Islam* (Boston, 1962), 91–107; and Gibb, *The Life of Saladin* (Oxford, 1973); Andrew S. Ehrenkreutz, *Saladin* (Albany, N.Y., 1972); and Malcolm C. Lyons and D. E. P. Jackson, *Saladin: The Politics of Holy War* (Cambridge, 1982). On *jihād*, or "holy war," as the keynote of Salāḥ al-Dīn's propaganda, see Lane-Poole, 198–99; and Lyons and Jackson, 155–56, 193–94, 370–71. Ehrenkreutz, however, contends that Salāḥ al-Dīn compromised his religious ideals for political expediency; 197, compare 236–38. In any event, he exploited the ancient theme of *jihād* to achieve his own ends.

⁸³ Because only the customs (*sunnah*) of the Prophet and the original Muslim community could furnish a rule of conduct for believers to emulate, traditions were sometimes deliberately forged, and Muhammad or his followers were made to say something bearing on issues of a later date; H. A. R. Gibb and J. H. Kramers, "Hadith," *Shorter Encyclopedia of Islam* (New York, 1953), 116. Likewise, as Burton plausibly argues, the traditions that 'Abu-Bakr and 'Umar had been responsible for the collection and authentication of the Qur'ān could very well represent an attempt to project the credit and priority of merit back to the first and most revered successors of Muhammad; Burton, *Collection of the Qur'ān*, 190, 226, 229–30; see also T. Nöldeke and F. Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorans*, 2d edn. (Leipzig, 1919), 2: 22–23. It therefore follows that the epigram enjoining 'Amr to destroy the Alexandrian library may have been fabricated in the same way and for the same purpose, namely to emphasize to all Muslims that the Qur'ān alone suffices. The principal duty of historiography was to illustrate the truth of Islam; Rosenthal, *History of Muslim Historiography*, 90. Compare El-Abbadi, *Life and Fate*, 178, who interprets the tale as an invention fabricated by Salāḥ al-Dīn's supporters as an apologia for his sale of the great Fatimid library in Cairo and the library at Amida in order to pay off his supporters.

With respect to the Muslim encounter with Western classical traditions, Franz Rosenthal notes that "Arabs were favorably inclined towards the superior culture and used what it had to offer; yet they dared not admit their dependence on it"; *The Classical Heritage in Islam* (London, 1975), 2. But whereas Arabs assiduously preserved ancient Greek treatises on philosophy, the natural sciences, medicine, mathematics, geography, musicology, and mechanics, the great works of Greek literature remained virtually unknown to them except for the little gleaned indirectly through the works of Aristotle and Galen; Rosenthal, *Classical Heritage*, 10, 255.

Writing shortly after World War II, E. A. Parsons prefaced his book on the Alexandrian library as follows: "Deep in my study, as the outer world resounded with the havoc of war, or limped in slow recovery from its frightful toll, I thought I would write the history of the Alexandrian library, itself the perfect victim of military madness and of the frenzy of the heart and soul of man."⁸⁴ Thus Parsons revealed himself to be a faithful exponent of the Occidental classical tradition that laments the accidental demise of the great Alexandrian library. In the Near East, however, the Western romantic tradition was abandoned in favor of a bold, rhetorical motif reversing the aphorism that the pen is mightier than the sword.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ Parsons, *Alexandrian Library*, proem, ix.

⁸⁵ Peter Green, "The Politics of Royal Patronage: Early Ptolemaic Alexandria," *Grand Street Review*, 6 (1985): 152.

Review Article
The Rulerships of China

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Harold L. Kahn, **Monarchy in the Emperor's Eyes: Image and Reality in the Ch'ien-lung Reign** (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971).

Beatrice S. Bartlett, **Monarchs and Ministers: The Grand Council in Mid-Ch'ing China, 1723–1820** (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).

Philip A. Kuhn, **Soulstealers: The Chinese Sorcery Scare of 1768** (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990).

Frederic Wakeman, **The Great Enterprise: The Manchu Reconstruction of the Imperial Order in Seventeenth-Century China** (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 2 vols.

Léon Vandermeersch, **Wangdao: ou, La voie royale: Recherches sur l'esprit des institutions de la Chine archaïque** (Paris: Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1977–1980), 2 vols.

Mark Edward Lewis, **Sanctioned Violence in Early China** (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990).

Angela Rose Zito, **"Grand Sacrifice as Text/Performance: Ritual Writing in Eighteenth Century China"** (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1989), 2 vols.

THE REIGN OF THE QIANLONG EMPEROR (1735–1796) was a revelation to some European thinkers. The emperor himself may have regarded it as an unprecedented achievement, in which a single person, in a single era, embodied magisterial bureaucratic government, universal dominion inherited from the Mongolian great khans, and the sagely kingship of the Chinese community. Until recently, the multifaceted representations of the Qianlong emperor have appeared to many Western scholars as an incongruous mixture of the sacred and the secular. The understanding of him in what Chun-shu Chang termed "composite images" has been a commonplace since the publication of Harold L. Kahn's study,

I thank the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars and the library of the Arthur M. Sackler Museum of Asian Art for support of various kinds. I am also grateful to Susan Naquin, Robin Yates, and Jonathan D. Spence for comments on previous versions and to Hyong-muk Lee for editorial assistance. I claim all errors of fact and interpretation.

Monarchy in the Emperor's Eyes: Image and Reality in the Ch'ien-lung Reign in 1971.¹ Kahn himself appears to have been inspired by John King Fairbank's oft-quoted dictum describing Chinese emperors² generally and the Qianlong emperor particularly as "conqueror and patriarch, theocratic ritualist, ethical exemplar, law giver and judge, commander-in-chief and patron of arts and letters, and all the time administrator of the empire."³ Obscured in this bundling of attributes are the interrelations of the various functions of the Qing emperorship, particularly as exemplified in the Qianlong reign. The composite or simultaneous emperorship was a reflection of the increasing universality of imperial pretensions. But where in 1971, Kahn was inclined to see the multiple references of the emperorship as "conflicting," more recent scholarship has tended to break the emperorship down into its subsystems, each to be examined for its cultural, political, and social content.

The image of the Qing emperor ruling over a geographically vast and politically complex bureaucratic system is in some ways the most enduring of the images of emperorship. In China, as elsewhere, emperors are understood to have used the bureaucracy to battle the aristocracy and frequently to have used what might be considered a private bureaucracy to battle the public one. The history of monarchs and bureaucracies in China has a partly obscure and certainly very early origin; a self-conscious bureaucratic stratum, from priestly functionaries and remnant warrior classes, seems to have been securely established by the middle Zhou period (seventh century B.C.E.).⁴ The first "emperorship" was created in 221 B.C.E., when the states emerging from the Eastern Zhou system were united by force under China's "First Emperor" (*Shi huangdi*), Zheng (d. 210 B.C.E.). Zheng was famous for his ruthless manipulation of both legal codes and the bureaucracy for the purpose of destroying surviving aristocratic power.⁵ Similarly, the early periods of many great dynasties—for example, the Eastern Han (202 B.C.E.–C.E. 9), the Tang (618–906), Song (960–1279), Ming (1368–1644), and Qing (1636–1912)—were dominated by imperial attempts to coopt the instruments and ideologies of the bureaucracy in order to secure dynastic claims

¹ Chun-shu Chang, "Emperorship in Eighteenth-Century China," *Journal of the Institute of Chinese Studies of the Chinese University of Hong Kong*, 7 (December 1974): 551–72, 551.

² The early Qing emperors, in particular, are well represented in English-language scholarship. Of those who actually sat as reigning monarchs, the following have full studies. The Kangxi emperor (1662–1722): Jonathan D. Spence, *Ts'ao Yin and the K'ang-hsi Emperor: Bondservant and Master* (New Haven, Conn., 1966); and Spence, *Emperor of China: Self-Portrait of K'ang-hsi* (New York, 1974); Lawrence D. Kessler, *K'ang-hsi and the Consolidation of Ch'ing Rule, 1661–1684* (Chicago, 1976); and Silas H. L. Wu, *Passage to Power: K'ang-hsi and His Heir Apparent, 1661–1722* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979). The Yongzheng emperor (1723–1735): Pei Huang, *Autocracy at Work: A Study of the Yung-cheng Period, 1723–1735* (Bloomington, Ind., 1974). The Jiaqing emperor (1796–1820): Alexandra E. Grantham, *A Manchu Monarch: An Interpretation of Chia-Ch'ing* (London, 1934).

³ From a paper by Fairbank delivered to the "Conference on Political Power in Traditional China," 1959. For print quotations, see Harold L. Kahn, *Monarchy in the Emperor's Eyes: Image and Reality in the Ch'ien-lung Reign* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), 4; Chang, "Emperorship in Eighteenth-Century China," 551.

⁴ For a general background, see Cho-yun Hsü, *Ancient China in Transition: An Analysis of Social Mobility, 722–222 B.C.* (Stanford, Calif., 1965).

⁵ On the "First Emperor," see R. W. L. Guisso and Catherine Pagani, *The First Emperor of China* (New York, 1989); Li Yu-ning, *The First Emperor of China* (White Plains, N.Y., 1975); and Derk Bodde, *China's First Unifier: A Study of the Ch'in Dynasty as Seen in the Life of Li Ssu (280?–208 B.C.)* (Hong Kong, 1967).

against aristocratic rivals. The bureaucracy has been perceived as the third player in the intensifying struggle between monarchs and aristocrats. In the historiography of the Qing period, the role of the bureaucracy has been a particularly dramatic theme. Establishment of the Qing empire in 1636 was quickly followed by attempts of the new monarch, Hung Taiji (r. 1627–1643), to destroy the patrimonies, the legal discretion, and the cultural preeminence of the princely lineages within the imperial lineage. His campaign resulted in rapid expansion and elaboration of the early bureaucratic structure as well as growth of bureaucratic control of the military and the management of imperial properties. Qing emperors eventually found, as had the Ming before them, that dependence on the bureaucracy in the struggle against the aristocracy contributed to a secondary struggle between the monarchy and the bureaucracy.

Imperial isolation by the multi-layered bureaucracy was a problem of which China's political theorists had been conscious for centuries before the Qing. Pierre-Etienne Will in his *Bureaucracy and Famine in Eighteenth-Century China* quotes seventeenth-century writer Gu Yanwu, "Those who govern the empire are the clerks and secretaries, and no one else."⁶ Bureaucratic dominance was a concern not only for Qing China's theorists of "statecraft" but also for the Qing emperors, who in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries battled to maintain their initiative against the weight of the bureaucracy. Toward this end, they developed a "secret memorial" system that allowed expedited communications and imperial espionage.⁷ Will's study of state attempts to manage grain resources in the eighteenth century suggests that explicit imperial instructions for immediate crisis management were still capable, in the later eighteenth century, of overriding bureaucratic routine.⁸ Evidence shows that imperial edicts could occasionally have this efficacy into the nineteenth century. The dual cataclysms of the Opium Wars (1839–1842, 1858–1860) and the Taiping War (1853–1864) are frequently interpreted now as the codae of imperial control in the empire. Thereafter, local structures and initiatives, always acknowledged to have been of great importance in the management of civil life in China, became the source of mediation for provincial, regional, and in some cases national problems.⁹ The imperial lineage also made attempts to revive its central and

⁶ Pierre-Etienne Will, *Bureaucracy and Famine in Eighteenth-Century China*, Elborg Forster, trans. (Stanford, Calif., 1990), orig. pub. as *Bureaucratie et famine en Chine au 18^e siècle* (Paris, 1980), 87, from Gu's *Rizhi lu*.

⁷ On the uses of imperial resources, particularly bondservants and the private communications, for these purposes in the earlier Qing, see Spence, *Ts'ao Yin and the K'ang-hsi Emperor*; Silas H. L. Wu, *Communication and Imperial Control in China: Evolution of the Palace Memorial System, 1693–1735* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970); Huang, *Autocracy at Work*.

⁸ Will, *Bureaucracy and Famine*, 80–86.

⁹ The earliest and conceptually most influential of the studies on this theme is Philip A. Kuhn, *Rebellion and Its Enemies in Late Imperial China: Militarization and Social Structure, 1796–1864* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970, 1980); more recently, see R. Keith Schoppa, *Chinese Elites and Political Change: Zhejiang Province in the Early Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982); and Mary Backus Rankin, *Elite Activism and Political Transformation in China: Zhejiang Province, 1865–1911* (Stanford, Calif., 1986).

dynamic role at court, even though the emperors themselves were not competent to fulfill it.¹⁰

Current historiography focuses on the eighteenth century as the critical passage in the relationship between the emperors and their bureaucracies. The grave threat to the early emperors from the Manchu princes was ended with the accession of the Yongzheng emperor (r. 1723–1735), who thereafter conducted a ceaseless and minutely planned campaign against bureaucratic inertia and politicization. He ran his own intelligence and command network and adapted a military command office, or “Grand Council,” to streamline his control over many areas of governance. Beatrice S. Bartlett has detailed the development of the Grand Council in her recent book, *Monarchs and Ministers: The Grand Council in Mid-Ch'ing China, 1723–1820* (1991). Her study suggests that two court bureaucracies existed, one “inner” and one “outer.” The outer is that found in the statutes of the empire, which were adapted from those of the Ming. The inner is a series of extra-statutory innovations inspired by the determination of the Yongzheng and Qianlong emperors to preserve and, if possible, enhance the power of the throne against the expanding power of the bureaucracy.

Bartlett acknowledges that the inner/outer model is one she has adapted from Qian Mu, who used a similar concept to sketch the role of factional struggle in traditional Chinese government.¹¹ As a heuristic device, it is valuable; yet there is another way of viewing this problem. The emperorship can be seen as an ensemble of instruments playing the dynamic role, or the ascribed dynamic role, in the governing process. This role itself can be interpreted as an organism incorporating not only the emperor personally but also his lineage; the rituals he performed; the offices for management of his education, health, sexual activity, wardrobe, properties, and daily schedule; the secretariats that functioned as extensions of his hearing in the form of intelligence gathering and expedited memoranda; the editorial boards that functioned as extensions of his speech in the generation of military commands, civil edicts, imperial prefaces to reprinted or newly commissioned literary works. From this perspective, Bartlett’s “inner” court bureaucracy may be regarded as a limb of the emperorship itself. The process of formalization and increasing bureaucratization Bartlett describes may then be related to that larger process of institutional exchange from the emperorship to the bureaucracy inherent in the history of the Chinese state. As the first bureaucrats were possibly the personal diviners, attendants, and secretaries of the Shang kings, so in the later imperial period the problem of gradual formalization of the imperial limbs is met by repeated regenerations of the emperorship’s managerial institutions. Such an alternative view does not displace the value of Bartlett’s inner and outer dichotomy. It does, however, emphasize that, despite their rivalry, the emperorship and the bureaucracy were organically linked. They not only gave evidence of institutional exchange but, in times of healthy government, each responded to the initiatives of the other. Nor could

¹⁰ See Mary Clabaugh Wright, *The Last Stand of Chinese Conservatism: The T'ung-chih Restoration, 1862–1874* (Stanford, Calif., 1957).

¹¹ Beatrice S. Bartlett, *Monarchs and Ministers: The Grand Council in Mid-Ch'ing China, 1723–1820* (Berkeley, Calif., 1991), 3, 302 n. 5. See also Ch'ien Mu (Qian Mu), C. T. Hsueh and G. O. Totten, trans., *Traditional Government in Imperial China: A Critical Analysis* (New York, 1982).

they be separately legitimated; the bureaucracy justified itself through service to the Son of Heaven, and the emperor justified himself through moral harmony with the bureaucracy.

The question of the interrelationship of emperor and bureaucracy is fundamental to Philip A. Kuhn's *Soulstealers: The Chinese Sorcery Scare of 1768* (1990). The work is certainly one of the most thoughtful, and may well be one of the last, ruminations on the implications of Weberian concepts for studies of the Chinese state. Kuhn is interested in Weber's suggestion that the late imperial state in China had been imperfectly rationalized; in the reigns of emperors lacking in initiative, the state was decentralized and routinized, and in the reigns of energetic rulers, it could become more autocratic. Kuhn concludes that the Qianlong emperor was able, at about the midpoint of his reign, to exploit apparent bureaucratic mishandling of a series of sorcery accusations to fend off bureaucratic impositions on the emperorship and reassert "arbitrary" imperial dominion.¹² Kuhn's characterization of the emperorship is not that of a genuinely autocratic institution. Like Bartlett, Kuhn sees the emperorship locked in uneasy partnership with the bureaucracy and constantly seeking leverage against the inertia and routinization that its partner threatens. Kuhn's case study treats one of a series of episodes (Will's work, mentioned above, suggests others, as does that of Madeleine Zelin¹³) in which the monarchy was able to reposition itself against the bureaucracy until it permanently lost this advantage in the nineteenth century.

THE BUREAUCRATICALLY FOUNDED MONARCHY IS THE MOST VISIBLE, if not the most fundamental, of the interlocking rulerships that characterized late imperial China. This style of rule was viewed by the cultures at China's borders as a distinct institution. Its demonstrated ability to consolidate power in the hands of a single man and his lineage contrasted sharply with the political traditions of Inner and Central Asia. Consequently, border rulers were provided a persisting incentive for adaptation of the imperial institution and refinement of its autocratic possibilities. A series of border-originated emperors—particularly Emperor Xiaowen of the Northern Wei dynasty; Abaoji, founder of the Liao dynasty (907–1121); and Aguda, founder of the Jurchen Jin (1121–1234)—are noted for having used the Chinese emperorship to alter the traditional relationship between rulers and elites in their own societies; as a result, emperorship in China was repeatedly revitalized and elaborated.¹⁴

Border dynasties are a central problem in China's political history, but they are a subordinate category to the greater question of China as part of an Inner Asian continuum. During much of the period from the third century B.C.E. to the

¹² Philip A. Kuhn, *Soulstealers: The Chinese Sorcery Scare of 1768* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990), 188.

¹³ Madeleine Zelin, *The Magistrate's Tael: Rationalizing Fiscal Reform in Eighteenth-Century Ch'ing China* (Berkeley, Calif., 1984).

¹⁴ On Xiaowen, see Le Kang, "An Empire for a City: Cultural Reforms of the Hsiao-wen Emperor (A.D. 471–499)" (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1983); on Aguda, see Jing-shen Tao, *The Jurchen in Twelfth-Century China: A Study of Sinicization* (Seattle, 1976); on Abaoji and the Liao dynasty, see Karl A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-sheng, *History of Chinese Society: Liao, 907–1125* (Philadelphia, 1949).

present, the political histories of China and the steppe are seen to have had a dynamic interaction, strengthening and weakening, centralizing and decentralizing each other in cycles.¹⁵ As the imperial tradition in China refined itself, so did the khal tradition of Central Asia. In the Chinese imperial order from the Tang period forward, there was a tendency to amalgamate the two styles of leadership, since China and portions of Inner Asia were frequently combined under one rule. The unprecedented unification of the peoples of the steppe under Temüjin (d. 1227), later Genghis Khan,¹⁶ inspired the introduction of a supreme khanship in 1206. As the last of the great khans and the first of the Mongol emperors of China, Khubilai Khan (1215–1294)¹⁷ was a model “simultaneous” emperor, who combined in himself the emperor of China and the universal or “oceanic” khan of Inner Asia.

Khanship was not an office of unlimited personal discretion but of power exercised with the corporate acquiescence and cooperation of tribal or lineage leaders. It depended on fairly regular engagements in war and originally may have existed solely for the purpose of uniting the confederacies into larger, centralized bodies for effective attack or defense. In his capacity as conqueror, the khan was a master of slaves and a granter of slaves to his followers. As such confederacies gained political stability, the khan became not only permanent but dynastic, attempting to pass the khanship through a single lineage. This shift to lineage transmission does not imply primogeniture, nor did it prevent the internecine struggles that the late Joseph F. Fletcher, Jr., termed “bloody tanistry.”¹⁸ Indeed, the khans, both Turkic and later Mongol, were precisely those men who had through intense struggle against their rival candidates demonstrated Heaven-favored gifts of intelligence, agility, strength, and eloquence.

¹⁵ For a recent conceptual study, see Thomas J. Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier: Nomadic Empires and China* (Oxford, 1989), which is partly a reply to the influential work of Owen Latimore, *Inner Asian Frontiers of China* (Boston, 1951, 1962). For a general, synthesized history of Central Asia in this period, see Denis Sinor, ed., *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia* (Cambridge, 1990); and the introductions to Beatrice Forbes Manz, *The Rise and Rule of Tamerlane* (Cambridge, 1989); and Jean-Paul Roux, *Tamerlan* (Paris, 1991); note also the remarkable reference guide (including small but often informative bibliographies): Karl-Heinz Golzio, comp., *Kings, Khans, and Other Rulers of Early Central Asia: Chronological Tables* (Cologne, 1984).

¹⁶ Temüjin's title was Chinggis Qa'an, the “oceanic” khan. Through the medieval histories of al-Juvaini, it has become more familiar to Western readers in its Persianized romanization, Genghis. Genghis conquered portions of North China in 1221 and, as grand khan, ruled it until his death; he was succeeded by Ogödei (1229–1241) and then by Khubilai. Retrospectively, Genghis Khan was created the first emperor of the Yüan dynasty in China (1272–1368). For better biographies in Western languages, see Henry Desmond Martin, *The Rise of Chinggis Khan and His Conquest of North China* (Baltimore, Md., 1950); 'Alā-ad-Dīn 'Ata-Malik Juvaini, *The History of the World-Conqueror*, John Andrew Boyle, trans. (Manchester, 1958); René Grousset, *Conqueror of the World*, Marian McKellar and Denis Sinor, trans. (New York, 1967); Franco Adravanti, *Gengis-Khan* (Milan, 1984), trans. into French by Raymonde Coudert as *Gengis-Khan: Premier empereur du Mirabile dominium* (Paris, 1987); Leo de Hartog, *Genghis Khan: Conqueror of the World* (New York, 1989); Paul Ratchnevsky, *Chinggis Khan: His Life and Legacy*, Thomas Haining, trans. (Oxford, 1991), orig. pub. as *Chinggis-Khan: Sein Leben und Wirken* (Wiesbaden, 1983).

¹⁷ The most comprehensive biography in English is Morris Rossabi, *Khubilai Khan: His Life and Times* (Berkeley, Calif., 1988).

¹⁸ Joseph F. Fletcher, “Turco-Mongolian Tradition in the Ottoman Empire,” *Eucharisterion I*, Ihor Sevcenko and Frank E. Sysyn, eds. (Cambridge, 1978), 240–41. Fletcher, who died in 1984, left an unfinished narrative of the transformation of the early Qing polity, which is now being prepared for publication.

Narratives of the emergence of Qing power in the seventeenth century frequently follow the evolution of the emperorship from the khanship created by Nurgaci (r. 1616–1626). The primary themes have been the movement from corporate, consultative governance to autocracy, the maturation of bureaucratic influence, the diminution of the civil and military authority of the Manchu aristocracy, and the increasing symbolic expression of imperial universalism toward the end of the Qianlong reign. The idea that khanship in growing Inner Asian regimes metamorphoses irresistibly into emperorship was fundamental to the work of Joseph Fletcher, who considered the Mongol great khans as ancestors, though not exclusive ancestors, of the Qing, Ottoman, and Timurid regimes. In his study of the seventeenth-century Ottomans, Fletcher described the development of the political order from one in which the khan, as a war leader, was recognized only after prolonged power struggles and attendant instability to one in which a single ruler could obviate the succession struggle through his control of the bureaucracy, the military, the aristocracy, and the instruments of dynastic domination. “The grand khan,” Fletcher concluded in reference to Ibrahim’s succession in 1640, “had become an emperor.”¹⁹

There is much that supports Fletcher’s observations, both implied and demonstrated, on the familial resemblances between the Ottoman and the Qing empires. But in the case of the Qing, it is clear that while the khan became an emperor, he also remained a khan. The Qing khanship had been resident in control over the Eight Banners,²⁰ and it was understood that each bannerman was a “slave” of the emperor. Bannermen were required for most of the Qing period to address the court in Manchu (the language of the khan) and to respect the khanal institutions, including shamanism. The corporatist role for the imperial princes, which had been a constituent part of the khanship, was diminished by the emperorship but not eradicated; it persisted in the Deliberative Council until the end of the dynasty and in the regencies that increasingly controlled the emperorship during the last sixty years of Qing rule.

Khanship’s assumed destiny in emperorship is a powerful teleological device for unraveling early Qing history and the underlying theme of Frederic Wakeman’s *Great Enterprise: The Manchu Reconstruction of the Imperial Order in Seventeenth-Century China* (1985), which is the premier narrative in English of China’s seventeenth-century history. Wakeman relies on a set of assumptions that are representative of the established explanations of the field. One is that the literate stratum of the Ming empire was united in its national identity and commitment to imperial values. Another is that the achievements of the Qing included not only the military conquest of the country but also the reestablishment and revitalization of the imperial institutions themselves, which had deteriorated badly by the end of the Ming reign.

¹⁹ Fletcher, “Turco-Mongolian Tradition,” 251.

²⁰ The Eight Banners were the original Qing military and social administration; they later became the definitive institutions in the emergence of the “Manchus” as a people in the Qing period. For recent general studies, see Pamela Kyle Crossley, *Orphan Warriors: Three Manchu Generations and the End of the Qing World* (Princeton, N.J., 1990); and Kaye Soon Im, *The Rise and Decline of the Eight Banner Garrisons in the Ch’ing Period (1644–1911): A Study of Kuang-chou, Hang-chou, and Ching-chou Garrisons* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1981).

These hypotheses may be questioned without qualifying the contribution Wakeman has made in providing a continuous narrative of this extraordinary period. Much of Wakeman's discussion depends on a prosopographical profile of the seventeenth-century population of Liaodong (a Chinese-speaking area just outside the Great Wall in southern Manchuria) that suggests a cultural identification with a second, overlapping group later termed the "twice-serving ministers" (*erchen*) of the seventeenth-century Ming-Qing transition. The eighteenth-century reconstruction of this "twice-serving" group (and the resulting collection of court-sponsored biographies) may arouse the skepticism of scholars, for it is highly topical and patently motivated by the ideological enthusiasms of the Qianlong emperor. But there is little direct evidence to suggest that the self-identification of the elite in seventeenth-century Liaodong had no regional shading. Many members of the Liaodong elite joined the cause of the Qing progenitor Nurgaci when he formed his khanate in 1616 and publicized himself as a champion of regional concerns. Moreover, this Liaodong population was given a special identity in the Eight Banners by the Qing court, which continued to address it in the terms of khanal relationships—master to slave—for its entire history. Wakeman's study suggests a unified Ming elite transferring its loyalty to the Qing in response to its perception of the eradication of the regional khanship by classic emperorship. It is also possible, on the same evidence, to see a well-identified regional population that, along with the Eight Banners, the Mongols, and the tribesmen of Manchuria and northeastern Asia, continued to address themselves to the khanship of the Qing while the elite of China proper addressed themselves to the Qing emperorship.

THE KHANAL NEGOTIATION OF IDENTITIES through structures of military, agricultural, or domestic servitude was a continuing and visible element in Qing emperorship, and it struck early modern Western commentators as characteristically "oriental."²¹ It was fundamental to their construction of an Eastern "despotism," which they used, satirically or socratically, to pillory the remnants of monarchical autocracy and popular political timidity in their own societies.²² Thus Montesquieu parodied despotic egotism in the communications of the fictional Uzbek with his eunuchs or the slave girl Fatima, and animated his later assertion in *De l'esprit des lois* that despotism is founded, in contrast to democracy, on a

²¹ For Montesquieu and his contemporaries, despotism was that form of government (distinct from royal monarchy on the one hand and tyranny on the other) in which the population consented to be ruled as slaves by their master, while private property and rule of law were absent. (The latter two conditions were proved in eighteenth-century scholarship to be untrue in the Chinese case, although this did not undermine the attachment of "despotism" to China in later work by Hegel and Marx.) The fundamental distinctions regarding forms of government were drawn from Aristotle, via several medieval and early modern revivals, even though the term "despotism" in the context of early modern political discourse is usually associated with Hobbes. See R. Koebner, "Despot and Despotism: Vicissitudes of a Political Term," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 14 (1951).

²² But see also the discussion in Perry Anderson, *Lineages of the Absolutist State* (New York, 1974), 462, in which, in response to Althusser, Montesquieu's efforts as a political philosopher, not a topical commentator, are stressed.

culture of fear.²³ Significantly, it was during the eighteenth century that European—particularly French—political philosophers altered what had been a conventionally “Persian” or “Turkish” foil for feudal despotism to a “Chinese” one (Turandot, daughter of the Turks, was suddenly transposed to the imperial court of “China” in the early eighteenth-century reworkings of the tale by Alain René Le Sage and Pétis de la Croix, fils). The Qianlong emperor, as Jesuit informants reported to France, was both benevolent and despotic. In the essays and “translations” from Manchu offered by Père Amiot, the Qianlong emperor was a philosopher-king motivated by a deep love of his subjects.²⁴ In some ways, this image represents the effect on a man who heard the emperor through both the Chinese and the Manchu languages. Manchu frequently renders political relationships in khalal terms that strike a Chinese or Western reader as extravagantly emotional. But it is also a coincidence of the appeal of the layered Qing rulerships with the multivalent political ideals of eighteenth-century France, in which Montesquieu favored aristocratic privilege as a bulwark against imperial excess and Voltaire favored imperial privilege as a bulwark against aristocratic excess.

Voltaire became the foremost synthesizer of the political impressions transmitted by the Jesuits of Beijing. He was a longstanding champion of a “benevolent despotism” that tramples on the arrogance of the aristocracy, as the Qing emperors attempted to do. He had no objections to a ruler who cultivated solicitude for his subjects (as the Qing emperors in their khalal voices claimed they had done). Voltaire thoroughly approved of an “enlightened” ruler who rooted out superstitions and illiterate traditions from the countryside, championing only the rational, agnostic creed of the literati (as Kuhn’s sorcery-suppressing Qianlong emperor did).²⁵ The thorough and accessible self-characterization of the Qianlong emperor fit well with Voltaire’s desire to detach despotism from the politically unattractive Ottoman sultans and associate it instead with the glamorous emperorship of Qing China. But for China scholars of the twentieth century, the legacy of the identification of “oriental despotism” with Qing China has proved to be a weighty one. The problems of communism, “totalitarianism,” and authoritarianism in modern China have been related repeatedly to a putative predisposition in China’s political culture toward corrupt and undemocratic government, best personified in the ascribed “imperial” style of the country’s modern rulers.²⁶

²³ See Charles de Secondat, baron de Montesquieu, *The Persian Letters*, George R. Healy, ed. and trans. (1721; New York, 1964).

²⁴ This knowledge came primarily from Père Amiot’s French version of the Qianlong emperor’s “Ode to Mukden,” which was completed in Beijing and distributed in Paris after 1770. There is some evidence, presented by the Japanese scholar Etō Toshio, that Voltaire recorded the specifics of his reading of the “Ode.” In any case, the impression of the Qianlong emperor as a benevolent, rational despot is traceable through Voltaire to Amiot. For more discussion, see Pamela Kyle Crossley, “An Introduction to the Qing Foundation Myth,” *Late Imperial China*, 6 (December 1985), 13–24, esp. 22–23.

²⁵ See also Shun-ching Song, *Voltaire et la Chine* (Aix-en-Provence, 1989).

²⁶ A classic statement of the problem is by Karl A. Wittfogel, *Oriental Despotism: A Comparative Study of Total Power* (New Haven, Conn., 1957), a comparative study of “total power” in Asian societies where specific characteristics of the “hydroagricultural” environment enabled the state to dominate all areas of social and economic growth; the work is also, it should be noted, an intellectual history of the ideation of the “Asiatic mode of production” from Marx and Engels to Weber; see Frederick W.

THE APPARENT BENEVOLENCE OF QING SELF-PORTRAITURE was to a large extent associated, as it had been in many conquest dynasties, with conscious attempts by the emperors to fulfill the ancient role of the Chinese sage-king. The “king” (*wang*) had been the central political figure of the ancient Chinese confederacies, and he performed the unifying rituals of the most ancient historical systems: the Shang/Yin (*ca.* 1750 to *ca.* 1100 B.C.E.) and the Zhou (*ca.* 1100 to 256 B.C.E.).²⁷ Kingship of this period in China is often conceived by modern historians as an office of the moral expression of the community. On behalf of the lineages, agricultural combines, and castes who had allied themselves with him, the king represented the virtue of the present to the spirits of the past, the ancestors. The efficacy of this performance was in part dependent on the personal grace of the king, whose moral attributes were naturally of some cultural and political interest. As ancestral spirits were gradually abstracted into “god,” or “nature” (either of which might translate in Chinese as “Heaven,” *tian*), the relationship of divine response to the king’s actions and the course of natural events came to be integrated into a philosophy of monarchy. Codification of kingly demeanor in the late Zhou period is conventionally associated with the emergence of “Confucianism,” although the precepts of this political philosophy antedate Confucius himself (551–471 B.C.E.) and have taken on many more intricacies and inconsistencies of development than can ever be suggested by the use of “Confucianism” to indicate a continuing and consistent philosophy.

The preeminent modern study of the “kingly way” (*wangdao*) in Chinese ruling institutions is that by Léon Vandermeersch, *Wangdao: ou, La voie royale: Recherches sur l'esprit des institutions de la Chine archaïque* (2 volumes, 1977–1980). He identifies the kingly way as one of three major styles of political dominion in ancient China, along with emperorship and military hegemonship. Of the three, kingship was primary and was less a political institution than an expression of the social morphology. Families, villages, and clans were the sources of the supernatural mission of the kingship and continued to be the roots from which it was nourished. Indeed, kingship itself encompassed genealogies of ritual through which the human world was ordered. The role of the king as intermediary between the living and the dead was indispensable to the formation of early clans.²⁸ He was the “kinning” agent in society, the namer of relations between his contemporaries and their ancestors. The generalization of the dominion of the king and the very identity of the early Hua, or Chinese, people was thus achieved through the generalization of the rites.

Vandermeersch’s interest was in ancient kingship as a reflection of the inseparability of the political from the social in ancient China. To the extent that the

Mote, “The Growth of Chinese Despotism: A Critique of Wittfogel’s Oriental Despotism as Applied to China,” *Oriens Extremus*, 8 (1961): 1–41. More recently, the idea of an indelible imperial culture has been reflected in Harrison E. Salisbury, *The New Emperors: China in the Era of Mao and Deng* (New York, 1992).

²⁷ This is the scheme of dates proposed by Kwang-chih Chang, after the literature disputing the dates of Shang and founding date of Zhou. See *Art, Myth, and Ritual: The Path to Political Authority in Ancient China* (Cambridge, 1983), 2.

²⁸ See Allen J. Chun, “Conceptions of Kinship and Kingship in Classical and Chou China,” in *T’oung Pao*, 76 (1990): 1–3, 16–48.

"kingly way" persisted within the emperorship, it continued to order the political and social in ways Vandermeersch and others would likely characterize as "feudal."²⁹ The question of ancient feudalism in China and its relationship to the character of kingship turns in part on the question of centrality and decentrality in the world being represented. As Benedict Anderson has suggested of monarchical versus national orders, the emphasis was on the marking of the center of this traditional universe, not its peripheries.³⁰ As the unique "Son of Heaven," the ancient Chinese king represented a central and transcendent cultural monity in what was otherwise a decentralized political system.

Vandermeersch is not alone in his analytical approach to Chinese political ideology; structuralist interpretations of power representation in political and social ritual are numerous.³¹ Mark Edward Lewis's study, *Sanctioned Violence in Early China* (1990), suggests that the ritual bases of ancient authority, both aristocratic and kingly, lay in the displacement of warfare and disorderly violence by sacrifices, ritual meat eating, blood oaths, and games. Control of these rituals was vested in the aristocracy in ancient times, came increasingly into the hands of powerful kings, and was eventually monopolized by the emperor in the third century B.C.E. The rituals represented a reordering of "blood" relations: the sacrifices effected blood exchange between those who by lineage would otherwise have been enemies. Lewis's study is a masterful characterization of the representation of legitimate force in the early kingship and is thought-provoking regarding the persistent ritual reference to blood, sacrifice, and violence in the emperorship.

Much recent writing has moved from a structuralist approach concerning the implications of kingship for social cohesion and political power toward an emphasis on the discursive analysis of cultural constructions of kingship in ritual (both practiced and prescribed). Angela Rose Zito's 1989 dissertation, "Grand Sacrifice as Text/Performance: Ritual Writing in Eighteenth Century China,"³² is in many ways a poststructuralist answer to Vandermeersch (although she does not note familiarity with his work) and Lewis. Zito has outlined in her introduction her judgment regarding the inadequacy of Weberian and Durkheimian models of sacred activity, especially Durkheim's "mechanical solidarity." She favors the approaches of critical theorists and Michel Foucault, of Louis Dumont, and of Benedict Anderson. Discourse, as the vessel of hegemony, is the concern of her study and of others attracted to problems of culture and polity.³³ Zito does not

²⁹ The debate over feudalism in ancient China is apparently unending. Most recently, see Cho-yun Hsü and Katheryn M. Linduff, *Western Chou Civilization* (New Haven, Conn., 1988).

³⁰ See his remarks on this porosity in Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1983), 25–26.

³¹ Vandermeersch's characterization of kingship as the interface of communal and supernatural representation in ancient China, for instance, is complemented by P. Steven Sangren's strongly structuralist study of the historical context of contemporary community rituals, *History and Magical Power in a Chinese Community* (Stanford, Calif., 1987), esp. 127–86.

³² See also Angela R. Zito, "Re-presenting Sacrifice: Cosmology and the Editing of Texts," *Ch'ing-shih wen-t'i*, 5.2 (1984): 47–78.

³³ For related discussions of kingly ritual and emperorship, see Romeyn Taylor, "Rulership in Late Imperial Orthodoxy," paper presented to the conference on Absolutism and Despotism, University of Minnesota, 1989; and Deborah Porter, "Myth and History in the Mu T'ien-tzu chuan," paper presented to the annual meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, 1992.

emphasize the latent motivation of eighteenth-century court-sponsored ritual literature. She fails to remark that this period was not merely a time in which people paused, at imperial invitation, to write down the ritual culture of the emperorship. It was a regime at the height of military sway and universalist preoccupations, uniquely ambitious to represent the concentricities of Qing emperorship in their most coherent form. Embedded in the texts of the eighteenth century is indeed a representation of the ancient Chinese kingship as it was remembered by the Qianlong imperial court. But what is rendered is a strategic editing of the past, not merely of ritual itself.³⁴

The Qianlong period is crucial to the development of discursive scholarship on China, partly because of the unusually prolific documentation of ritual in that era, partly because of the extensive curatorial programs of the later eighteenth century, and partly because the implications of ritual took on international significance—especially with the arrival of the British mission led by Lord Macartney in 1793, in search of trade and diplomatic relations. Until very recently, scholarship has regarded Ming and Qing tributary practices as opaque rites of subordination to supreme Chinese imperial status.³⁵ With respect to the incidents of 1793, discussion had focused on Macartney's denial that he had kowtowed to the representatives of the Qianlong emperor.³⁶ It has long been recognized that the preponderance of evidence supports Macartney's claim, and for some time this subject dropped from view. With a revival of interest in ritual, the Macartney question has reappeared and yields more to the gaze of the cultural historian than it did to the scrutiny of the diplomatic historian. James Hevia has recently examined the event and presents the most sophisticated textual analysis of it.³⁷ He reminds the reader that the Europeans were possibly as highly ritualized as the Chinese in these matters and notes the significant deviations from ordinary tribute ritual that the Qing granted Macartney. Most important, Hevia characterizes the Macartney audience and attempts afterward to narrate it as a struggle over whether one center or two would be represented in the ceremony—a question in which the imperial ideology of the British and the universalist ideology of the Qing were equally invested.

³⁴ On these questions, see R. Kent Guy, *The Emperor's Four Treasuries: Scholars and the State in the Late Ch'ien-lung Era* (Cambridge, Mass., 1987); Bartlett, *Monarchs and Ministers*; and Pamela Kyle Crossley, "Manzhou yuanliu kao and the Formalization of the Manchu Heritage," *Journal of Asian Studies*, 46 (November 1987): 761–90.

³⁵ The normal secondary source for these studies is John King Fairbank, ed., *The Chinese World Order: Traditional China's Foreign Relations* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968).

³⁶ The first survey of this question appeared in an *AHR* article: William W. Rockhill, "Diplomatic Missions to the Court of China: The Kowtow Question," Parts 1 and 2, *AHR*, 2 (April 1897): 427–42; (July 1897): 627–43. See also Pritchard, "Letters from Missionaries at Peking relating to the Macartney Embassy (1793–1803)," in *T'oung Pao*, 31 (1934): 1–75. Two recent works based on both Western and Chinese materials related to the Macartney missions make an excellent general presentation and will also be useful to specialists: see Alain Peyrefitte, *et al.*, *L'empire immobile, ou Le choc des mondes* (Paris, 1989); and the trilogy *Un choc de cultures*, of which part 1, *La vision des Chinois*, has appeared (Paris, 1991).

³⁷ James Hevia, "A Multitude of Lords: Qing Court Ritual and the Macartney Embassy of 1793," *Late Imperial China*, 10 (December 1989): 72–105; see also Hevia, "Guest Ritual and Interdomainal Relations in the Late Qing" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1986).

SKEPTICISM REGARDING THE PURPOSEFULNESS OF IMPERIAL ENUNCIATION—whether historical, ritual, or managerial—should not obscure the fact that as a king, the Qing sovereign was by historical definition the communal enunciator.³⁸ The kingly roles of the speaker to Heaven of communal aspirations and of the channel by which divine favors were transmitted to the community became indelible elements of the emperorship.³⁹ By ancient philological connections, to govern was to receive the utterance (*ming*)—the “mandate”—of Heaven. Originally related to the king’s ability to communicate with (and be imbued with the morality of) the ancestral spirits was his power to cause the representation of human time in the form of histories. The intimate connection of historical recording and religious intercession is suggested in the evidence for shamans as the first historians.⁴⁰ Control over the historiographical process remained a kingly function of the emperorship until the end of the imperial period.

The Qianlong emperor, consciously representing the apex of imperial development, was responsible for a phenomenal amount of historical publication. As the sole agent of intercourse between Heaven and humans, the Qing emperor/khan/king was the owner of all speech—past, present, and future. It was in this role that he sponsored dictionaries, encyclopedias, historical compendia, poetic compositions, and monumental epigraphy; and it was in this same role that he fulfilled the function of altering, censoring, hiding, banning, or burning words and symbols. No ruler of China surpassed the Qianlong emperor in his ambition to dominate the literary resources of the culture. Creating and destroying were equally necessary to this function. Although the Qianlong emperor is often praised for his literary patronage, he has been forcefully condemned for his role as literary “inquisitor.”⁴¹

Some culturally oriented scholars have attempted to find the common themes in Eastern and Western kingship as an ancient form of authority.⁴² This type of inquiry has necessitated addressing the concepts of James Frazer, which credit mythological and religious sources as evidence of an early form of community governance requiring the sacrifice, perhaps annually, of a king. It is too much to say that no evidence at all for such a prehistory of kingship in China can be found;⁴³ but, when present, the evidence is so faded that there appears no

³⁸ See also Zito’s comments, “Grand Sacrifice,” 88–91.

³⁹ Some of the most precise language on the emperor and Heaven comes from scholarship on traditional Chinese astronomy, which from the Earlier Han period was directed by the need to see connections between celestial and political time; see the description of the emperor as a “vibrating dipole” between “heaven” and “all under heaven” (*tianxia*) in Shigeru Nakayama and Nathan Sivin’s introduction to *Chinese Science: Explorations of an Ancient Tradition* (Cambridge, Mass., 1973), xxiii.

⁴⁰ See the discussion of writing, shamanizing, and the connection of knowledge of the past with knowledge of the future in the Shang/Zhou context in Chang, *Art, Myth, and Ritual*, 88–94.

⁴¹ On this, see the charge of L. Carrington Goodrich, *The Literary Inquisition of Ch’ien-lung* (Baltimore, Md., 1935), 5–9. The literary policies of the Qianlong period have been reinterpreted in Guy, *Emperor’s Four Treasuries*.

⁴² See Ian Mabbett, ed., *Patterns of Kingship and Authority in Traditional Asia* (London, 1985). It augments earlier discussions in Richard Gale, *Kings at Arms: The Use and Abuse of Power in Great Kingdoms of the East* (London, 1971); and Chan Hok-lam, *Legitimation in Imperial China: Discussions under the Jurchen-Chin Dynasty (1115–1234)* (Seattle, 1984), esp. 1–18. For a more recent discussion of sovereignty, see Michael Loewe, *The Pride That Was China* (London, 1990).

⁴³ On this, see literature cited by Paul Rule, in n. 43 below: Benedetto Fedele, “Il sacrificio de Vecchio Re-Mago nella Cina Leggendaria,” in the conference volume *The Sacral Kingship* (Leiden,

practical means of constructing a comparative cultural pre-history of East and West. In the words of Paul Rule, "The Chinese monarch is not a Frazerian 'Magic King,' but neither does he fit any of the other standard patterns of sacred kingship."⁴⁴ But Rule may have been premature. The elevation and sacrifice of kings in ancient Europe, the Middle East, and possibly northern Africa was intimately connected with attempts to identify and conform to the rotation of seasons and appeal to the sympathetic qualities of heavenly entities. Human authority (which is not to say control) over time and the elements was the foundation of ancient kingship, and this is also true of the ancient order that later became Chinese. The authority of ancient kings over time, which continued in the emperorship, was tied not only to the activities of agricultural communities but also to communication with dead ancestors. Ancestral spirits were those who had created agricultural time and who continued to influence natural forces. The ritual address of the king to the nature spirits honored the memory of and described the route of past supplicants. It also conformed to the contours of time, since the Grand Sacrifice progressed seasonally and spatially through the rites for Heaven, Earth, the imperial ancestors, and for soil and grain, completing the circumference of a year.⁴⁵ In Angela Zito's words, "the rites of sacrifice accomplished the symbolic construction of the King."⁴⁶

The culture of time and its role in kingship persisted after the introduction of emperorship (and, as Anderson's language would suggest, the demarcation of the external borders of the empire). It is a convention of historiography to see the creation of this emperorship as the victory of the secular over the supernatural in the constitution of Chinese rulership. More recent studies of the period suggest that authority over time and change was as important to the Qin (221–207 B.C.E.) as it must have been to previous rulers.⁴⁷ The great evolution may instead have occurred in the obsession of the new order with the representation of time, timely activities, and the supernatural in an elaborate, objectified, and highly bureaucratized system of regulations. The Qin marked a formalization of the cosmic functions of kingship, which were thereafter preserved within the enormous new institution of emperorship.

As regimes in Europe and in the modern West have often expressed their dominion through the institution of a new calendar, so successive dynastic regimes in China used themselves as ordinal points in the progress of time. The

1959). The myths of China's ancient god-kings are suggestive also, in this vein, and probably deserve more study. There is, for instance, the story of Shangdi's periodic sacrifice and corporeal reconstitution, which is not unlike the ancient Tammuz myths of the Middle East. See also Wolfram Eberhard, *The Local Cultures of South and East China*, Alide Eberhard, trans. (Leiden, 1968); Sarah Allan, *The Heir and the Sage: Dynastic Legend in Early China* (San Francisco, 1981); Allan, *The Shape of the Turtle: Myth, Art and Cosmos in Early China* (Albany, N.Y., 1991); and Allan, "Drought, Human Sacrifice and the Mandate of Heaven in a Lost Text from the Shang Shu," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 47 (1984): 523–39.

⁴⁴ Paul Rule, "Traditional Kingship in China," in Mabbett, *Patterns of Kingship and Authority in Traditional Asia*, 44.

⁴⁵ See Zito's description in "Grand Sacrifice," 279–82.

⁴⁶ Zito, "Grand Sacrifice," 12.

⁴⁷ See Robin D. S. Yates, "Body, Space, Time and Bureaucracy," in John Hay, ed., *Boundaries in Chinese Culture* (London, 1992).

Qing dynasty, China's last, inaugurated its rule with the introduction of a calendar with marked Western elements. Prior to the fourteenth century, however, no individual ruler was perceived to embody an epoch in himself; new periods of reign under the same ruler could be created for a variety of auspicious reasons. The personalization of periods of reign was a feature of emperorship from the beginning of the Ming period and continued, as a general practice, in the Qing. Thus Hongli, as the emperor of the Qianlong epoch, became the incarnated representative of a character of history. This late imperial identification of one emperor with one reign-period is frequently associated with an ascribed "autocratic" or "despotic" element in the emperorship of this period. It is important to note, however, that traditions incorporated into the emperorship in the period before the Ming had imbued Chinese rulership with a role in the motivation of time that gave a central seat to the ruler himself and tended on their own account to make the emperor a personification of an epoch.

The epochs at issue are stages in the progress of salvation and relate directly to the "universalism" of the emperorship that reached a high refinement under the Qianlong emperor. Prior to the Han periods (206 B.C.E.–C.E. 220), the Chinese religious and kingly system revolved around a set of natural and moral cycles, best exemplified by its art and philosophy. In a later age, these would be given a specific nomenclature as the "Daoist" and "Yinyang" schools, most often associated with Zou Yan and Dong Zhongshu.⁴⁸ But with the coming of Buddhist influence and then of Buddhism itself as a transforming political and cultural force, the role of emperorship in the representation of time changed. This change, though not sudden or, in its early stages, clearly marked, was nevertheless firmly established by the reign of Khubilai Khan. The emperors in China thereafter were "wheel-turning," that is, *cakravartin* (*zhuanlun*) kings. The early model for this kingship was Aśoka of India (third century B.C.E.), although in the Mongolian institution from which the Qing derived their understanding of themselves, significant alterations had been effected. The time function of the emperorship, however, was the same. By his worldly activism, the *cakravartin* moves the wheel of time and brings the universe closer to the ages of salvation. In the later imperial cult of the *cakravartin*, the emperor was also understood to stand as the first of two agents with the *lama*, who aided in the translation of a Buddha consciousness into worldly acts, and the emperor himself was understood to be the reincarnation of earlier *cakravartin* kings.

The Qing *cakravartin* reference was the tantric Mahākāla cult, which Samuel Martin Grupper has explored through its religious architecture, epigraphy, and liturgies in his 1980 Indiana University dissertation, "The Manchu Imperial Cult of the Early Ch'ing Dynasty: Texts and Studies on the Tantric Sanctuary of Mahākāla at Mukden." In its Mongol-Manchu form, the emperor's court represented a belief in a continuing *cakravartin* consciousness from the Tang emperor Li Shimin, Genghis Khan, and Khubilai Khan (who had also been represented as

⁴⁸ I do not mean to suggest a simplistic association of "Eastern" with "cyclical" or "Western" with "linear" time, a notion that Joseph Needham—who as a Marxist might have had reason to affirm it—dissected and discredited in his essay, "Time and Eastern Man." The essay has been reprinted, in various forms, several times but is most accessible in Needham, *The Grand Titration: Science and Society in East and West* (Toronto, 1969).

a Bodhisattva), through the first Qing emperor, Hung Taiji. It was a claim to world dominion, in both the mundane and the spiritual realms. Around the *cakravartin* revolved time, spirit, and incarnation. On earth, the turning wheel of the Law (*dharma*, *falun*) represented militant expansion of the empire, the generation of history, and the closing of the ages. This image, unlike the “kingly way” of the Zhou, lends itself to overt military representation, since the vessel of religious universality is explicitly he who is “victor over all the cardinal directions.”⁴⁹ It was a unique extension of imperial symbolism, and the portrait of the Qianlong emperor by Giuseppe Castiglione in his *dharani*-marked battle helmet is one of very few depictions of emperors as warriors in the entirety of China’s imperial tradition.⁵⁰

THE NOTION USED HERE OF CONCENTRICITIES, OR SIMULTANEITIES, in Qing universal rulership is a device to facilitate discussion of the complex sources of this institution in early modern times. It allows schematic representation of recent studies of imperial history in China, which are indeed more precise than former works with respect to the discrete functions of the imperial institutions. In addition, the device is partly provoked by a current tendency in the China field to attempt to resolve the Qing emperorship monolithically as “Manchu” or “Chinese.” In a universalist order of the sort constructed by the Qing, this labeling is meaningless. Portions of the institution derived from the khanship that arose in the northeast. They survived and were valued for what they were. Others were clearly understood to derive from the ancient kingship and imperial history of China, and they were recognized and valued for what they were. Historians of the Qing empire had nativized several styles of rulership within the Qing emperorship. To say that various styles endured, and that each functioned within a geographical and moral environment of its own, is also to outline the diachronic imbrications of the Qing imperial institution. The use of a model of simultaneous emperorship may help obviate false dichotomies, or false contradictions, in our general view of the Qing imperial institution. With due attention to the specificities of the institutional references of the Qing emperorship, it may be less necessary to interpret the fact that some parts of the rulership appear “sacral” while others appear “rational,” some “numinal” and others “phenomenal,” some “corporatist” and others “autocratic,” or some “legalist” and some “moralist” as contradictions or inconsistencies within an undifferentiated institution of the emperorship. As universalists, the eighteenth-century Qing rulers, and the Qianlong emperor in particular, were cognizant of the diverse sources of their order and were meticulous in expressing them. The representations are historically problematic, but the diversity itself need not be.

⁴⁹ See the exploration of the iconography of this ideology in David Farquhar, “The Emperor as Bodhisattva in the Governance of the Ch’ing Empire,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 38 (June 1978): 5–34.

⁵⁰ The painting, now in the collection of the Palace Museum, Beijing, is usually titled “The Emperor Qianlong Inspecting the Troops” and was evidently painted in 1758 on the occasion of a mustering of the Eight Banners and of Central Asian soldiers. For a background discussion, see Zhu Jiajin, “Castiglione’s *Tieluo* Paintings,” *Orientalism*, 3 (November 1988): 80–83.

Reviews of Books

GENERAL

BROOK THOMAS. *The New Historicism and Other Old-Fashioned Topics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1991. Pp. xvi, 254. \$22.95.

Brook Thomas's book is the best commentary yet on the "New Historicism" (NH). His book is itself more deconstructive genealogy than history—I mean "deconstructive genealogy" in the Foucauldian/Nietzschean sense. Thomas pledges a faint allegiance to the NH (p. 5), and then proceeds to trace backward, genealogically, a nonprogressive narrative that leads—pace Foucault and Nietzsche—to John Dewey, William James, and Charles Peirce. A headline version of my review of this excellent book might read: "Thomas Discovers New Historicist Ties to American Pragmatism." He's right in a number of ways, even though the NHists themselves pledge allegiance mostly to Foucault and poststructuralism.

And who are the NHists who presume to speak for history, and to revive and revise historicism? Their leader has without doubt been Stephen Greenblatt, Professor of English at the University of California, Berkeley, a critic mainly of Renaissance literature and culture, and one of the founders of the journal *Representations*. I want to stress culture, partly because Greenblatt claims to have gone beyond or abandoned the NH in favor of "cultural poetics." More importantly, like many academic literary critics (who teach in departments of English, French, German, and so on), Greenblatt and his many admirers (including myself—this review is self-implicating) have, from the springboard of poststructuralism, taken various more or less daring (groundless?) plunges into the sea of cultures. Literature used to be canonical, and about as self-contained as a swimming pool. Culture—to which literature belongs as part to whole—opens onto the oceanic terrain of all symbolic representation. And just as literature, within humanities disciplines, has given way to all discourse, textuality, communication, or culture (indeed, to the very formlessness and all-inclusiveness of history), the academic discipline of history has experienced the same history. Thomas writes: "the rise of a new historicism within literature departments has been accompanied by the rise of a new cultural history within history departments, pro-

ducing the common ground of cultural studies for both historians and literary critics discontent with particular constraints within their respective disciplines" (p. 11).

In several ways, however, Thomas questions the "newness" of this move toward cultural studies or cultural history. For one thing, "the coupling of 'new' with 'historicism' is redundant," because "historicism, a product of the modern imagination, assumes that history will always be made new" (p. 32). In relation to the belatedness implicit in the "post" of "poststructuralism" or "postmodernism," the new in New Historicism is a revival of older patterns of analysis in several respects. Thomas compares main themes in the work of Greenblatt, Walter Benn Michaels, Louis Montrose, and other NHists with those to be found in several old critics and historians. He shows that an antiformalist stress on historical contextualization was basic to the literary criticism of Erich Auerbach, Leo Spitzer, and Northrop Frye. And he shows that, in James Harvey Robinson's *The New History* (1912), as well as in the work of other American progressive, pragmatist historians such as Charles Beard and Mary Beard, many of the epistemological assumptions of the NH were already at work. William James's "Will to Believe" was an American, liberal version of the Nietzschean "Will to Knowledge" that has informed poststructuralist literary theory. If the NHists turn to Foucault and Nietzsche instead of to Dewey, James, and Peirce in tracing their lineage, it may well be because they are not eager to acknowledge debts to a supposedly progressive, supposedly liberal American tradition that has run aground in "Watergate, Vietnam, and the Reagan era" (p. 95).

Thomas's chapters form a series of past/present comparisons not only linking the NH to "the American progressivist tradition" but also revealing its tenuous relations to Marxism. The NH is more an academic post-Marxism than a version of deconstructive or Derridean poststructuralism. Thomas identifies two strains of the NH: a "reconstructionist" variety and a "cultural poetics," the latter sharing more with thoroughgoing, poststructuralist skepticism about our ability to know the past. Despite its own ties to past traditions, the NH, according to Thomas, lends new emphasis to such old themes as

cultural relativism and historical contingency. One value of the NH today lies in the challenges it poses to what Thomas throughout calls “narratives of progressive emergence”—mainly the stories of victorious nation-states as these have gained the upper hand by creating empires. And another value lies in its old-fashioned insistence on the centrality of historical knowledge (and narrative) in a postmodern era of what Jean-François Lyotard has called “incredulity toward metanarratives,” including historical metanarratives. Although NHists maintain a high level of poststructuralist skepticism toward what can be known about the past, they nevertheless still claim to be able to reconstruct and retell it, if not exactly *wie es eigentlich gewesen*, then in some sense better or newer than it has been told before. And Thomas himself practices the NH well by showing its own contingent rootedness, and its not necessarily progressive—but still necessary—emergence from older pragmatisms, including especially American pragmatism. Anyone interested in finding out what is new—and old—about the NH should read this shrewd, entertaining, well-informed book.

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DIDIER ERIBON. *Michel Foucault*. Translated by BETSY WING. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1991. Pp. xiii, 374. \$27.95.

This first biography of Michel Foucault was a best-seller in France in 1989. Didier Eribon, an editor at *Le Nouvel Observateur*, knew Foucault from 1979 to 1984 and at one point planned to collaborate with him on a book about the failure of French socialism. Eribon has written a clear, balanced, and richly detailed narrative of the philosopher's life. Its concreteness offers a welcome corrective to the excessively abstract (and by now quite numerous) commentaries on his thought.

The biography is most useful as an account of Foucault's political views and activities. Like many of his fellow *normaliens* in the 1950s, Foucault was briefly a member of the Communist Party, although his involvement was rather distant. In the latter half of the decade he served as a French cultural official in Sweden, Poland, and Germany and seemed headed for a career as a government bureaucrat. He remained sympathetic to progressive causes in the 1960s, but his political opinions were so muted that some actually considered him a Gaullist, especially after the Sartreans attacked *Les mots et les choses* as unhistorical and reactionary. Only following his appointment to the Collège de France in 1969—and then quite suddenly—did Foucault launch his career as a public radical, modeling himself on Jean-Paul Sartre and joining in protest after protest: on behalf

of prisoners, immigrants, Eastern European dissidents, and (to his later embarrassment) Iranian revolutionaries.

Eribon's biography has little to say about the logic of Foucault's political evolution or how it is related to the development of his philosophical ideas. What is intriguing in Foucault is the simultaneous rejection of Marxism (his work, after all, insists on the centrality of thought in shaping historical experience) and the continued embrace of radicalism. He makes an interesting contrast with his contemporary François Furet, who shared with him the task of weaning French intellectuals from Marx.

Eribon gives a vivid account of Foucault's considerable skills as an academic politician. But the treatment of his thought is somewhat perfunctory. Eribon supplies summaries of the important books, but little sense of how they are related to one another. Nor do we hear anything about Foucault's intellectual shortcomings, such as his cavalier attitude toward evidence and his tendency to resolve issues rhetorically rather than through argument.

One might also regret that no clear picture of his private life or character emerges. Eribon clearly suspects that Foucault's homosexuality is central to understanding both the man and his ideas, but perhaps out of fear of the reductive misuse of this issue he shies away from it. We learn virtually nothing about Foucault's relations with the two important romantic interests of his life, the young composer Jean Barraqué, with whom he had a “tempestuous and passionate relationship” (p. 65) in the 1950s, and the sociologist Daniel Defert, whom he considered his lover for the last twenty-five years of his life. The trajectory of Foucault's sexual experience ranged from the guilty, neurotic underworld of Parisian bars in the 1950s to the blissful and celebratory eroticism of the Bay Area in the 1980s, when he began spending part of the academic year in Berkeley and where he doubtless contracted the AIDS from which he died in 1984.

One suspects that homosexuality also holds the key to Foucault's thought, which can be seen as an elaborate circling about the issue of exclusion (first of madmen, then of prisoners), and whose subtext is the exclusion of sexual transgressors. After his death Pierre Bourdieu remarked that “Foucault's work is a long exploration of transgression” (p. 328). And Foucault himself once told Jacques Lacan: “There will be no civilization as long as marriage between men is not accepted” (p. 154). Foucault's intimate and emotional biography remains to be written, although its final stages can be glimpsed in the novels of his friend and fellow AIDS victim Hervé Guibert. In the meantime, Eribon has produced a serviceable guide to the major events and players in this epochal life.

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GEOFFREY HAWTHORN. *Plausible Worlds: Possibility and Understanding in History and the Social Sciences*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1991. Pp. xiii, 192. \$44.50.

Geoffrey Hawthorn, the British sociologist best known for his *Enlightenment and Despair: A History of Sociology* (1976), has been thinking about possibility. This book is the elegant result. He begins with a deft account of counterfactual conditionals and then turns to three cases where issues of possibility arise. Were early modern Europeans as powerless against bubonic plague and as incapable of lowering their fertility rates as some historians have suggested? In 1945 and after, was the United States compelled to occupy and then to remain committed to South Korea? Was the altarpiece that Duccio painted for Siena's cathedral in 1308–11 evidence of his failure to grasp the "issue" of realism?

Hawthorn focuses on the paradox that, under explanation, possibilities both increase and decrease. When we say of E, "C caused it," we are saying that *ceteris paribus*, without C there would be no E. In short, in explaining things we assume worlds that are possible but not actual (here, a world identical to the actual world but without C). Possible worlds suggest alternatives to what actually happened.

As we think about possibility, we begin to see how contingent most actual causes are; moreover, many explanations in the human sciences hinge on agents' reasonings, which nature "underdetermines" (p. 15). Accordingly, possibilities increase under explanation. Yet the more compelling an explanation is, the more difficult it is to see how things could have happened otherwise. For example, although fertility in early modern England was lower than in France, comparison of the two cases brings to light reasons why it would have been hard for the French to behave like the English.

The paradox cannot be resolved. Hawthorn uses it, rather, as an occasion for reflecting on the limits of both generalizing theory and empirical inquiry. He contends that generalizing theory has ceased to be persuasive for it fails to take account of reflective discretion, of the practical reason that the ancient traditions of ethics and of rhetoric attended to. His case studies illustrate the complexity of actual and possible worlds and the tact needed if one is to come to grips with them in the right way. "Structural" facts—those supposedly beyond human control—sometimes turn out to be less structural than they seem. For example, well before the modern period, authorities in some places adopted measures against plague that present-day epidemiology would approve of. Alternative courses of action are sometimes less available than they seem, as in the Korean case once a U.S. commitment had been established. Finally, attempts at explanation sometimes lead us to change our characterizations of what it is that we wish to explain. Thus, Duccio's altarpiece begins to look less

like a "work of art" and more like a rather constrained part of a liturgical ensemble. Hawthorn concludes that inquiry rightly carried out "reduces our certainty and in that sense our knowledge as it adds to it" (p. 37): a second paradox.

This volume is a marvelously stimulating and thought-provoking work. It ought to be on the reading lists of advanced courses on both the theory and the methodology of history writing. My one substantive objection is to Hawthorn's tendency to see an appreciation of the past "in [its] own terms" as the only goal of historical investigation, leading him to oppose frameworks imposed by historians (pp. 140–42, 178). I would argue—Hawthorn himself comes close to this argument—that historians' constructions are in any case inevitable, and that they are legitimate to the degree that their proposers resist claiming exclusive validity for them (most importantly, one should absolutely avoid confusing historians' constructions with the constructions of past agents and observers). I would argue, in short, for a bit more "descriptive discretion" (p. 124) than Hawthorn allows. But he is clearly right on his main point. I take this to be that a Herodotean modesty is becoming to us all, whether historians, theorists, or those who work, as Hawthorn does, in a hybrid space between fields.

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WILLIAM D. PHILLIPS, JR. and CARLA RAHN PHILLIPS. *The Worlds of Christopher Columbus*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. 322. \$27.95.

William D. Phillips, Jr., and Carla Rahn Phillips have expertly set this biography of Christopher Columbus within the context of the fourteenth and fifteenth-century "worlds" that Columbus drew together into the single world of modern times by crossing the Atlantic to the West Indies in 1492. They state the thesis of the book in chapter 1: that Columbus's voyages, followed by those of Vasco da Gama and Ferdinand Magellan, in thirty years shattered the mutual isolation within which Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Western Hemisphere had previously existed. In this chapter they also outline the source materials for Columbus scholarship and its current problems, not the least of which are the various popular conceptions and misconceptions of the navigator as saint, American national hero, and, more recently, villain. After briefly deploring the current tendency to overlook his truly heroic qualities, the authors conclude with a programmatic introduction to the rest of the book.

In the next chapters the authors provide the context for Columbus's exploration. They describe the "Old Worlds in Isolation," that is, Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Western Hemisphere, and illustrate the energy in medieval Europe that gave rise to

various efforts to break out of its age-old isolation. Next the authors survey the concurrent growth of missionary effort and mercantile activity and the continuing attempt after the Crusades to neutralize and throw back the Moslems, who sometimes were important trading partners and sometimes a titanic obstacle to trade, especially the all-important spice trade.

This obstacle led to the fifteenth-century Portuguese obsession with sailing around Africa to the Indies, an obsession that generated many of the technical developments making Columbus's voyage possible. It also generated the embryonic Portuguese colonial world on the Atlantic islands and the north-west African coast. Other significant colonial worlds had developed too, those of the Venetians and the Genoese, leaders in international trade and finance, and especially those of the Spanish in the Mediterranean and Atlantic. Finally, the European intellectual horizon had expanded along with everything else, and now Europe was ready to move toward its geographical horizons, east, south, and west.

The authors detail the technical developments necessary for exploration: ships, navigational advances, and tools of war. The Columbus biography follows, enviably concise, knowledgeable, and well phrased. Through the first voyage, the sections are standard: the early years in Genoa and Portugal; the years in Spain prior to the first voyage; and the first voyage itself. There follows a discussion of the second voyage and Columbus's progressive failure during it to meet the challenges of the governorship he had achieved. The authors treat the rest of the life as a single period, during which Columbus became increasingly irrelevant to the monarchs' program for exploiting the lands that he had put in their lap.

In the final chapter, "The Post-Columbian World," the authors comment on the results of the convergence—through the agency of Columbus—of the many worlds and activities described earlier. They judiciously consider topics such as "Spain's American Empire," the "Demographic Catastrophe in the Sixteenth Century," the "Labor Supply in Colonial Spanish America," "The Effect of the American Conquests on Europe," "Incursions into the Iberian Empires," "The Global Migration of Plants and Animals," "Inflation and the Money Supply," and "Banking and Credit."

The notes and bibliography reflect many years of work by two leading historians. The authors occasionally fail, however, to refer to or acknowledge important scholarship pertinent to their study. For example, there is no reference in the account of Columbus's progressively more disastrous attempt to govern the new colony to Juan Pérez de Tudela's remarkable sequence of four articles in *Revista de Indias*, 14–15 (1954–55), which examine Columbus's ideas for systematically directing the settlement and exploitation of the lands he discovered and trace the response to these ideas through to the final collapse

of his administration. Again, there is no mention of Demetrios Ramos Pérez's treatments (1979–82) of the "Lanzas Jinetas," a group of officers led by Pedro Margarit whom (as Ramos Pérez holds) the monarchs placed aboard the fleet of the second voyage to oppose an antimonarchical group and who, becoming disenchanted with the colony, returned to Spain and began the agitation that finally brought Columbus down. It is not that the authors refer to these matters while ignoring the sources; they do not bring either matter into the discussion at all.

Still, such omissions are inevitable in a book that attempts so much. I judge this volume to be one of the best efforts so far to set forth Columbus's life, the milieu that makes it understandable, and the consequences that make it significant.

FOSTER PROVOST
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BERNARD VINCENT. *1492: "L'Année admirable."* (Collection historique.) Paris: Aubier. 1991. Pp. 225. 115 fr.

Scholars welcome centennial celebrations because they promise to bridge the gap between scholarly and popular audiences. In writing for such occasions, some pander to their own conception of popular taste by engaging in mythmaking and moral judgment while others use the occasion to provide readers with a glimpse of how historians really think. In this book, Bernard Vincent follows the second course.

Vincent is fascinated by the conjunction of four events: the conquest of Granada, the first voyages of Columbus, the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, and the publication of the first Castilian grammar by Antonio de Nebrija. In this brief volume intended for nonspecialists he tries to show how these events were related and how they contributed to what he calls "the unification of the world." The title of the book is of course ironic. The adjective "admirable" was applied by contemporaries to the conquest of Granada and the expulsion of the Jews, two achievements that, like the conquest of America, reflect values no longer generally held.

The book begins with brief narrative descriptions of the four events. Vincent then shows how all of them arose from the consolidation of the Spanish kingdoms by Isabella and Ferdinand. He contends that the monarchs constructed a financial, bureaucratic, and, above all, ideological "machine" that unleashed great energies but excluded many of their subjects from its benefits. The monarchs themselves would probably have been amazed at such language, for their government remained intensely personal, but Vincent's analysis of their regime and its accomplishments is an excellent short summary of recent scholarship.

To Vincent, the most important consequence of 1492 was a "triple diaspora" of Muslims, Jews, and Christians. By 1615, more than a million people had

left Spain. Many of them were Muslims and Jews who had no place in the new Catholic monarchy but who would play an important role in the diffusion of Spanish culture and in the integration of world markets. The leavening effect of their presence was felt most strongly in the Ottoman empire. Between four and five hundred thousand Spanish Christians reached America in the same period, spreading the Castilian language, Latin Christianity, and European microbes. Vincent revisits the familiar topic of the Columbian exchange and its demographic consequences, and concludes with an account of the commemorative celebrations in 1892 and 1992.

There is nothing really new in any of this. The book is based entirely on secondary works and even the central themes of diaspora and global unification have been advanced before. There are also subtle distortions in the presentation of data, most of which seem to enhance the importance of 1492 as a year of monumental change. Although Vincent provides a range of estimates for everything from Granadan emigration to Mexican mortality, he usually accepts the highest available figure. He also underestimates the importance of Jewish emigration prior to 1492. The Jews and putative *conversos* who left prior to that date were wealthier and probably more numerous than those who were expelled and are now generally accepted as the founders of the Sephardic communities in exile. The effect of expulsions and emigrations on the Spanish economy of the seventeenth century is mentioned only in passing and is probably exaggerated, while the section on the commemorations is disappointing because it only hints at the way in which Columbus was used in the development of an American national myth. But these are minor points.

In the midst of popular controversy there is value to a book that summarizes current research on the age of Ferdinand and Isabella, places the events of 1492 in their historical context, and reminds us that the voyage of Columbus was only one of several initiatives that led to a more unified world. Vincent has produced a book for the general public that does not insult its readers.

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JACK A. GOLDSTONE. *Revolution and Rebellion in the Early Modern World*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1991. Pp. xxix, 608.

This is a very important book. Jack A. Goldstone, a sociologist who studies comparative history, offers a bold thesis to explain the major revolutions that plagued early modern Europe and Asia. He considers four cases of state breakdown in detail: England in 1640–42 and France in 1788–89, which are each the subject of a long chapter, and the collapse of the Ottoman and Ming empires in the earlier seventeenth

century. In addition, he glances at other simultaneous or subsequent crises (France and Spain in the mid-seventeenth century; the wave of European revolutions in 1830 and 1848; the subsequent overthrow of the Qing, Ottoman, and Tokugawa dynasties) and evaluates the leading theoretical models of revolution proffered by sociologists and historians.

Goldstone's starting point is the poverty of previous interpretations. On the one hand, the traditional Marxist focus on long-term economic and social causes has been undermined by subsequent critical scholarship; on the other hand, the rejection by "revisionist" scholars of virtually all long-term causes of revolution, in favor of short-term political tensions and the unique social and institutional character of each country under consideration, has reduced great upheavals to the status of mere accidents. Thus, for revisionists, the effective causes of the fall of the Stuart monarchy are all to be found in the quinquennium 1637–42; just as the French Revolution is now attributed largely to chance, to what François Furet claimed was the "convergence of several heterogeneous series, surely a fortuitous situation." Goldstone rightly objects, arguing that although "a fortuitous situation" may perhaps explain state breakdown in one country at a particular moment, it clearly cannot account for the simultaneous breakdown of several states at the same time. And since both the English and the French revolutions coincided with a wave of upheavals elsewhere, some sort of comparative setting is essential in order to place events in their proper perspective.

Goldstone argues that the periodic waves of state breakdown in Europe, China, and the Middle East from 1500 to 1850 were all ultimately caused by a single "basic process": prolonged population growth in the context of relatively inflexible economic and social structures, eventually producing rapid price inflation, sudden shifts in resources, and rising social demands on a scale that most agrarian-bureaucratic states found overwhelming. More specifically, he suggests that sustained demographic increase produced four key "subthemes": first, severe pressure on state finances as inflation eroded revenues, leading to attempts to raise taxes which alienated important social groups yet failed to prevent increasing public debt; second, intraelite conflicts and factionalization, as inflation threatened the existing elite while demographic growth produced ever more aspirants to elite positions; third, increased popular unrest as competition for land, urban migration, flooded labor markets, and declining real wages destabilized large segments of society; and, fourth, the emergence of ideologies of "rectification and transformation" offering the reform, order, and discipline that the establishment failed to provide.

According to Goldstone, there were two periods of unusual demographic pressure in early modern times: the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centu-

ries. Both coincided with an age of revolution. "In contrast," he notes, "in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries populations did not grow, and the basic process and its four subthemes were absent. Political and social stability resulted" (p. 460). Finally, after 1850, industrialization and political reform in most Western states created a new flexibility that reduced the power of population pressure to trigger the crises that earlier had produced state breakdown.

The role of the "four subthemes"—fiscal problems for the state, divisions among the elite, a rising tide of popular unrest, and the emergence of new ideologies—has long been recognized in both the English and French revolutions. Moreover, some of these themes also characterized the history of several major Asian states in the seventeenth century (see the four contributions on Asia's "Seventeenth-Century Crisis" in *Modern Asian Studies* 24 [1990], 625–97, which discuss, *inter alia*, an earlier version of Goldstone's thesis). The real issue is whether the subthemes can all be convincingly ascribed to rising population. The growth itself is not, of course, in doubt, for overwhelming evidence exists for more areas of Eurasia; the problem is the lack of unequivocal proof that demographic pressure in any direct sense gave rise to such phenomena as Puritanism or the Enlightenment, raised state spending and indebtedness to intolerable levels, or polarized elites into factions. To take a single example, Goldstone provides fascinating evidence that in England the size of the 26–35 age cohort in the decade immediately preceding the Civil War was the largest of the entire period from 1500 to 1750 (p. 138); and he notes that in France, too, "the years from 1740 onwards were decades with an age structure in which the youth cohort (ten to thirty years old) was relatively large compared to older adults" (p. 248). He then suggests that this increased demographic "youthfulness" contributed significantly to the breakdown of the Stuart and Bourbon states, but he cannot demonstrate precisely how that linkage functioned.

At least, however, Goldstone has identified a development that has escaped most earlier students of these revolutions. The revisionists can scarcely claim that this increased youthfulness was just one more "fortuitous circumstance" because it happened not only in prerevolutionary England and France but also in several other early modern societies on the verge of crisis. The larger number of young hotheads (which several contemporaries noted) may not have affected politics in precisely the way Goldstone argues, but there is likely to have been an impact of some sort. Future explanations of the revolutions that overlook this and Goldstone's other "coincidences" will be incomplete.

"No doubt," the author concedes toward the end of his study, "the argument of this book will gall many" (p. 467). It will indeed, but historians will still have to read it and, even if they are not impressed either by the "basic process" and its subthemes or by the

parallels unearthed by Goldstone's comparative approach, they will have to say why. This provocative and thoughtful book has placed the ball firmly in the revisionists' court.

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ANTOINE PROST and GÉRARD VINCENT, editors. *A History of Private Life*. Volume 5, *Riddles of Identity in Modern Times*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1991. Pp. 630. \$39.95.

As with the other volumes of Georges Duby and Philippe Ariès's monumental series, the value of Antoine Prost and Gérard Vincent's book does not lie in the coverage or consistency, but in the individual authors' bountiful if idiosyncratic insights. Once again, it is French studies that dominate in both quantity and quality. Prost's probing essay on the shifting boundaries between public and private and Vincent's illuminating study of secrecy constitute almost half the volume. Perrine Simon Nahum provides a brief history of Jewish life in France, while Remi Leveau and Dominique Schnapper offer valuable insights into recent immigrants.

The non-French contributors offer much that contrasts with the French experience and begs for comparative analysis, a challenge that the editors ignore. It is refreshing to have an account of Swedish developments, but one would have liked to have had Kristina Orfali's interesting discussion of the "de-privatization" of family life there connected with Chiara Saraceno's critical examination of the integration of state and family in Italy. Similarly, the useful survey of American families provided by Elaine Tyler May and the much less successful essay on Germany provided by Ingeborg Weber-Kellerman are allowed to stand in splendid isolation. Notably missing are treatments not only of other countries (Britain and the former Soviet Union) but also of alternative social and political systems. The East German experience is simply appended to that of West Germany; and there is no mention of non-Western societies, even for the purpose of drawing out the peculiarities of the Western cultures of privacy and publicity.

Yet the volume is full of fascinating observations, not least of which is Prost's notion that "private life is on the move" (p. 67). It has left the home, where it was located in the nineteenth century, to inhabit what were once considered public times and places, migrating into the workplace and politics. Today, every office must be homey and every candidate must be a family man or woman. At the same time, that which had been private has become public, nowhere more so than in Sweden, where incomes as well as birthdays are published and family life is wholly transparent. Everywhere television has brought the market and politics into the living room. While the public has

become privatized, the private has become publicized. Not only are the boundaries between public and private blurring but also their respective codes of behavior, as exemplified by the recent debate over sexual conduct in the workplace, are now more similar. Women, hoping to find greater freedom and equality outside the home, find the same gender, class, and age systems operate wherever they turn.

The true subject here is not the private, but rather the processes of privacy and publicity that construct that which we think of as private, constantly relocating it in the matrix of age, class, and gender relations, which seem relatively immutable. Today, all that we consider most private—bodies, birth, death, children, family life itself—are inextricably linked to public institutions: hospitals, the funeral industry, schools, and welfare states. The language of public and private mystifies these relationships, and the decision to call this a history of private life, when it is as much about what could be termed public life, suggests just how much we are constrained by language and how difficult it is for historians to stand outside the historical processes in which they are implicated.

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ROBERT JAN VAN PELT and CARROLL WILLIAM WESTFALL. *Architectural Principles in the Age of Historicism*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1991. Pp. ix, 417. \$35.00.

This is an unusual book, less a collaboration than a juxtaposition of different trains of thought, placed "paratactically side by side" (p. 5). The approaches of Robert Jan van Pelt and Carroll William Westfall are so different that I wonder whether the two coauthors, both architectural historians, would not have been better advised to write separate works. To be sure, the introductory "Prolegomenon" promises a joint exploration of "the possibility of an abiding and lasting code of architecture" and of "the identity of what is usually considered as being radically distinctive: the purpose of citizenship versus the form and disposition of buildings" (p. 3). This exploration is pursued within the context of the city, Periclean Athens providing the paradigm (van Pelt's reading of this paradigm is among the most challenging chapters of this challenging volume). But despite invocations of conversation and dialogue—the table of contents even promises a debate—the authors fail to really confront each other's positions.

Westfall, especially, builds his theoretical framework in architectural fashion with a precritical conviction unchanged, seemingly untouched by van Pelt's reflection, and untouched also by the gravity of the problem named in the book's title. With breath-taking simplicity he appeals to "the nature of things" (p. 154), to the "atemporal, universal, typical, endur-

ing, and true" (pp. 73–74), to support his often reiterated conviction that architecture serves politics, his fourfold classification of political, primary, civic, and religious activities, and the claim that the first, second, and fourth "are necessarily entailed in the good city" (p. 74). This analysis leads Westfall to his determination of the "six (or so) purposes that buildings serve," each associated with a "building type with a characteristic plan diagram" (p. 166): *tholus* and *templum* (religious), *domus* and *taberna* (primary), *theatrum* and *regia* (political). Westfall concludes his contribution with a discussion of cities that, he hopes, will recall American architects to the truth that "building is an act of citizenship" (p. 306). His perspective is indeed very much that of the American, even of the Virginian, privileged to teach in the shadow of Jefferson's rotunda.

Westfall's solid and untroubled, self-proclaimed Americanism contrasts with van Pelt's doubt and anxiety-ridden, all-too-European reflections, which have to call such confidence into question, despite the latter's tongue-in-cheek proclamation that "the debate will end in a clear victory for him [Westfall] who resolutely persevered to follow the chosen path" (p. 278). Skillfully, van Pelt stages the shipwreck of his own always interesting discourse, which owes much to Karl Jaspers, Martin Heidegger, Hermann Cohen, and Emil Fackenheim. With determination he steers his ship to the reef of the senseless whirl of time, invoking Sophocles and Hölderlin, whose poem "Half of Life" replaces chapter 7 as a statement of the caesura that reveals the insuperable rift separating humankind from God and became horrifying reality in Hitler's concentration camps. Van Pelt calls his "profound sense of discomfort with the inability of architectural historians to respond to Auschwitz" the "more visceral beginning" of his contribution to this debate (p. 375). His "Apocalyptic Abjection" ends rather than concludes the book, leaving him the last word. This long, extraordinary essay begins with an examination of Heidegger's failed attempt to recover the truth of pre-Socratic Greece for the modern age, passes on to a discussion of Nazi architecture, and concludes with an interpretation of Auschwitz as the topsy-turvy city Hitler built. It should be obligatory reading for all who seek to appropriate Heidegger's thought for architectural theory, indeed for all who dream of recovering the greatness of its Greek beginning for our modern culture. The caesura of Auschwitz leads van Pelt to proclaim his lack of trust in the world and to understand architecture and architectural theory as ultimately beside the point: castles in the air. The reader is left with a questionable, but thought-provoking either/or that invites comparison with Søren Kierkegaard's, where Westfall would take the part of Judge William, van Pelt that of the despairing aesthete.

KARSTEN HARRIES
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STEPHEN POLCARI. *Abstract Expressionism and the Modern Experience*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1991. Pp. xxiii, 408. \$65.00.

This is a beautifully produced book with 290 black-and-white illustrations and eighty-eight color plates, a feast for the eyes of connoisseurs despite the limited new discoveries such a large number of reproductions might have warranted. The text is divided into three parts of unequal length and weight. The first is dedicated to the "roots" of abstract expressionism, which Stephen Polcari sees mainly hidden in the 1930s American scene rather than in surrealism. The central and main part of the volume focuses on eight artists considered the major figures of the movement, to which is bizarrely appended a chapter dealing with the "*petits maîtres*" of the movement. A short section dealing with the fate of the movement in the early 1950s concludes the volume.

The acknowledged purpose of Polcari's intervention is to redress what he considers, without naming the perpetrators, a distortion of the history of the most famous American artistic endeavor. Rejecting what he understands as the politicization of art (for him political art can only be when somebody paints obvious propaganda), his goal is to tell the story straight, right from the artist's mouth, to get at the truth, without interpretation which in any case distracts from the important statements made by artists. Polcari's agenda is to depoliticize totally the conditions of artistic production and at the same time give them a specific Anglo-American base.

Polcari tells us in the introduction that he will "attempt to sketch broadly the large features of the cultural climate out of which Abstract Expressionism arose" (p. xix). This he does, with a very large brush indeed, to the point of turning one of the most important periods of our history into a disconnected, meaningless collection of events and attitudes attempting to pass as a *Zeitgeist* of the era. One is confronted by a sea of words in a desert of tough ideas or argument. We read about the effect of the war on the psyche, the wide interest in "primitive cultures," and individualism, but never in an analytical way. We never know why these particular forms or questions arose at that particular time, in that particular place. Were they challenged by other cultural formations? If so, why? Nothing makes real sense in this piling up of facts, worthy of Gustave Flaubert's nightmarish historicism in *Bouvard and Pecuchet*.

Polcari is particularly interested in reloading the canon misfired years ago by Irving Sandler (*Triumph of American Painting* [1973]). This volume is an unabashed attempt to reconstruct the heroic abstract-expressionist mythology so debunked by scholars over the last fifteen years. But this revamping lacks even the originality of Sandler's book. Polcari's text is a string of banal clichés, repeated over and over (influence of primitive cultures, individualist content,

existentialist influences, and so on). The book moves along with an unproblematic progression, piling up heterogeneous facts without knowledge of the theory and politics of representation. Everything is taken at face value, without interpretation, as if meaning was pouring out of the artist like a marvelous fountain. This is art history written by a groupie. It leads us back to the prehistory of art history.

The author spends a great deal of time speaking about the interest of American artists in American Indian cultures. But his treatment is again unproblematic and lacks any critical distance; it does not allow him to historicize and criticize the use of Native American culture by the American avant-garde in order to "naturalize, psychologize and individualize the violence and brutality of modern experience," as Michael Leja says in his study of early abstract expressionism. But Leja's work, like those of James Clifford or Michel Leiris, manages to analyze the subtext of these assertions.

It is too much to hope that a sophisticated approach would come from a person who, according to his own words, is "re-righting" (*American Art* [Winter/Spring 1991], 6–9) art history, cleaning it up according to a right-wing agenda. What is more ominous than the lack of thesis in this book is that the author fantasizes about being the alpha and omega of the field. Nothing else exists. Nowhere in his book, even in the bibliography, appear names of scholars who, since the 1970s, have been involved in arguing for a different history than Polcari's. Their names are taboo, better left ignored so as not to have to argue with their substantial achievements. Books and articles by Max Kozloff, John Tagg, Cecile Whiting, Frances Pohl, Michael Leja, T. J. Clark, Jonathan Harris, Andrew Hemingway, David Craven, and myself have been rubbed out of the historical account, the way Stalin used to erase enemies from photographs. If this is the new world order that right-wing America is building, I can only wish American scholars good luck. That such a book has been published by the reputable Cambridge University Press is quite astonishing.

SERGE GUILBAUT
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DAVID J. SCHALK. *War and the Ivory Tower: Algeria and Vietnam*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1991. Pp. x, 258. \$24.95.

David J. Schalk has crafted a thoughtful and often moving comparative history of French intellectuals responding to the Algerian War and American intellectuals responding to the Vietnam War. Schalk is most concerned with showing how intellectuals in France and the United States during their nations' respective wars without victory left the "Ivory Tower" for a state of committed political engagement. He is, without apology, all for this engagement.

Schalk tells his story through a modestly narrow

frame. He presents the French side of the story through a sympathetic account of Albert Camus's struggle to find a role for France and for himself in Algeria, a supportive summary of antiwar articles in *Esprit*, and a respectful look at Jean-Paul Sartre and *Les Temps modernes*. The American side is based almost entirely on articles published in the *New York Review of Books*, which, Schalk reminds us, "became known in the late 1960s as 'the New York Review of Vietnam,'" so obsessed had it become with the war (pp. 129–30).

The comparative nature of the project is laid out in the first two chapters. Schalk argues—in shorthand but convincingly—that France and the United States faced many similar political, diplomatic, and military problems in their respective "colonial wars." Schalk makes intelligent note, too, of important differences. With the general comparative scene set, Schalk argues that intellectuals in France and the United States moved through a very similar "cycle of engagement."

Schalk calls the first stage of the cycle the "pedagogic": intellectuals calmly described government errors in an attempt to persuade the public and the politicians to change policy. The second stage is the "moral": motivated by an "aggrieved sense of patriotism," intellectuals more passionately opposed government policy. As stages one and two resulted in very limited government response, many intellectuals in France and America, Schalk argues, moved to a third level of engagement, the counterlegal: they advocated illegal actions "in an effort to end the wars that many had come to view as leading fatally to genocide" (p. 52). This "cycle of engagement" model structures both the book's narrative elements and its comparative aspects.

Schalk's comparative history of intellectual engagement provides a scaffolding for evocative claims about the role of intellectuals in France and the United States in the twentieth century. Approvingly, he quotes the ever-quotable Mary McCarthy on what intellectuals are good for: "What we can do, perhaps better than the next man, is smell a rat . . . and our problem is to make others smell it, too" (p. 170). In their respective war crises, French and American intellectuals are both given high marks by Schalk for their "olfactory powers." He demonstrates that in intriguingly similar ways intellectuals in both countries were among the first to smell rotten wars, to sound the alarm, and to engage themselves in efforts to end them.

Schalk points his history at recent death knells for engaged intellectuals that have sounded so frequently in both the United States and France. He argues that intellectuals are as ready now as they were then to accuse their governments of misdeeds, and that to muster the level of engagement shown by both French and American intellectuals in the latter parts of their nations' wars, the state will simply have to "do something stupid and evil enough" (p. 170).

At this level—as an argument about intellectuals' historic and contemporary potential for political en-

gagement—Schalk shows some weaknesses. He simply does not offer enough context about either how intellectuals got the word out then (let alone as against now) or how intellectual fashions and traditions shaped what intellectuals actually wrote and did. In concrete terms, for example, who put out the *New York Review of Books* and why did the editors choose to make it the "New York Review of Vietnam" (ditto for *Esprit*)? What risks and rewards existed for antiwar intellectuals in France and America? I wanted to know more about the discursive traditions within which they operated and how those different traditions affected the kinds of claims the two countries' intellectuals made about state policy and individual responsibility. Who heard intellectuals and how did that affect their perceived roles and actions? Following up on any one of these kinds of concerns would have made the book much richer. As it is, the book, while well written and always intelligently argued, seems (ironically so, given the author's premises) like a narrow academic monograph. Of course it is arguably our business to write academic monographs and this is a very good one.

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ANCIENT

FRANÇOISE DUNAND and CHRISTIANE ZIVIE-COCHE.
Dieux et hommes en Égypte, 3000 av. J.-C.–395 apr. J.-C.: Anthropologie religieuse. Paris: Armand Colin. 1991.
Pp. 366. 196 fr.

Teaching ancient Egyptian religion in a general course in Egyptian civilization poses a major problem because the basic texts and monuments are forbiddingly complex. Unfortunately, existing synthetic interpretations are inadequate. Gardiner's lucid entries in James Hastings's *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* (1927) are now out of date; numerous compendia of gods, myths, and rituals provide no analysis and separate matters—such as mortuary practice and the iconography of the human body—that should be treated together. The best-known interpretations in English—James Henry Breasted's *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt* (1912), Henri Frankfort's *Ancient Egyptian Religion* (1948), and J. A. Wilson's *Burden of Egypt* (1951), still widely used in college teaching—are limited by the archaeological information available when they were written and especially by the highly conservative humanistic perspectives of the authors, strongly influenced by Biblical scholarship and by Ernst Cassirer's theory of "symbolic forms." Two excellent recent social histories of ancient Egypt—*Ancient Egypt: A Social History*, by B. G. Trigger and others (1983), and B. J. Kemp's *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization* (1989)—deal with the evolving institutions of the divine kingship, the temple, and related structures, but they do not interpret these institutions as structures of belief,

value, desire, and knowledge. Finally, the two most challenging syntheses, both written in German, Siegfried Morenz's *Egyptian Religion* (1960, trans. 1973) and Erik Hornung's *The One and the Many* (1973, trans. 1982), although highly suggestive, cannot be used by a nonspecialist; they depend on often elliptical reference to a mass of arcane evidence.

Françoise Dunand and Christiane Zivie-Coche's book will go far toward solving the average teacher's problem. In its two well-organized parts it addresses the issues a good beginning course would cover. The first part, by Zivie-Coche, examines religious belief in the pharaonic period. Zivie-Coche first outlines how the pharaonic Egyptians conceived the gods, based on the way gods were named, described, and depicted. The myths of the gods then shed light on Egyptian ideas about their origins and functions. Several detailed chapters are devoted to the cosmogonies and the creation and structure of historical or "human" time in relation to original or divine time. This emphasis accords with the stress placed by recent historians of Egyptian government and art on the Egyptians' conception of human temporality—and thus of human institutions and representations—in relation to its transcendent guarantees. Because the temples were the most direct embodiment of divine historicity in human experience, Zivie-Coche reviews relevant archaeological data; the temples, she stresses, were "microcosms" (p. 96) in which architecture, art, cult furnishings, and liturgy functioned simultaneously according to a single "grammar" (p. 104). Although the gods did appear on earth in the temples, the human body or personality was the site of religious expression as well: Zivie-Coche examines personal piety and morality in ancient Egypt (although the difficulty of inferring private attitudes and actual practices occasionally defeats her) and beliefs about death and the afterlife. Throughout, her treatment follows established models; but her information is up-to-date and she gives a sense of the complexity behind the main outlines. As in other studies of Egyptian religion, however, a more direct engagement with the underlying modern discourses that frame her account—for example, Martin Heidegger's conception of human "historicity" in relation to our "being-toward-death"—might have shaped a more challenging analysis. As it is, a student might form the impression that Zivie-Coche has merely allowed the Egyptians to speak for themselves.

In the second part of the book, Dunand adopts a more explicitly theoretical framework to consider Egyptian religion in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, which present unique evidence and problems. An interesting essay on "religion and power" sets the stage; Dunand shows how the new ruling dynasty and then the Roman administration created a "political-religious ideology" (p. 199) that both appropriated and revised pharaonic tradition. The "new" god Serapis—a multivalent creation addressed to traditional belief, new civil realities, and foreign inter-

ests—is but one example of the general phenomenon Dunand identifies, "the ambiguous game between opposition and collaboration" (p. 207). Other materials exemplify the same theme: the new, but traditionally conceived, sanctuaries constructed in Greco-Roman times; new gods, cults, and beliefs (for example, Greek cult, imperial cult, Judaism, and Christianity); transformations in the images of the gods; and the tension between polytheistic and monotheistic spiritualities. Dunand's picture of the conflicted but creative syncretisms of the era is elegantly summed up in her fascinating comparison between the "Greek" festival of the Ptolemaia at Alexandria and the "Egyptian" festivals at Esna. Lest Greco-Roman religion in Egypt be perceived merely as a contest between native and foreign elements, the stratification of religious belief (it was, of course, also present in pharaonic times) between mandarin and popular knowledge and the new importance of certain practices (such as reclusion and oracles) underscore the great variability and occasional idiosyncrasy of religions in Egypt after Alexander. Dunand's account fits well with recent historians' view of Hellenistic Egypt as perhaps the most interesting and best-documented, if not the first, "multicultural" society of the ancient world.

Naturally a book of this kind must select and simplify. The authors' learning, interest in conceptualization, and clear prose have enabled them to produce an excellent account; although it does not have the intellectual power of Morenz's or Hornung's essays, it will serve as a good introduction to such difficult works. It is to be hoped that an English translation will swiftly appear.

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JAMES WHITLEY. *Style and Society in Dark Age Greece: The Changing Face of a Pre-Literate Society 1100–700 B.C.* (New Studies in Archaeology.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1991. Pp. xx, 225. \$54.50.

Greece during its "Dark Age" bore witness to significant changes within the various societies that constituted that ancient region in the eastern Mediterranean: the transition from monarchy to aristocracy, the Homeric epics, and the origins of the city-state. The period is ripe with questions while the materials are sparse and incomplete, yet the "Dark Age" remains the focus of great interest to the archaeologist and ancient historian. James Whitley, in focusing on the pottery from 1100–700 B.C. basically in Attica and its center Athens, reexamines in minute detail the current theses about that Dark Age and with the use of computer analysis of the pots and their decorations seeks, sometimes tediously, to describe the development of those key changes.

Dark Age art, Whitley claims, depicts the several stages of the ideal social types, for the ceramic decorations denote distinctive burial customs and, coupled

with the patterns of funerary deposition, also denotes degrees of social hierarchy. Analyzing five phases of Dark Age Attic pottery, Whitley notes an undistinguished Submycenaean period (ca. 1125–1050 B.C.) lacking in clear demarcations, with social status recognized essentially by the number of artifacts buried with the corpse. The subsequent Protogeometric period (ca. 1025–900 B.C.) began to reflect social transformations, cremation became dominant, diversity in burials was lessened, and distinctions of gender were noted in the choice of vessel forms and materials buried. The ninth century, the initial Geometric period, witnessed profound changes, with marked distinctions in graves as markers of social classes and the rise of the aristocracy. In the early eighth century the diversity of pottery as grave markers became acute.

In the late eighth century, however, a dramatic breakdown in the aristocratic order became manifest, with an increase in burials, especially of children, distinctions made according to gender, the return to inhumation, and a stress on uniformity of burial at the expense of exclusivity. This last characteristic, Whitley remarks, is the experience especially of the early city-state.

Depositing weapons in graves, for example, reached its peak in the ninth century, yet by the end of the eighth century the number declined to almost none. Gold and silver artifacts, common in the early eighth century, declined thereafter. Continuity, however, is noted in the phenomenon of rich female burials.

Whitley's examination of Attic burial materials is profound and will dominate for some time future studies of the Athenian Dark Age. Whitley demonstrates that Greek societies during the period were extremely diverse, and with caution one can detect corresponding social forms in Homeric epic. Both stable and unstable settlement forms occurred then, and the early "big-man" societies gave way to broader aristocracies, with the greatest changes having occurred between the tenth and ninth centuries B.C. Although the text is difficult to read, the rewards for perseverance are both highly significant and important.

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THOMAS J. FIGUEIRA. *Athens and Aigina in the Age of Imperial Colonization*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1991. Pp. xii, 274. \$29.95.

This is a closely argued, minutely researched work of revisionist history. Thomas J. Figueira sets as his task a reexamination of Athenian colonization in the eastern Mediterranean during the period of the Athenian empire (ca. 480–400 B.C.). The heart of his analysis is a case study involving the island of Aigina.

Much of his discussion focuses on the problem of distinguishing between the various types of colonies founded (in Greek *epoikia*, *apoikia*, and *klerouchia*) and in elucidating the essential differences between the various types. The insights and conclusions he offers on this subject are novel and interesting, though relatively minor in their broader implications. He then discusses colonization within the context of the Athenian empire. The reader expecting to find an extended discussion on the relationship between colonization and imperialism (ancient or modern) in general will be sadly disappointed. Figueira eschews drawing any broader generalizations from his detailed case study. This, then, is a work aimed at a narrow audience, even among ancient Greek historians.

The book is divided into two parts. In the first, Figueira examines the relationship between Athens and the nearby island of Aigina, the site of an Athenian colony during the imperial period. The initial part of this section focuses on the problem of which of the three categories of colonies was Aigina. He analyzes in full all of the references to the settlement on Aigina, paying careful attention to terms employed. He then shifts attention to the question of what distinguishes the different types. Using a computerized data base, he compiles long lists of citations of words referring to colonies, and, employing a semantic approach, he examines the ways in which each of the terms is used in a broad array of sources. By identifying and analyzing recurrent patterns of word usage, he concludes that *epoikoi* are "reinforcing colonists" sent out to resupply a previously dispatched colony, and that *apoikia* and *klerouchia* are quite similar terms, with the primary distinction being that the colonists in the former held a form of dual citizenship linking them to both their old and their new communities, while in the latter they retained citizenship only in their previous community. In the specific case of Aigina he suggests that it was first an *apoikia* later supplemented with *epoikic* colonists. His argument is convincing and it corrects the previous orthodox view, but it does seem a minor point compared to the monumental effort involved in constructing his voluminous lexical study.

The second part of the book deals with the policy of colonization in the Athenian empire. Figueira describes the historical background to Athenian imperial colonization, creating in the process a new category of colony, the "patronal" type. This is essentially a colony established by a single "big man" and a small band of followers, usually incorporating themselves into an existing community. The utility of this concept will be borne out by future research. He examines the implications and impact of colonization on Athenian politics, economy, and society. Among the topics he discusses are the impact of colonization on Athenian manpower, the economic benefit to the communal fisc from the colonies, and the military role of colonies. He determines that colonization was

an important part of the Athenian empire. Such a banal conclusion should not detract from the utility of this work. Figueira has produced a detailed, richly researched volume that scholars of ancient Greek colonization and the Athenian empire—but few others—will turn to profitably.

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JEAN-LOUIS FERRARY. *Philhellenisme et imperialisme: Aspects idéologiques de la conquête romaine du monde hellénistique, de la seconde guerre de Macédoine à la guerre contre Mithridate*. (Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, number 271.) Paris: École Française de Rome. 1988. Pp. xvi, 690.

Jean-Louis Ferrary has written a detailed, complex, but exciting book. He elaborates the Roman intervention into Greek lands, from 200–88 B.C., although earlier and later years and other areas of Greek settlements are included when needed. But Ferrary's main concerns are the ideological aspects of the Roman conquests of Greece, the contacts between Greek and Roman intellectuals, and the motivations and reactions of the Greeks to Roman rule and propaganda.

The work is divided into three parts. Part 1 deals with the issue of liberty. The Romans always claimed to defend Greek liberty against monarchy or demagoguery, but the critical definition of liberty varied from age to age as Rome dictated its terms. With time, the contrast increased between the Greek concept of free liberty and that imposed by an outside power expecting gratitude. Ferrary focuses on Flamininus's sympathy for Greek freedom, the independence of his Corinthian proclamation, the responses of Greeks and Romans, and the enduring implications of such a policy. Part 2, the most original section of the book, reviews the fragmentary Greek and Roman historians and philosophers, who argued the effectiveness of liberty during the conquests. Ferrary presents Polybius's reasons for conciliation with a Roman rule favoring the aristocratic class as teaching Roman control to the Greeks and Greek freedom to the Romans. Other historians, presenting their own moderate virtues, are also analyzed. The philosophers of liberty under conquest include leading individuals in addition to the philosophical schools in Athens. Ferrary concludes that, ultimately, all philosophies supported Rome or proved impotent against it. Part 3 examines when and how Philhellenism emerged and assesses its impact on leading Romans, such as Cicero or Scipio Aemilianus's Circle. For the ancients, the term proved still shadowy and ill-defined. Ferrary has worked thoughtfully with the incomplete ancient sources, resolving contrasts and contradictions within and between the authors, trying to understand each author's interpretation of liberty under imperialism. Modern historians and philosophers are also sur-

veyed critically, and a huge bibliography supplements the careful footnotes. Ferrary's claims for independent interpretations are bold, but he argues them well from primary sources and criticizes the steadily shifting schools of historical interpretations. In his subtle explanation of Flamininus's proclamation of 196 B.C., he discards Theodor Mommsen's and Ernst Badian's works to accept Polybius's appraisal that the proclamation was not a natural development of Roman politics but instead a dramatic adaptation of Roman politics to Hellenistic traditions. The Roman generosity, however, was partial. Later Greeks supported Mithridates, and Romans abused Greece during the civil wars. Ultimately, the Greeks accepted the Augustan tyranny, craving peace and moderate rule over liberty.

Some criticisms can be made. Tying practical conquests and theories of idealized liberty together leaves uncertainty. Differences of meanings for *libertas*, *eleutheria*, *imperium*, *hegemonia*, *paideia*, and other concepts brought ancient discords and now leave final interpretations open to debate. The whole book is weak on cohesion. Some might challenge conclusions about various details. And often Ferrary's criticisms of earlier interpretations are more telling than his own alternative answers.

Still, the book is excellent. A fine intellectual historian, Ferrary describes lucidly the changes of Roman political ambitions to cultural traditions. He challenges his readers to reconsider independently the ideas justifying or coping with conquests. Like Posidonius and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Ferrary is convinced that Rome could lead its conquered world only as its patricians shared the cultural values of hellenism.

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JOHN HAYWOOD. *Dark Age Naval Power: A Re-assessment of Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Seafaring Activity*. New York: Routledge. 1991. Pp. xii, 232. \$45.00.

John Haywood's aim is to fill one of the major gaps in naval history, that of the state of the seamanship of the Germanic peoples before the Viking Age. Haywood has employed the traditional literary texts as well as archaeology, numismatics, geology, and climatology. He first investigates the beginnings of Germanic piracy in the Roman period, from 12 B.C. to A.D. 240, then takes up the raids of the Franks and Saxons in the third and fourth centuries, the Anglo-Saxons to about 800, and concludes with two chapters on the Franks, one from Clovis to Pepin the Short, and the other concerning Charlemagne and Louis the Pious.

The author has imposed a number of limitations on his study. He focuses on the Germanic peoples living between the Rhine and the Jutland peninsula and is concerned only with warfare, piracy, and migration,

but not with trade. Perhaps most significantly, sailing against the wind of scholarship in the last several decades, he assumes that the classical literary sources are correct in their identification of the Germanic peoples they name and that there is reliable continuity of tribal identities throughout this period.

Haywood's most important thesis is that the sail was probably used by the Germanic peoples by the mid-first century A.D. But in addition to arguing for widespread and effective use of naval forces by the Germanic peoples of the Rhine-Jutland region, Haywood takes up the Anglo-Saxons and Franks specifically. His most striking points are that the Anglo-Saxon migrants were ferried to Britain in sailing ships manned by small, professional crews, and that the Anglo-Saxons themselves used the sail long before the end of the seventh century. Haywood presents the Franks as accomplished and successful in their naval operations. Specifically, Charlemagne is seen as an outstanding maritime leader, whose fleets and coastal defenses were quite effective against Muslim and Viking pirates.

Haywood's major theses are generally tenuous at best and frequently unconvincing. They are commonly founded on a stack of possibilities piled on inferences from the texts and remain highly speculative, though very interesting and worthy of consideration. Haywood presents the movement of forces by ship (or perhaps more correctly, by boat) as naval activity, but a group of boats is no more a navy than a group of men seated on horses is a cavalry detachment.

Moreover, in his discussion of the Carolingians, Haywood uses "Frankish" to refer to all the forces, whether composed of Franks or non-Franks, ultimately under the command of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious, whereas past discussions have generally concerned the Franks themselves, and his depiction of naval successes under Charlemagne and Louis the Pious falls far short of being convincing. This book will be of great interest to those concerned with the ships of the Germanic tribes, but its revision of Anglo-Saxon and Carolingian maritime history is not likely to sway many opinions.

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BOUDEWIGN SIRKS. *Food for Rome: The Legal Structure of the Transportation and Processing of Supplies for the Imperial Distributions in Rome and Constantinople*. (Studia Amstelodamensia ad Epigraphicam, Ius Antiquum et Papyrologicam Pertinentia, number 31.) Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben. 1991. Pp. vi, 446.

Boudewign Sirks's book is primarily a legal study of the Roman imperial *annona*, the system employed for levying grain in distant provinces and then conveying it to Rome (and after A.D. 324 also to Constantinople)

for distribution to city residents. This is the "bread" part of "bread and circuses," an expression the poet Juvenal used to describe (and deplore) the effort of Roman emperors to placate the large depressed populations of their capital cities.

A detailed administrative study of the *annona*, particularly in its late-imperial form, might not seem prepossessing. But in fact the subject is crucial to our understanding of the empire's "bureaucratic" development. Legal sources such as the Theodosian Code (A.D. 438) and the Code of Justinian (A.D. 534) contain detailed imperial regulations governing the supply and distribution of grain and other staples. Such sources have long been used, or misused, to describe a transition in imperial governance from a more liberal regime in the early empire to a much harsher and more autocratic regime in the late empire.

Sirks's principal antagonist is Jean-Pierre Waltzing, who in 1895 described a model of imperial bureaucratic development that has endured, with surprisingly little challenge, for almost a century. According to this model, in the early empire the imperial government organized the grain supply mainly through contracts with independent shipowners and millers. But during the political and economic tumult of the late third century A.D., the government transformed these contracts into *munera*, mandatory civic obligations, and the loose associations of shipowners and millers thereby became, in effect, state corporations. The result was a steady erosion of the market and of economic freedom. Furthermore, Waltzing willfully extended this model by analogy to many other professions. Waltzing's view has many adherents even today.

As Sirks shows, however, little about the Waltzing model can be regarded as persuasive even in the area of the food supply. First, Waltzing's attempt to link the *munera* to third-century political troubles is unconvincing; the change came earlier, probably already under Septimius Severus. Second, the imperial *annona* involved only a fraction of the grain imported into Rome (the remainder was left to the free market even during the late empire), and the activities of the *annona* were confined to Rome and (later) Constantinople, but never extended to the grain supply of other large cities such as Antioch and Carthage, which were largely left to fend for themselves. Finally, even within the *annona*, significant free-market elements survived, although the late empire did see a series of awkward experiments with regimentation.

Sirks follows the grain through its procurement and transport from overseas provinces to its port of destination and then through its storage, processing, and final distribution; he also more briefly treats the imperially organized import of other staples such as meat, wine, and olive oil, before concluding with an altogether too brief chapter on the free-market traders themselves. For the later empire he is careful to observe the differences between its eastern and west-

ern halves, differences that earlier scholars often obscured.

Patiently examining the principal legal sources from the later empire, Sirks comes to the conclusion that the bureaucratic interpretation of them is simply wrong. As he argues, "Consequently, the image of the Later Roman Empire, which is largely based on that unjustifiably extended interpretation of the legislation, should be revised. We can add that the other arguments for a coercive bureaucracy and caste system are equally untenable" (p. 21).

Sirks hardly exaggerates the importance of his theme; he strikes at the very heart of the Waltzing model, and his conclusions are likely to precipitate a comprehensive reassessment of the government and economy of the later empire. Waltzing developed his model around a pronouncedly liberal set of values, according to which, at least by implication, the decline of the Roman Empire's economy went hand in hand with overbearing governmental interference and regimentation. That there was a general economic decline is undoubted; but the causes must be sought elsewhere. Imperial interventions in the market were doubtless heavy-handed at times, but hardly so onerous in themselves as to foreshadow some kind of modern state socialism.

This study is near to exhaustive and at times, as the author himself admits, rather wearisome and repetitious. Still, Sirks's book is a model of its kind, a book that suggests that even longstanding historical assumptions are often worth examining afresh.

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BERNARD MCGINN. *The Presence of God: A History of Western Christian Mysticism*. Volume 1, *The Foundations of Mysticism*. New York: Crossroad. 1991. Pp. xxii, 494.

One of the most conspicuous features in research during the last twenty years has been the attention given to Christian spirituality. The subject itself is many-splendored, and investigations have been so many and so diverse that, until now, it has been difficult to draw any assessment of its new contours. Bernard McGinn has played a distinguished role in this collective revision. We now see that his numerous inquiries into widely separated periods and diverse themes were painstaking reconnoiters for the bold, comprehensive survey of which this volume is the first segment. In this book, McGinn takes his account from origins in Jewish apocalypticism and Greek philosophy to patristic doctrines of the fifth century. Eventually, he proposes to continue the narrative in three further volumes down to the present day.

For numerous reasons McGinn has limited his account to mysticism in Western Europe. Thus, he

has chosen not to compare Western European phenomena with possible analogues in other Christian lands or beyond the borders of Christendom. Even so, McGinn's critical apparatus of more than 1,700 footnotes and nearly 1,000 bibliographical entries gives a measure of how large a terrain had to be explored.

The study adheres to the paradigm of text and commentary. In its general plan, it moves, author by author, through the canonical library of classics. Although McGinn provides discerning comments on individual authors' broad theological positions, he primarily considers individual treatises, or passages, that became intellectual norms in the tradition of contemplative spirituality.

One result of the general plan is that the actual practice and experience of mysticism has a small place in the account. This is at odds with McGinn's clear and repeated insistence on the continual interplay between speculation and practice. Establishing that point, he maintains that mysticism achieved its durability and importance in Western culture precisely because it was institutionalized in, and conveyed by, monastic discipline. Thus, it engaged men and women in its interplay of thought and experience. Yet McGinn's focus on classic texts of speculative theology, and on the incremental ramification of their guiding ideas, omits reference to biographical materials that could illustrate mysticism in action. As a result, it also excludes spiritual adepts other than the authors of the texts. Women (so far) are among those excluded from intertextuality.

As a historian, McGinn uses a geological metaphor to represent the expanding repertoire of mystical speculation: the metaphor of stratification, or "layering." The major periods eventually to be studied in the four volumes (antecedents to the fifth century; fifth century to ca. 1200; ca. 1200 to ca. 1600; ca. 1600 to the present) correspond with the formation of major geological strata, when inherited patterns combined with "new ideas, systems, and institutions to create ever more complex possibilities" (p. 131). The metaphor of geological striation is a key to McGinn's understanding of his subject as "constructivist," capable of analysis that is both synoptic and critical. For McGinn, "ambiguities and confusions" are to be avoided (see, for example, p. 301). "Coherent," "inner coherence," and "carefully thought-out" are terms of approval, and, as McGinn reads them, the chief authors of the early mystical canon were guided by their theological "systematics."

McGinn's own study is characterized by coherence, meticulous research and planning, and mastery of systematic theology. To these characteristics it owes much of its clarity and strength, not to mention the rare integrity of exposition that it represents. And still, as his own analyses of texts and his valuable review of modern scholarship indicate, the underlying contents in texts of mystical thought are not easily

reduced to logic, and mystical experience is inexpressible. McGinn himself emphasizes the deliberate use of mind-dazzling paradox (for example, in the cataphatic and apophatic methods), and the manipulation of language (notably in erotic figures of speech) to subvert linguistic structures of meaning.

Occasionally one is bound to sense that McGinn has replicated the first act of creation, sending forth into the darkness of the texts a formative light that is his own. For me, the chapter portraying Augustine of Hippo as "the founding father of Western mysticism" (p. 228) brought such a moment of reconstructive clarity. Manifestly, passages excerpted from Augustine's writings achieved oracular authority in the literary tradition of Western mysticism. McGinn's expert readings establish which passages tradition made normative in its selective assimilation of the Father's dicta. The quarrelsome history of Augustinianisms, however, is evidence enough of the inconsistencies, ambiguities, and contradictions—in short, the lack of system—at the source.

Perhaps a discussion of how mysticism, defined functionally (pp. xv–xvi), differed from, or intersected with, Augustine's doctrines of sacraments and inspiration would have answered some doubts prompted by McGinn's attribution of mystical content to some individual texts. But, certainly, the broader conception of "progress toward God" as "communal and not individual," occurring "within the bosom of the church" (p. 262) needs to be qualified by reference to Augustine's conception of the church as a building composed of individual, living stones (each life having been created directly and individually in the womb by God), and, besides, as a *civitas permixta* in this world. Likewise, the characterization of "*caritas* toward all" as the cast of heart required by Augustine's spirituality is incomplete without reference to his doctrine of persecution as a work of brotherly love.

Inevitably an undertaking so vast in scope and on a subject of such notorious complexity will invite corrections of detail as well as differences of appraisal. For example, it seems inexact to characterize the ideas that Evelyn Underhill set forth in *Mysticism* (1911) as representing a body of Anglo-Catholic thinking when, in fact, Underhill did not become an Anglican until 1921. In 1911, although discouraged by Rome's condemnation of modernism, she was still seeking Roman Catholic mentors; she entered the circle of Baron von Hügel after, and as a result of, the publication of her book. (Hügel himself, discussed here among philosophical rather than Roman Catholic analysts, is another figure whose ambiguities elude categories other than "hybrid.") Yet when one stands back from the canvas, one sees how masterly a work this is, how much is to be learned from the first volume, and how much one can hope to learn from subsequent volumes about the difference that mysticism made in the histories of inwardness, formal

thought, and transforming epiphanies of political and social order.

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JOYCE E. SALISBURY. *Church Fathers, Independent Virgins*. New York: Verso. 1991. Pp. vii, 168.

This small book by Joyce E. Salisbury has an interesting premise: that there was an "alternative" ascetic tradition in ancient Christianity that valued independent women who exercised unusual liberty and freedom of choice on the basis of their chastity. It is divided into two parts. The first is a fifty-four-page section on Western patristic views of sexuality and virginity. The second is a sixty-eight-page section on seven female ascetics whose *vitae* are found in Escorial manuscript a II 9.

The book is narrowly focused and poorly conceived. First, the fountainhead of Christian thought about sexuality, marriage, and virginity is Paul, who is rarely mentioned. By ignoring Paul, Salisbury treats patristic statements that are Pauline in origin as if the church father in question thought them up. The author is impressed, for example, that many Christian texts call the human body a "temple of God" without signaling to the reader that such is an allusion to 1 Cor. 3:17 and 6:19. She attributes to Ambrose an observation of Paul (Gal. 5:17) that there is a war between spirit and flesh. Second, many male and female ascetics claimed high status because of their spirit-filled lives. Such male and female ascetics represented a challenge to the developing institutions of Christian clergy, customs, and conventions. The author acknowledges that fact occasionally, but generally proceeds as if female ascetics were the central challenge to institutional authority, which they surely were not. Third, Salisbury says virtually nothing about the Eastern fathers, such as Basil or John Chrysostom, yet posits a myth that in Eastern Christianity the purportedly oppressive sexual views of the Western fathers did not prevail and that there was an Eastern tradition of proud, independent virgins. Fourth, the fathers were generally educated men and their views on sexuality are obviously related to contemporary Greco-Roman medical science. The author makes little effort to sort this out and consequently does not clearly distinguish "Christian" elements in patristic views from primarily cultural elements.

In the second section, the seven lives of ascetic women are treated together only because they happen to appear together in a tenth-century Spanish manuscript. The section is largely a retelling of the women's stories without much critical attention. The basic premise about the lives—that they are Eastern and embody an alternate ascetic vision—is dubious. The lives range from pure fantasy to reasonable

historicity and from the fifth to the seventh century. Several are clearly not of Eastern origin. Salisbury never establishes that any of them circulated in the East. The lives have little in common and the author has to struggle to find in them "a view of sexuality and womanhood that provided an alternative to the patristic one" (p. 58).

There is also a problem with the research on which the book is based. The scholarly literature on patristic views of sexuality, marriage, and virginity is extensive and multilingual, but it is conspicuously absent from the text and notes. Salisbury uses patristic texts almost entirely in English translation. To judge from the notes, she read mostly English secondary works, with a smattering of Spanish. Even Latin is scarce and has errors when it does appear.

The significance of ascetic women in ancient Christianity is an important topic, but this book does not meet the need for a detailed, source-based, and scholarly treatment.

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Columbus

MEDIEVAL

NORMAN F. CANTOR. *Inventing the Middle Ages: The Lives, Works, and Ideas of the Great Medievalists of the Twentieth Century*. New York: William Morrow. 1991. Pp. 477. \$27.00.

In an essay that is part biography, part historiography, part academic history, and part personal memoir, Norman F. Cantor explores the lives and writings of the scholars who "invented and shaped the contours and characters of the Middle Ages in the twentieth century mind" (p. 374). A second but unstated theme focuses on these scholars' attitudes toward Jews: fairly, Cantor puts each scholar to the litmus test of his or her degree of anti-Semitism. Under rubrics such as "The Nazi Twins" (Percy Schramm and Ernst Kantorowicz), "The French Jews" (Marc Bloch and Louis Halphen), "The Oxford Fantasists" (C. S. Lewis, J. R. R. Tolkien, and F. M. Powicke), and "American Pie" (Charles Homer Haskins and Joseph R. Strayer), the chapters compare and contrast scholars' lives, works, and basic philosophies. Brilliant in conception, clever, witty, and entertaining in style, and bristling with judgments, the book is provocative in the original sense of the word: bound to stimulate discussion. The result is a rare achievement in historical, art historical, and literary criticism, ranking with John Clive's *Not by Fact Alone: Essays in the Reading and Writing of History* (1989) as a work that merits attention in the broader reading public as well as in academic circles.

Cantor gives us the unexceptional argument that the great medievalists of this century were shaped by the social, political, and intellectual milieus of their times: Wilsonian liberalism, fascism, the Jewish holo-

caust, World War II, and the Cold War. (The thesis does not quite work for the legal historian F. W. Maitland, who died in 1905). The argument rests on Cantor's insightful analysis of published works, biographical and necrological accounts, and on his memory of persons and conversations, some of the latter forty-odd years ago.

Students may challenge the adjective "great" as question-begging, but few will deny the impact that the nineteen men and one woman (Eileen Power) have had on medieval scholarship. A short review cannot do justice to the complex personalities and scholarship involved or to Cantor's rich argument. Sometimes his judgments seem quixotic or lacking in generosity of spirit, as in his implication that Marc Bloch, who was shot by the Nazis in 1944, had a greater impact dead than alive. There is also the sense that in some cases Cantor has sacrificed accuracy for a remarkably good story. Thus, he brands the Jewish émigré Ernst Kantorowicz a "Nazi," primarily on the evidence of his *Kaiser Friedrich der Zweite* (1927). After describing it as "the most exciting biography of a medieval monarch produced in this century" (p. 85), Cantor goes on to label Kantorowicz's entire career at the universities of Frankfurt, Oxford, California at Berkeley, and the Princeton Institute for Advanced Studies as pervaded by a "proto-Nazi ideology." Although *Friedrich II* enjoyed such popular acclaim that even Kantorowicz later acknowledged that it helped pave the way for National Socialism, and although Heinrich Himmler kept the book on his night table, Cantor's account is difficult to reconcile with the classroom attacks Kantorowicz suffered from Nazi thugs at Frankfurt, the fact that his mother died at Theresienstadt, and his opposition to the loyalty oath requirement at Berkeley during the McCarthy era. (See Eckhart Grünewald, *Ernst Kantorowicz und Stefan George* [1982], and Robert E. Lerner, "Ernst Kantorowicz and Theodor Mommsen," in *An Interrupted Past: German Speaking Refugee Historians in the United States after 1933*, The German Historical Institute [1991], 186–206.)

The treatment of David Knowles, the Downside monk and Cambridge historian of monasticism, betrays a basic hostility to monasticism; that is all right, for Gibbon also detested monasticism. But in arguing that Knowles's abbots failed to appreciate his intellectual brilliance until it was too late, and that he had left the monastery for the more stimulating world of Cambridge, Cantor confuses the goals of the university with those of monasticism. Knowles repeatedly said that he would never have left his community had he not been ordered away to a dependent priory. Cantor has garbled some of the facts of Knowles's career: he made his first profession of vows in 1915 at age nineteen, then a typical age and hardly "a reflection of the naivete and disorder in the Catholic Church" (p. 300); Knowles spent the war years at Downside, not Cambridge, which he entered only in 1919; monks ordinarily do not talk at meals (*Rule of*

Benedict, chap. 38 [p. 303]); no one with the faintest acquaintance with the very English and very aristocratic community at Downside and with Knowles's repeated praise of its intellectual and liturgical achievements in the 1920s would label the monastery "dismayingly petty bourgeois and excessively Irish" (p. 313); the psychological speculations on Knowles's sexuality seem refuted by his own homophobic words in *Religious Orders in England* (vol. 3, pp. 295–99). More broadly, if Knowles was a "great forerunner of the liberating spirit of Vatican II" (p. 317), how does Cantor explain Knowles's description of the Council's substitution of the vernacular languages for Latin as "the massacre of one of the great art forms of the world—the Latin Roman liturgy of word and music" (Dom Adrian Morey, *David Knowles: A Memoir* [1979], 113)? What of Knowles's vigorous defense of Pope Paul VI's encyclical *Humanae Vitae* condemning birth control, a defense that won Knowles the commendation of a conservative curial cardinal? Undeterred by the fact that Knowles's will seals access to his autobiographical statement until 2004, and dismissing the monastic and academic studies of him as characterized by ecclesiastical, male, and national (British) chauvinism, Cantor has sketched a very imaginative portrait. The problem is that there is little evidence for it.

For those of us privileged to have been students of Joseph R. Strayer, Cantor's portrait will prove evocative of Princeton in the 1950s and early 1960s. During the Cold War, Strayer fulfilled the Wilsonian ideal of public service by working for the Central Intelligence Agency, perhaps studying reports from the Soviet Union (much of Cantor's information here is based on rumor and conjecture). Partly because of Strayer's cooperation with Allen Dulles and the CIA, Cantor believes Strayer displayed an arrogance of power. Having rightly blasted the German professoriat of the 1930s for doing nothing to oppose Hitler, Cantor faults Strayer, whom he calls a decent and liberal man, for doing his bit to fight communism.

When the solid and sensible treatments of such scholars as F. W. Maitland, Erwin Panofsky, and Johann Huizinga, whom Cantor does not know, are contrasted with some others such as Kantorowicz, Knowles, and Strayer, whom Cantor does know, one comes to the ironic conclusion that, with the notable exception of the sensitive appreciation of Theodor Mommsen, Cantor is the less reliable the better he knew the individual. Nevertheless, the originality of this inquiry, and the breadth of learning and imagination it displays, make it a very important study. The story is carried only to 1965; will there be a sequel for the rest of the century?

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WALTER PAKTER. *Medieval Canon Law and the Jews*. (Abhandlungen zur rechtswissenschaftlichen Grund-

lagenforschung, number 68.) Ebelsbach: Rolf Gremer. 1988. Pp. xiv, 376.

An alien religious minority on the periphery of Western European culture, medieval Jews paradoxically lived under the rule of more systems of law than did members of the Christian majority. The law of the secular state that governed everyone, rabbinic law or *Halakhah*, and Christian Jewry law pertaining exclusively to them; all these had relevance *de his qui foris sunt*—that is, for Jews inasmuch as they were outside the mainstream of society and its institutions. Walter Pakter used this juridical formula for the title of his dissertation on "The Teachings of the Medieval Canon and Civil Lawyers Concerning the Jews" (1974), which concerned the third of the three bodies of law, and the subsequent publication of the book under review marks an important contribution.

Medieval European Jewry law derived both from customary law and from Roman law, and with the revived study and importance of Roman law in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries it drew increasingly more attention from canon lawyers as well. Pakter describes the configuration of these interlocking legal systems in his introduction, then traces the widening claims of churchmen to formal jurisdiction over the Jews: from the indirect jurisdiction inherent in protecting the faithful and their church from the infidel, to the direct authority deriving from the Jews' voluntary submission to Christian institutions and/or the rule of God's (papal) vicar over all creatures on earth. Pakter then examines the canonists' discussions of Jewish slaves and servants, the rights and disadvantages of Jews in judicial procedure, and questions of family law (marriage and divorce, parents and children, and so on) as they bore on the Jews in Christendom. A brief conclusion, a lengthy bibliography, and multiple indexes bring the volume to a close.

This is a book with distinctive assets and liabilities, and both deserve elaboration. On the one hand, Pakter has wrestled successfully with the formidable task of collating the pertinent legal texts from a vast array of disparate sources, many of them in manuscript. He has produced the first comprehensive study of his subject, a meticulously documented history of Roman, conciliar, and papal legislation concerning the Jews, along with the commentaries of decretists, decretalists, and civilians. More than a *florilegium*, however, this book demonstrates well that medieval ecclesiastical attitudes toward the Jews were not monolithic, that as the rights of the Jews in some areas of canon law (for example, the ownership of Christian slaves and condemnation of the Talmud) declined steadily, canonists voiced moderation vis-à-vis other issues (such as the holding of public office and the infamous Jewish badge). Attitudes varied between geographical regions as well. For Italian canonists, Judaism posed more of a theoretical, doctrinal challenge than an immediate social danger; yet "in northern eyes, Jews were an alien and illicit

culture, but no [ideological] adversary." Among the resulting anomalies, "the badge was popular everywhere but in Italy where it was invented" (p. 334). And trends in the doctrine of the canonists did not always correspond to socioeconomic and political realities. Intense focus on Jewish ownership of Christian slaves, for example, persisted even as the phenomenon itself disappeared, while discussion of compulsion in the baptism of Jews and their children did not measure up to the rate at which the practice occurred.

On the other hand, this book disappoints in several respects, especially when it ventures away from the well-defined and well-delimited realm of conventional legal history. Interpretations proposed for noteworthy developments in the canonistic teaching are at times unfounded in the sources (legal and otherwise) or overly implausible. Popes Gregory IX and Innocent IV condemned the Talmud, Pakter argues, because "Parisian theologians were relying on rabbinic studies and Hebrew theologians such as Avicbron" (p. 76), allegedly endangering Christianity with notions such as "Rashi's rationalist approach to miracles" (p. 72). "Justinian's reasons [for legislating against the Jews as he did] must be sought in his complex personality rather than in contemporary realities. His humble origins instilled in him a Stalin-like feeling of inferiority and mistrust" (p. 161). Or, concerning the decretalist commentary on Innocent III's *Etsi Iudeos*, "none took seriously his claim that Jews were consigned to perpetual servitude . . . Few jurists were reckless enough to completely rewrite medieval Jewry-law on this basis" (p. 323). Misconceptions in matters of Jewish history are no less frequent: an alleged Talmudic concept that "marriage was dissolved by baptism" (p. 257), the existence of the rabbis during the Babylonian Exile (p. 263), that an aversion to Gentile courts was "already enshrined in Talmudic tradition" before the days of Paul (p. 145), and the aforementioned imputation of rationalism to Rashi. Finally, the bibliography has been updated insufficiently between the dissertation of 1974 and the book of 1988, and it lacks numerous citations relating to issues of direct relevance: studies by Bernard Bachrach, Albert Baumgarten, myself, and Amnon Linder on Roman anti-Jewish legislation; Joseph Shatzmiller on the "excommunication" of the Jews in canon law; Robert Chazan, Amos Funkenstein, Joel Rembaum, and myself on ecclesiastical attitudes toward rabbinic literature; and so on.

In all, this is a learned, significant, and highly useful book. Yet in this instance, Pakter might have better heeded his own warning that while "the primary task of legal historians is to describe changes in the law, the task of explaining them is better left" to others (p. 332).

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SVERRE BAGGE. *Society and Politics in Snorri Sturluson's Heimskringla*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1991. Pp. ix, 339. \$45.00.

The Icelander Snorri Sturluson's account of the kings of Norway from their mythical origins to the year 1177—a series of sagas written in about 1230 and now known as *Heimskringla*—is medieval Scandinavia's most famous historical narrative. Snorri's use of his sources and the trustworthiness of his account were studied intensely during the early decades of this century, and it is now accepted that Snorri freely reworked his sources to produce what is best considered a "historical reconstruction" rather than a "history." *Heimskringla*'s themes, values, and political purpose continue to be studied, although no scholarly consensus has been reached.

Sverre Bagge has written the first book-length study of *Heimskringla* to appear in decades, and it is a valuable contribution to the fields of saga studies and medieval Scandinavian historiography. Bagge analyzes Snorri's descriptions of political behavior in the light of current historiographical, sociological, and anthropological theories in order to understand Snorri himself, for he is interested in why Snorri is so different a chronicler than his Continental contemporaries. Bagge discusses *Heimskringla*'s depiction of political conflict, society, human nature, and morality, and concludes by evaluating Snorri as a historian and by setting his work in the context of his Scandinavian predecessors and his European contemporaries.

In analyzing *Heimskringla*, Bagge makes several interesting points about Snorri's relative chronology, sagas as "the judgment of history," and the resemblances between medieval Iceland and Renaissance Italy. He also finds himself in disagreement with a number of long-undisturbed conclusions about the work, chief of which is Halvdan Koht's previously revolutionary assertion that the "class struggle" between the monarchy and aristocracy of Norway (which had been considered the "theme" of *Heimskringla*) actually conceals the many political interests shared by the two groups. Bagge holds that it is anachronistic to identify "classes," "political institutions," and "social groups" within medieval society, since "there are good reasons to believe that political conflicts, at least in the earlier Middle Ages, were primarily conflicts between individuals or groups based on personal loyalty between their members" (p. 65). This view seems somewhat simplistic, for not only do analytical categories such as social class never coincide with a society's "native" view of itself but also historical analysis *per se* is always anachronistic, in the sense that it is always carried out from within another, unavoidable, historical position.

In keeping with his findings that Snorri views political conflicts solely in terms of a feud-like clash of individual interests, Bagge also disagrees with the idea (still held by some) that the "theme" of *Heimskringla* is the conflict between the monarchy and aristoc-

racy. He argues instead that Snorri's theme is a nonideological "game of politics"—a power struggle between two groups sharing essentially the same values, rather than a fight between advocates of different political systems.

Bagge's discussion of "Ideology and Politics" (pp. 109–10) identifies three "ideologies"—nationalistic, religious, and constitutional (that is, concerning the division of power within a society)—and concludes that *Heimskringla* displays a certain pro-Norwegian bias, accedes in some but not all cases to Christianity's claims to legitimize certain secular political positions, and subsumes constitutional conflict into interpersonal disputes. This is interesting as far as it goes, but it could have gone much further if Bagge had also considered the question of ideology as the imaginary relation between an individual subject and society as a whole.

In particular, such a consideration would have prevented him from skirting the double issue of Snorri's reason for writing *Heimskringla* and the effect that his own ambiguous relationship with the Norwegian monarchy had on his depiction of the dynasty. Bagge supposes that the purpose of *Heimskringla* was to teach "future politicians" the kind of prudent behavior that normally leads to success (p. 230), but he does not identify who these future politicians might be. Oddly enough, he does not remind the reader at this point that Snorri was a politician who was eager to accept a Norwegian title, who promised to help the Norwegian king subjugate Iceland, who used his Norwegian connections only to further his own aims in the Icelandic civil wars, and who was assassinated by another Icelandic chieftain acting on the Norwegian king's orders. Bagge does not deny that Snorri's politics are relevant to *Heimskringla* (p. 13), but to content himself with observing that Snorri's depiction of early medieval Norway often resembles the reality of thirteenth-century Iceland (pp. 238–39) is to avoid confronting the possibility that Snorri's "historical reconstruction" is a fiction inescapably ideological in nature, and not the nonideological project that Bagge would have us believe.

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ALAN FOREY. *The Military Orders: From the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Centuries*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 1992. Pp. xiv, 278. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$18.95.

Until relatively recently, the study of the military orders was considered something rather less scholarly than the closely connected history of the Crusades, which itself was in less than good repute before Sir Steven Runciman's *History of the Crusades* (1951) appeared. This is probably attributable to the tendency of twentieth-century scholars to reject militant Christianity by ignoring it or by suggesting that anyone

who studies these orders must be possessed of some kind of religious or political fanaticism; but it may also tie into a quirk of cataloging systems that lump the military orders together with studies relatively useless to the serious historian (like the genealogies of the modern nobility). Although individual scholars such as Jonathan Riley-Smith (*The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, c. 1050–1310* [1967]) and Udo Arnold (the driving force behind the series *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens*, 38 vols. [1969–89]) demonstrated the riches to be found here, most historians were satisfied with Desmond Seward's *Monks of War* (1972).

Alan Forey has produced a scholarly book that should help correct this impression. Forey identifies his endeavor as a continuation of the work of Hans Prutz's *Die geistlichen Ritterordern* (1908), with the advantage that eight decades of scholarship gives him. His is not a book for the nonexpert. The reader who does not know the medieval history of the Baltic, the Iberian peninsula, and the Holy Land is likely to be lost in the plethora of names, dates, and locations that appear. In contrast, scholars familiar with the Crusades will appreciate the topical organization and the manner that Forey compares the military orders across the boundaries of space and time.

Forey opens with the controversies regarding the foundation of the military orders, but his heart is clearly in the subsequent chapters on military history. Even so, he eschews gut-wrenching descriptions of sieges and battles; Forey prefers discussions of strategic situations and the long overview. He uses the central section of the book for a discussion of resources and manpower, and follows it with description of structures and regulations. He writes a much shorter concluding chapter on contemporary criticism and proposals for change, in which he touches on the trial of the Templars. And here the narrative suddenly stops after a two-page conclusion.

Forey has little space for cultural history. He ignores art, architecture, and literature, except in passing references which are largely confined to the activities of the Teutonic Order. He cites exclusively from primary sources, perhaps to save space. Nevertheless, he is thoroughly familiar with the best secondary works, which he lists by chapter in a bibliographic essay. Citations suggest that the manuscript was completed about four years ago.

The military orders were established to meet a manpower crisis in the Holy Land. When the crusading efforts there failed, Forey suggests, the only reason for the existence of the military orders vanished. Those orders that survived on other frontiers of Christendom became essentially indistinguishable from secular states.

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CATIA GALATARIOTOU. *The Making of a Saint: The Life, Times and Sanctification of Neophytos the Recluse*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1991. Pp. xvi, 310. \$64.50.

The subject of Catia Galatariotou's study, St. Neophytos of Cyprus (1134–1214), is important for a number of reasons. Although the large literary output of this particular monastic recluse was predictably mostly religious, it is still quite valuable for its social-historical content. Moreover, Neophytos is in all essential respects a rare Byzantine provincial witness whose life spanned a crucial century in the history of both the island of Cyprus and the Byzantine empire. It was during this period that the empire fell to the Fourth Crusade (1204) and the island was transformed into the Latin Kingdom of Cyprus under the Lusignan dynasty.

Following current orthodox fashion, Galatariotou's work is to an unusual degree interdisciplinary in nature. Its goal is to trace the ways in which Neophytos cleverly and ingeniously sought and, indeed, encouraged his own sanctification while still alive. This subtle process of self-canonization is placed in its wider social context by relating it to the changing political, religious, and economic circumstances of the period in both Cyprus and the empire. This detailed study is, therefore, anything but a narrowly focused hagiographic tract. The author's major judgments and observations are often derived directly from the disciplines of social anthropology, sociology, and even psychoanalysis. The text is occasionally sprinkled with quotations from Claude Lévi-Strauss, Emile Durkheim, and Sigmund Freud. At the same time, some of its more interesting pages, especially those dealing with the problems of literacy, Cypriot depopulation, monastic patronage, and the injustice and corruption of the ruling classes, are also the most traditional.

Possibly some readers will find Galatariotou's book fresh and arresting, or, as the dust jacket proclaims, "bold and pioneering." Other more impartial critics will doubtlessly welcome it as a useful addition to the growing literature on Neophytos and on medieval Cyprus in general. Yet many will probably disagree with both its conclusions and methodology. Arguably, a traditional analysis could have yielded similar results, since the dramatic incidents or developments in the life of Neophytos could be interpreted as simple expressions of piety or as the consequence of psychological growth and Christian maturity. Recourse to Freud or Durkheim seems beside the point. Then, too, a structuralist analysis is irrelevant for explaining the essential components of sanctity as understood by Neophytos and his contemporaries. As it turns out, Galatariotou is herself careful to stress the limitations of her borrowed theories and even warns that they are "sterile" and "dangerous" if used in their entirety. She also, time and again, hedges or undermines her own assertions. "It is fruitless," she notes at one point,

"to search for the exact extent of the recluse's true intentions" (p. 145). And again, "His motivations can be debated endlessly" (p. 147). Although the writing is competent, it is frequently also marred by a clumsy and banal style.

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DANIEL WALEY. *Siena and the Sienese in the Thirteenth Century*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1991. Pp. xxii, 220. \$49.50.

Daniel Waley's book is a detailed archival study of the government and ruling groups of the second most important city of Tuscany between 1250 and 1310. In this time, the alliance of the papacy and the House of Anjou ousted the Hohenstaufen from the Kingdom of Sicily and this victory, as well as the loss of the island of Sicily to the House of Aragon after the Sicilian Vespers of 1282, triggered fierce conflicts in Tuscany between the Ghibellines and Guelphs, with the latter as the papal and Anjou party ultimately successful. For Siena this meant its falling into second place in spite of a great victory as ally of the Hohenstaufen King Manfred at Montaperti in 1260 over its Guelph rival, Florence.

Waley deals with this period in a systematic analysis of the public life of Siena in ten chapters accompanied by two graphs, three maps, and eight tables. The chapters cover the physical aspects (setting and people), the mechanics and policies of government (institutions, oligarchy, and problems), fundamental civic attitudes (religion and assumptions), as well as the financial limitations (revenue and expenditure) of a commune that falls back on its essentials in a time of prolonged crisis. His analysis is full of new insights. The landholding banking families, those labeled as magnates in the list of *casati* of 1277 or given with their surnames in 1305–08, endure in public functions in spite of the harsh Ghibelline-Guelph party divisions and shifts, upheld by their landed wealth and their credits as papal, Mediterranean, and European bankers. Waley explains the participation of magnates in the governing councils, the *signorie* listed with their varying number of members and their changing designations between 1236 and 1355, that is, from the government of the *anziani* to the end of the "Nine," and the other offices of the commune and *popolo* of Siena. Significant, too, is the interplay between these offices and the outside *podestà* and his staff. Some of the leading personalities are strongly etched: Provenzano Salvani stands out as Ghibelline leader, builder of the party of King Manfred in Tuscany, and engineer of the victory of Montaperti (usually credited to the Florentine Ghibelline exile Farinata degli Uberti). Although the pacification by Cardinal Latino in 1279–80 between the Tuscan Ghibellines and Guelphs failed in Siena in spite of the

strenuous efforts of the government, the oligarchical families moved beyond these divisions through the force of difficult circumstances. Some of the younger generation, like Cecco Angiolieri, made their mark as poets. Siena accepted Guelphism in 1271, but the office of the Parte Guelfa did not achieve the same dominance as in Florence and eventually declined and disappeared.

Waley's analysis is valuable, too, for its understanding of communal government generally in central and northern Italy. Three elements stand out: law and justice, finances, and military service. Notaries, lawyers, and judges were an essential ingredient of government, although Waley does not say much about the details of their actual schooling. They participated in the councils and offices as well as in the courts of justice. The financial administration, in the famous office of the Biccherna, concerned counselor and paying citizens, visible through their contributions in their relative wealth in records that at times permit statistical investigation. Military service was a civic obligation but also involved the hiring of mercenaries and might have driven the commune to the edge of bankruptcy when paying for expensive German or French troops became necessary.

Waley's style is lucid and displays a sense of humor when appropriate. His book makes good reading. For the nonspecialist it would have been important to include the salient developments of Sienese and Tuscan history in the period in the first chapter rather than to leave them for the fifth chapter. True, from the perspective of the preservation of the peace of the commune, these developments belong among the "problems." But placing them at the beginning would have given pregnancy to the entire analysis. The chronology placed before the text is too sparse for this purpose.

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ELLEN E. KITTELL. *From Ad Hoc to Routine: A Case Study in Medieval Bureaucracy*. (Middle Ages Series.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1991. Pp. x, 265.

Mirabile dictu! Here is a book on medieval institutions by a young medieval historian, Ellen E. Kittell, written as though her peers were T. F. Tout, Léopold Delisle, Ferdinand Lot, F. L. Ganshof, and C. H. Haskins. It is indeed refreshing to read a book so solid, one that avoids the present-day methodological and ideological vogues, and one that tells its story and develops its conclusions from primary sources, both archival and printed, and from a good knowledge of the secondary literature. In this book one follows the evolution of the office of the general receiver of the county of Flanders from 1262 to 1372 without any of the principals—counts, countesses, general receivers, and bailiffs—afflicted with deep psychic depression,

maladjustment, anorexia, or social prejudice. And a long, complicated evolution this was.

How strange that in the county of Flanders, which by the thirteenth century boasted three of the largest urban centers of northern Europe and was an economic center crawling with astute merchants and men of finance from all over Europe, financial administration should have lagged far behind that of England, the duchy of Normandy, and even that of Capetian France. Whereas in England already during the reign of Henry I (1100–35) the exchequer had branched off from the household's chamber and become a distinct financial department, receiving, dispensing, and accounting for the king's money, such financial practices only began to develop in Flanders in the late thirteenth century. Although by the late twelfth century there were annual auditing sessions, known as *redeninge*, during which a variety of local officials such as the *notarii* accounted for their receipts to the provost-chancellor—a procedure not unlike the semiannual auditing sessions held before the Upper Exchequer—the provost-chancellor was not primarily a financial official as was the treasurer of the exchequer, who was assisted by professional subordinates. And it cannot be said that from these *redeninge* a financial department with a head and a staff for the administration of the finances of Flanders developed. How and why such a department eventually came into existence is the subject of this book, a subject not previously studied in any detail.

Due to the growing economy of the thirteenth century there was more revenue to be collected and to be paid out for the expanding comital government. And the precarious political situation of Flanders necessitated financial expedients unnecessary before. Financial decentralization no longer sufficed. Under Countess Margaret (1244–78), Philip of Bourbourg was appointed receiver general with authority to supervise all the comital finances. During the early part of Guy de Dampierre's rule (1278–1305) the functions of this officer became better defined but it was not until the severe political troubles that Guy had with Philip the Fair of France and with his communes that the office was fully organized, that the general receiver headed a household treasury that became the count's primary and central treasury, and that the office had the authority to contract loans on the count's behalf and to assign their repayment on various revenues. Furthermore, the receiver general acquired a cadre of officials to assist him. Now there was finally a distinct, centralized financial department. During the fourteenth century this department became more public and independent, with wages being paid to the receiver general and his staff. With the rule of Louis de Mâle (1346–84) the position and procedures of this department were solidly established. The only change under Louis was to deprive the receiver general of his authority over judicial

matters, these now being delegated to a sovereign bailiff.

In general I agree with Kittell's thesis that from ad hoc financial duties there developed the financial routine of a well-defined department. But I do question some conclusions and statements. Although she does give some credit to those Italian financiers such as Gerard Lupichini and Thomas Fini who served as receivers under Guy de Dampierre and Robert de Béthune, Kittell does not give enough credit for their financial innovations and their techniques for obtaining loans. Although the author contends that the receiver general and his department did not evolve as did the English exchequer, this is not completely accurate. Both came from the respective households with similar stages of development. The author also attempts to account for the lethargy of Flemish financial administration, but her answer that autonomous groups in Flanders were obstacles to financial centralization is not convincing. With the abundant economic *savoir-faire* all about them, did the counts and countesses of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries rule with their eyes closed? These queries only underline the qualities of this fine study, which will enlighten all those interested in medieval finance and banking.

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CAROL LANSING. *The Florentine Magnates: Lineage and Faction in a Medieval Commune*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1991. Pp. xv, 265. \$45.00.

Carol Lansing numbers among the small group of Anglophone historians conducting research on Florence before the Renaissance. With justification she argues that the citizens of Renaissance Florence had only a vague notion of how their city was radically transformed from a modest medieval town dominated by more than 150 towers of noble families to a crowded, bustling metropolis with a construction that reflected both the dominance of the city's commercial and industrial guilds and a nascent civic ideology. Almost a century ago a young Italian historian, Gaetano Salvemini, sought to demonstrate that there were two driving forces behind these economic and political transformations: first, the violent rivalry between a class of overbearing rentier magnates and a group of *popolani* families who derived their wealth from commerce and industry, and, second, the city's conquest of the surrounding countryside. Salvemini's model of class conflict was smashed to pieces in 1926 with the blunt instruments of iconoclasm and anti-Marxism wielded by Nicola Ottokar, a Russian émigré scholar. He believed that the constitutional settlements of the late *trecento*, especially the Ordinances of Justice of 1293, which had been designed by the *popolani* regime to pacify the magnates and exclude them from the highest magistracies, were not shaped

by determinate economic interests but by constant jockeying for power within a relatively inelastic ruling class. Thanks mainly to the research of several generations of Italian scholars, our picture of this period has been considerably enriched and modified. Nonetheless, Lansing contends that such research is wanting because it remains predicated on terms staked out by the debate originating with Salvemini and Ottokar and perpetuated by their respective adherents. She also criticizes the tendency of historians to treat twelfth and thirteenth-century Florence as a mere prologue to the Renaissance.

Her own laudable goal is to offer a thickly contextualized history of the Florentine nobility, focusing on its origins, structures, collective properties, gender relations, rhetorical strategies, and masculinized aristocratic values. Rural noble families coalesced into dynastic lineages around 1000 to pool resources in a time of rapid demographic and economic change and to preserve their patrimonies, patronage rights over church property, and titles by limiting transmission of property to a single, male line. Lansing defines lineage as descent groups of kin relations, with large lineages splitting into branches, each constituting a lineage in itself. By the thirteenth century, these lineages had become urban patrilineal descent groups that "enlarged the family by defining a large group of individuals as kinsmen, joined together by common ancestry" (p. 37). Departing from the conventional wisdom that urban life weakened lineages, Lansing insists that the solidarity of urban lineages actually increased, and she illustrates this in chapters devoted to joint lineage property and fortifications. In turn, the increased stress on solidarity led to instability within patricentric lineages and to the transgressive behavior of women such as Beata Umliana dei Cerchi, who, by refusing to further her family's interests through matrimony, had renounced her lineage role. Marriage, as everyone knows and as the author demonstrates once again, played a crucial role in promoting reconciliation between warring lineages, as well as in creating new alliances. Some noble families were especially notorious for their arrogance, lawlessness, and propensity for violence. The chief culprits, Lansing argues, were young nobles who acted out the martial values associated with knight-hood.

Lansing's scholarship has the virtue of being broad-based, independent-minded, and self-reflective. Her translations of Italian and Latin texts are uncommonly reliable and lucid. I find superficial and unwarranted, however, many of her observations on women, dowries, and inheritance. She states matter-of-factly that fathers generally included in their wills a clause that excluded from inheritance daughters with dowries, but she fails to supply any evidence for her assertion. Evidence is forthcoming for the observation that some sons had to be compelled by the courts to restore dowries to their widowed mothers, but she does not suggest any explanation as to why

this was so. Testamentary clauses providing support (*alimenta*) to wives, sisters, and other female kin were formulaic expressions of a fundamental legal and moral obligation rather than just expressions of affectionate paternalism, as she supposes. No explanation, apart from affectionate maternalism, is enlisted for the intergenerational transmission of property between female kin, even though the absence of male heirs, who were legally entitled to a portion of their mothers' dowries, must have significantly affected the devolution of women's property. Without a consideration of bequests made by women to male kin, the bracketing of "a distinct female network of inheritance" is misplaced and misleading. This list could be expanded. Ultimately, though, these shortcomings should not obscure Lansing's achievement in breaking fresh ground and providing signposts for scholars working on medieval Florence.

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PAULA C. CLARKE. *The Soderini and the Medici: Power and Patronage in Fifteenth-Century Florence*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1991. Pp. ix, 293. \$74.00.

In this deeply and meticulously researched book, Paula C. Clarke shows the extent of Nicolai Rubinstein's influence on his students. Taking her methodological and conceptual cues very much from her teacher, she follows an Ottokarian or Namierite approach to the study of Florentine politics. The issue on which she focuses her attention is the seemingly paradoxical phenomenon of two brothers, Tommaso Soderini and Niccolò Soderini, scions of one of the city's premier lineages, following substantially divergent, and eventually conflicting paths in their pursuit of political fortune. Tommaso, at least until 1470–71, was one of the staunchest and more inflexible partisans of the Medici. For his part, Niccolò turned out to be a thorn in the side of the Medici and, in the wake of a failed conspiracy in 1466, was exiled from Florence, broke his ban as an exile, was declared a rebel, and died in 1474 not only without ever returning to his native city but also apparently without ever again seeing his brother. While presenting the case of the Soderini brothers, Clarke fails to note that there were other cases of such sharp political cleavage among Florentine siblings and that there already exists a subtle interpretation of such division in the case of the Guicciardini brothers in the early sixteenth century (Randolph Starn, "Francesco Guicciardini and His Brothers," *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Hans Baron* [1971], 409–44). Clarke nevertheless follows the trail of the brothers' careers through the maze of extant documentation, teasing out fragments from a variety of sources in Florence and other Italian archives and showing in the process a good command of those sources.

The book's substance comprises nine chapters, each of which concentrates on a chronological or topical problem. Clarke follows the careers of the brothers, placing their action in a context of broader developments or historiographical discussions. She addresses political issues, economic activities, familial life, and relations with friends and neighbors. She is faithful to the sources throughout (although an erudite book such as this would have been much more useful had she quoted her sources more generously and in the original language) and shows herself aware of and sensitive to recent interpretations of Florentine history advanced mostly by Anglophone historians. One notable and surprising omission is Elio Conti's fundamental book, *L'imposta diretta a Firenze nel Quattrocento (1427–1494)* (1984), which would have given Clarke a firmer grasp on the complex issue of public finances. Nor, despite her citation of Samuel Cohn's book (*The Laboring Classes in Renaissance Florence* [1980]), does she seem aware of his interpretation of the social geography of marriage alliances among members of the city's leading lineages.

Clarke's discussions provide rich detail, although I would have profited from firmer and more pointed guidance of the author's overall interpretation and the conceptual direction in which she wishes to take her readers. Clarke emphasizes the brothers' personal attributes and failures and suggests that, against the backdrop of a number of well-known "structures" (my expression, not hers) of Florentine politics and society, these personal qualities shaped their careers and fates. It comes as a pleasant surprise, then, to reach the book's conclusion, where Clarke sets out the main lines of an interpretation of Florentine politics at variance with an Ottokarian vision of politics. Political life, she concludes, did involve substantive issues. It was not—as one might have gathered from reading her preceding chapters—simply a quest for the *particolare*, and political conflict turned on vital principles and collective issues that "were sometimes hidden under personal rivalries" (p. 268). Had Clarke written the body of her book with her conclusion in mind, she would have produced a major and original contribution to the historiography of late-medieval Florentine politics. As it is, she has written a solid book, and one only wishes that she will now turn to her conclusion and use that as a basis for a general and comprehensive analysis of Florentine politics. In this quest, she will profit from a consideration of John Najemy's recent and powerfully suggestive essay ("The Dialogue of Power in Florentine Politics," in *City States in Classical Antiquity and Medieval Italy* [1991], 269–88), in which he advanced a view of fifteenth-century Florentine politics very much consonant with the views that Clarke presents in her book's conclusion.

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RALPH A. GRIFFITHS. *King and Country: England and Wales in the Fifteenth Century*. Rio Grande, Ohio: Hambledon. 1991. Pp. viii, 408.

The twenty-one essays in this collection bear eloquent witness to the breadth and depth of the scholarship of Ralph A. Griffiths. They range from the intrigues of a petty Breton spy named Ivo Corbet in London to the clashes of the political giants Neville and Percy in distant Yorkshire. But diverse as they may be, the essays are linked by several themes. None of the essays appears here in print for the first time, but in bringing them together the author intends to illustrate that the fifteenth century should be regarded as a "particularly fascinating" one, "rather than the deeply confused period which some earlier writers have described" (p. vii).

Central to a proper understanding of this most infamous of medieval English centuries are the roles played by different segments of political society. The place of the king at the apex of this society has seldom been challenged by historians but, much as the late K. B. McFarlane did with respect to the family of Edward I, Griffiths argues that the royal family, as distinct from the household or the larger royal affinity, should be recognized as having occupied a prominent rank among the magnates of the fifteenth century. A keen sense of dynasty contributed directly, of course, to the outbreak of the civil war known as the Wars of the Roses, but long before this conflict afflicted the English political scene the crown had come to depend on members of its extended family for the governance of the farther reaches of the English dominion, most notably in Wales and Ireland.

Griffiths is equally skilled at shedding new light on the complex interactions between the royal household, a fairly intimate circle of trusted friends and officials, and the royal court, a broader, more loosely organized group of royal attendants; indeed, he is one of a few scholars able convincingly to distinguish the functions and composition of the two bodies. The former, he suggests, exercised strong control over appointments to royal offices and sinecures. Nowhere was this more apparent than in the Welsh principalities, and never was it as pronounced as in the period after Henry VI's assumption of personal rule. The political cost paid by the crown for the "household invasion" of the principalities was, however, high: the monopoly of offices by royal intimates brought about a serious erosion of political stability and the eventual "paralysis" of effective government there.

Fifteenth-century studies have traditionally concentrated on the relations between the crown and its magnates. The influence of McFarlane is apparent in the essays that Griffiths devotes to this topic, and he has a great deal to offer both in emendation and elaboration of the seminal work of his predecessor. But the book consists of much more than a mere reevaluation of the place of the "overmighty subject"

in English history. The chapters relating to the political society of the Welsh Marches and the northern borderlands remind Griffiths's readers that the frontier regions of the kingdom exerted a crucial influence on royal policy. The essays that treat the English dominions in Wales, Ireland, the Channel Isles, and Calais emphasize an aspect of royal government that is often overlooked, namely that the crown's possessions were both extensive and far flung; they serve further to elucidate the complex structure of late-medieval bureaucracies. Finally, essays that bring to print long-forgotten contemporary documents remind scholars that much has yet to be discovered and written about the fifteenth century in England.

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SIMON PAYLING. *Political Society in Lancastrian England: The Greater Gentry of Nottinghamshire*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1991. Pp. viii, 276.

The local or shire study of the later medieval gentry is perhaps the fastest growing, and certainly among the most creative, approach to English social and political history. Benchmarks of the recent literature include Nigel Saul's two books on Gloucestershire and Sussex, Michael Bennett's work on Cheshire and Lancashire, and Simon Wright's volume on Derbyshire, among other items. Simon Payling firmly establishes himself in this echelon with his exhaustive account of the Nottinghamshire gentry in the first half of the fifteenth century.

Carefully sorting out and grouping families by tax assessments and other fiscal criteria, Payling devotes the bulk of his study to the baker's dozen of families categorized as greater gentry, those whose wealth was assessed at £100 or more per annum. These families include long residents in the county, such as Chaworth, Clifton, and Nevill of Rollaston, and the newly arrived or newly risen via marriage or royal service, such as Willoughby and Zouche of Kirklington. The families are analyzed in terms of property holdings, lineages and interconnections, patterns of office holding (as sheriffs, MPs, JPs, and the like), and ties both to the few baronial families with a significant county interest (Talbot, Grey, Roos, and Cromwell) and to the three or four dozen resident lesser gentry.

The chapters are densely packed, but the detail, while minute, never collapses into mere minutiae. Payling is acutely aware of larger historiographical questions, and he is alert to patterns of change, both diachronically and geographically, well beyond the confines of his half-century slice of Nottingham history. For example, he finds some limited evidence to support the thesis of H. L. Gray about the relatively favorable position of greater gentry wealth vis-à-vis the baronage, but not enough to refute T. Brynmor Pugh's basic criticisms of Gray's handling of the

evidence. Payling further concurs with the drift of other studies suggesting the relative lack of dependence on magnate patronage or absorption into magnate affinities. Finally, Payling also addresses the mandatory and vexed question of the "community of the shire." His conclusion is that, to the degree it existed, community manifested itself in patterns of office-holding and local self-help arrangements rather than in marriage or kinship connections. This view seems at once balanced, plausible, and quite likely applicable elsewhere.

It is to be regretted that Payling relies on the term "bastard feudalism," especially in view of J. M. W. Bean's recent *From Lord to Patron: Lordship in Late Medieval England* (1989). Also, the occasional use of the term "squirearchy" (to denote most of the ranges of the middling and lesser gentry) might be regarded as anachronistic, being more suitably reserved for the society of the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Minor questions of terminology do nothing to distract from the quality, interest, and importance of this book. It is required reading for all those concerned with medieval English elite society in general and with the gentry in particular.

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DOROTHY J. CLAYTON. *The Administration of the County Palatine of Chester 1442-1485*. (Remains Historical and Literary Connected with the Palatine Counties of Lancaster series, number 35.) New York: Manchester University Press, for the Chetham Society; distributed by St. Martin's. 1990. Pp. xii, 313. \$59.95.

Dorothy J. Clayton's study of local government in Cheshire from 1452 to 1485 is divided into two nearly equal parts. The first is a survey of documentary sources, followed by assessments of the constitutional position of the palatine county, and of the relations between the county and the kingdom during the period. The second part, subtitled "The Government of Cheshire and the Role of the Gentry," examines both the persons holding office in the county and the records of jury service and the making of peace bonds: measures of administration and of the maintenance of law and order. Clayton has been greatly assisted in her work by the "large number of family muniments which have survived [and which] allow us to draw a clearer picture of some of the more prominent Cheshire gentlemen than would be possible from the palatine records alone" (pp. 1-2). Such a wealth of family records accounts for Clayton's heavy emphasis on the Stanley family in part 2, but it also throws into sharp relief the author's disavowal of the social history that might have been done with these resources.

Clayton's central argument is that, in the mid-fifteenth century, the government of the palatine county of Chester defaulted to the local gentry in a

manner similar to that of the Norfolk gentry after the Duke of Norfolk's death a century later. But there were, of course, significant differences. During the second half of the fifteenth century, no Cheshire family was noble (although the Stanleys were close kin of the nobility in adjacent counties); the clergy of Cheshire were not especially powerful (the abbot of St. Werburgh in Chester being the ranking cleric in the county); and there was no significant merchant contingent in county politics as trade at Chester was stagnant; it was too early to find merchant fortunes propelling gentle aspirations in the county. Absent any competition, the gentry of Cheshire occupied seats of power to good effect, and, beneath the higher gentry families, lower-ranking families rose to the occasion and made their own marks.

Clayton concurs with M. J. Bennett's assessment of the strength of the gentry but disagrees with his measure of the size of the county community. Whereas Bennett counted about 100 prominent county gentlemen, Clayton's examination of jury lists and peace bonds indicates that a far larger number of gentlemen need to be a part of any study of the county community. Although this larger number may have been less prominently and frequently involved as officers or commissioners, they were to be found occasionally on jury service and much more often in the making of peace bonds, "an important way in which gentlemen of all levels helped in the maintenance of law and order." This may seem a fairly inconsequential activity, but Clayton reminds us that no justices of the peace were appointed in Cheshire until 1536, although prior to the fifteenth century there had been serjeants of the peace. During the fifteenth century, however, there "was no regular system of law enforcement" and it is against this background that Clayton assesses the positive significance of peace-bond making (pp. 215 and following).

Clayton is a careful researcher who presents her findings well, yet she generally avoids considerations of motivation or implication. For example, the interesting discussion in part 2 of the gentry's role in maintaining quiet through the vehicle of peace bonds would be all the richer with a consideration of the implications of their behavior. In addition, it would be useful to have some sense of how this Cheshire practice compared to peace-securing methods employed elsewhere in England. Occasionally in this otherwise valuable study Clayton excuses herself from pursuing an issue because of a self-imposed narrow focus that eschews social and economic history. The unfortunate result of such restraint is that, while Clayton has produced a descriptive text, the analysis of meaning and significance and of social and economic context awaits another study.

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MODERN EUROPE

J. H. BURNS, editor. *The Cambridge History of Political Thought, 1450–1700*. Assisted by MARK GOLDIE. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1991. Pp. xii, 798. \$120.00.

Written by twenty authors, this volume nevertheless maintains a coherence of tone and purpose by virtue of a shared commitment to study texts in their intellectual and political context. Despite an English bias and an occasional deficiency of historical imagination, these essays are a successful effort in collective scholarship. Meticulously researched, the book manages to cover two and a half centuries while avoiding superficiality. For years to come scholars will pull this volume off the shelf to read summaries of periods outside their field of primary interest and for some novel insights in their realm of expertise.

When well executed, the historical approach should draw our attention to the significance of thinkers of the second rank while simultaneously underscoring the brilliance of the first-rate minds as measured against the backdrop of lesser writers. Highly successful in the former endeavor, this book is less successful in the latter. Alfred Dufour and Richard Tuck ably address the historical importance of Samuel Pufendorf and Hugo Grotius, second-rate yet highly influential thinkers in the natural rights tradition. But when it comes to the great Thomas Hobbes, we encounter a treatment that is only half as long as the space devoted to Pufendorf. It is as if the authors cannot pass too quickly from Hobbes to the chapter on "the reception of Hobbes." Still more disappointing is the treatment accorded Niccolò Machiavelli. Even though Anthony Grafton serves up a cogent account of the conventions and symbols of Italian humanism, those very conventions and symbols that Machiavelli so shockingly inverted and subverted, Nicolai Rubinstein follows by offering us a bland *Prince* and *Discourses* that disturbed no one. The one great thinker who does receive his due is John Locke, thanks to James Tully, who gracefully moves back and forth between historical events and penetrating textual interpretation.

Many of the thematic chapters are excellent. Brendan Bradshaw's essay on "transalpine humanism" pleads a thoughtful case for the existence of "a distinctively humanist ideology" as opposed to humanism as a mere "mode of discourse." Donald Kelley takes us on a rapid but expert tour through the schools of legal thought; of particular interest is Kelley's suggestion that we would be well advised to pay less attention to the stirring rhetoric of "civic humanism" and more to the aesthetically displeasing prose of "civil humanism," by which he means the pedestrian but extremely important labors of the professional lawyers. Corinne Weston sets forth some noteworthy revisions of J. G. A. Pocock's interpretation of the ancient constitution and common law, and David Wootton's chapter on the Levellers is excep-

tionally enjoyable in its keen historical sensitivity and judicious resolutions of long-standing interpretive debates. English republicanism is summarized by Blair Worden who, unlike other recent commentators, takes full account of the motif of imperial expansion in the thought of the Harringtonians. Worden raises but quickly dismisses, on the basis of a well-chosen sentence near the beginning of *Oceana*, the possibility that interest supplants virtue in James Harrington's expanded, national republic. One is left wondering what Worden would make of a sentence toward the end of the same book depicting a perfect commonwealth composed of sinful citizens, or of John Adams's ruminations on the possibility of a well-ordered republic of highwaymen.

Several chapters of the volume are devoted to theories of resistance, Protestant and Catholic; to constitutionalism as stated and understated in varying national contexts; "fundamental laws" that in the French setting served only to strengthen the crown; absolutism by divine right and absolutism by irrevocable grant of the people; applications and misapplications of Jean Bodin's concept of sovereignty; and through it all the lingering presence of scholastic philosophy in much of the political thought of early modernity. As J. H. Burns states at the outset, his team of historians are determined to soften the differentiation between "early modern" and "medieval"—fully as determined, it appears, as theorists of modernization once were to draw a sharp contrast between the two. Thus, Jakob Burckhardt disappears from the historiography of the Renaissance just as Max Weber and his progeny do from the Reformation, and in their stead the ghosts of J. N. Figgis and Herbert Butterfield emerge triumphant. Oddly and unfortunately absent, or virtually so, from this volume is the work of Peter Laslett; Laslett's writings on Robert Filmer and on the tenacious persistence of patriarchy in society, polity, and economy could have provided the link between social and intellectual history that is missing from and fits perfectly the outlook of this collection.

Arguably one of the volume's faults is that it is so absorbed in juristic debates and constitutional formalities that politics is occasionally lost along the way. Nowhere, perhaps, is this shortcoming more in evidence than in the lack of an account of the battle at court between the sometimes mutually supportive but frequently mutually contradictory ideologies of absolutism. Nearly a century ago, Figgis pointed out that the naturalistic argumentation of patriarchalism threatened, as much as it bolstered, the ideology of divine right that thrived on its immunity to rational criticism. Without so much as mentioning the Figgis thesis, this book proclaims patriarchalism a variant, pure and simple, of divine right (p. 361). Equally disappointing, this volume omits the struggle at the foot of the throne between the advocates of divine right and those who championed the cause of reason of state. Now it is perfectly true, as W. F. Church

contended against Friedrich Meinecke, that *raison d'état* served a Christian state. But it is equally true that the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes may be viewed as the triumph of divine right and the defeat of reason of state; for it is difficult to believe that the Huguenots of 1685 constituted a state within the state, and perfectly obvious that their expulsion constituted a massive blow to the economic and hence the political power of France.

Closer attention to Montaigne might also have enlivened this work. Although opposed in principle to raising questions of political obligation, since to do so was to invite a continuation of the civil war, and too much the skeptic to argue for the superiority of any regime, Montaigne nevertheless articulated a variant of "humanism" that proved to be of enduring significance in a country that happened to be monarchical. His explicit rejection of those who lose their very selves in the public role playing of the *vita activa* (I, 39) was coupled with lessons in the enjoyment of a private life enriched by friendship, conversation, study, and the full development of the self. What civic humanism had been to citizens of Italian republics Montaigne's message became to subjects of the French monarchy. Even the most superb accounts of constitutional debates cannot bring to light the enormous political significance of Montaigne's ostensibly nonpolitical writings.

Admittedly, Peter Burke does deal with Montaigne in a chapter on Tacitism, skepticism, and reason of state. Skillful though Burke's account is, it fails to recognize that Montaigne's familiarity with Italian authors included a deep appreciation of Machiavelli's *Prince*. For all his hatred of dissimulation, Montaigne recognized that the refined privacy he craved required that political leaders sometimes engage in Machiavellian acts (III, 1). Whenever possible, Montaigne intended to "resign this [Machiavellian] commission . . . to suppler people." Nevertheless, he was willing, if need be, to accept public office, whereupon he too would don a mask—but in his case self-consciously so, to protect his inner being until such a time as he could withdraw from the playacting of politics.

Of course, any volume as ambitious as that compiled under Burn's direction lends itself to a certain amount of second guessing. What matters is that few collective scholarly efforts are as successful as this, or are as likely to persist as one of the books on early modern political thought that no scholar can afford to ignore.

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DONALD R. KELLEY. *Renaissance Humanism*. (Studies in Intellectual and Cultural History.) Boston: Twayne. 1991. Pp. xi, 176. \$26.95.

Nineteenth-century scholars created our concept of the Renaissance and the very word humanism. Since then historians have argued over the meaning of both terms. The present book is meant to be a contribution to this debate. Donald R. Kelley promises to go "beyond the limits" of the traditional "scholarly canon" of interpretation. His is a brave task not only for the controversy surrounding the Renaissance and humanism but also for the complexity and vastness of his subject. Unfortunately, Kelley has nothing new to say, and despite his obvious wide reading he seems almost amateurish in the way he frames the book and in the mistakes he makes.

The reader first senses trouble when, in chapter 1 on "The Origins of Humanism," Kelley tells us nothing about the origins of humanism. Consistent to the end, Kelley titles his last chapter "Beyond Humanism" and then tells us nothing about the modern transformation or rejection of Renaissance humanism. Instead he recapitulates earlier chapters, talks of encyclopedism, and finishes with an excursus on "Posthumanism," which, as Kelley admits, has precious little to do with the humanism he had described in the previous 130 pages. In a culminating inconsistency, Kelley nowhere tells us what he means by the term Renaissance.

As if to atone for this omission, Kelley gives us not one but a plethora of interpretations of humanism. Not having an original view of his own, he seems incapable of rejecting an interpretation if it comes with sufficient authority. He begins by espousing Paul O. Kristeller's disciplinary interpretation of humanism, which is allergic to a philosophical or political understanding of the same. Kelley embraces Hans Baron's conception of civic humanism, which is based on a specific reading of the political allegiances of Leonardo Bruni. Kelley considers Lorenzo Valla as an exemplary fifteenth-century Italian humanist. Valla is much in fashion nowadays and, one must add, deadly poison to the Baronian notion of civic humanism. Warming to the task, Kelley appropriates Ernst Cassirer's belief that Nicholas of Cusa's neoplatonic hierarchical vision represents a kind of philosophical apotheosis of Renaissance humanism. The fact that Cusa's ideas would have left Petrarch, Bruni, and Valla absolutely cold seems not to faze Kelley. Kelley continues with the very modish vision of Renaissance humanism as a movement of self-creation (p. 111). Even Karl Burdach's peculiar thesis about the Christian origins of the Renaissance finds a place in the book. This is the only way I can explain the inordinate amount of space Kelley dedicates to Cola di Rienzo.

Sloppy phrasing, confusing statements, and plainly wrong assertions mar the book. For instance, speaking of Lorenzo Valla, the humanist whom he most emphasizes, Kelley confuses higher and lower biblical criticism, mixes up the Aristotelian categories and the scholastic transcendentals, thinks Boethius was responsible for the ten logical categories, misreads

Valla's attack on monasticism as a defense of wealth and sex, and cites Valla from a faulty sixteenth-century *Opera omnia* and from a partial English translation even though for some of these works modern critical editions are available (pp. 36–38). To take another example, Kelley's sloppy English results in two mistakes in one sentence on the life of Cardinal Bessarion. Finally, to end this sampling of errors, out of ignorance he asserts that there were no "original systematic" philosophers between the thirteenth century and Nicholas of Cusa in the fifteenth century (p. 41).

The book has a good bibliography for the student and introduces the beginner to many important names and issues. But because of its intellectual incoherence and slovenliness I would not recommend it as an initial overview of Renaissance humanism.

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MICHEL JEANNERET. *A Feast of Words: Banquets and Table Talk in the Renaissance*. Translated by JEREMY WHITELEY and EMMA HUGHES. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1991. Pp. vi, 306. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$17.95.

The original title of the 1987 French edition from which this excellent English translation is made, *Des mets et des mots*, captures more fully the book's inherently playful and festive subject matter, involving as it does all aspects of what Michel Jeanneret calls the symposiac ideal of Renaissance humanist culture. The banquet meant not just cookery and civility, but also colloquy and conviviality, an "interdependence between the mouth that eats and the mouth that speaks" (p. 2). Although the author is a literary scholar, and his methodology that of literary analysis, he sees his work as an exploration of significant aspects of sixteenth-century anthropology and aesthetics and thus as an essay in cultural history.

Part 1 considers all aspects of the Renaissance banquet as alimentary experience: food, diet, hygiene, nutrition, cuisine, gastronomy, appetite, and table manners. Rabelais's imagined feasts occupy center stage, but among the many disparate sources considered here are Erasmus's influential work on etiquette aimed at children (*De civilitate morum puerilium*) and his treatise on tongues (*Lingua*) with its treatment of the mouth both as the organ of ingestion and of speech; the Neapolitan humanist Giovanni Pontano's celebration of the feast as political spectacle (*De conviventia*); and the Roman humanist Bartolomeo Platina's classic of cookery (*De honesta voluptate et valetudine*). The Renaissance feast provided both an outlet for hedonistic pleasures and the occasion for disciplining natural drives into refined behavior. Jeanneret insightfully observes that emphasis on the creative exuberance of feasting both rivals and com-

plements the prescriptive norms of table manners intended to moderate the free reign of human instincts.

Part 2 takes up talk at table. Here certain kinds of speech gain favor: fables, tales, satire, the burlesque, riddles, jibes, and jokes, but also, in keeping with themes of *varietas* and copiousness, the tendency to an encyclopedic profusion of topics, particularly eclectic compilations of natural, geographical, historical, and literary lore. Above all there is the heightened awareness of language itself. Metaphors of "bibliophagy," playing on the linked connotations of the physiological and intellectual aspects of nourishment and consumption, abound. Inspired particularly by the late-classical grammarian tradition exemplified in Plutarch's *Symposiaka*, Athenaeus's *Deipnosophists*, and Macrobius's *Saturnalia*, Renaissance banquet literature, like the six dialogues of Erasmus's *Colloquies* set at table feasts on words, taking up elements of philology, lexicography, linguistics, and semantics. Perhaps most revealing are the incitements to experimentation: neologisms, wordplay, parody, and textual inventiveness. This distinctive form of literary creativity Jeanneret sees as characteristic of Renaissance literature as a whole, which contains an unstable and turbulent mixture of self-awareness about the process of writing and reading along with a desire to restore to literature the energy and the evocative power of the natural world being signified.

Like the banquet literature Jeanneret treats, this book is an exuberant *tour de force*, most at home in considering French literature of the sixteenth century, especially Rabelais and Montaigne, but also Béroalde de Verville's *Le Moyen de parvenir*, to which a whole chapter is devoted. Italian works receive considerable attention (though not, oddly, Leon Battista Alberti's *Intercoenales*), as do a few German writings (like Luther's *Tischreden*), but no English books are discussed.

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Buffalo

PIETER SPIERENBURG. *The Prison Experience: Disciplinary Institutions and Their Inmates in Early Modern Europe*. (Crime, Law, and Deviance.) New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1991. Pp. x, 339. \$45.00.

This book will long remain useful to students of criminal justice in early modern Europe, both for the data collected and the insights that emerge from the author's analysis. Pieter Spierenburg has actively researched the history of criminal justice since 1978. This volume is exemplary of his strengths as a scholar: collection of a solid data base, broad coverage of the development of justice in time and space, as well as an ideological independence that frees him from reliance on the use of problematic terms such as

"humanitarian," "rational," and "modernization" to describe changes in the penal system.

Spierenburg dismisses the usefulness of "modernization" as a concept capable of shedding light on the switch from afflictive systems to incarceration as the primary form of punishment. This frees him to discuss key aspects of changing mentalities as they have an impact on this transition without being encumbered by the need to define modernity. Implicit is an argument from his book, *The Spectacle of Suffering* (1984), an examination of public afflictive punishments, where he attributes the end of visible suffering to a new sensibility repulsed by such acts, since Europeans, by about 1800, construed their identities in terms of "we," rather than "them" and "us."

One might observe that the latter terms are defined today according to different criteria: class, ethnicity, or ideological orientation, for example. Or that the "we" he identifies refers to the Enlightenment concept of a common humanity, but that would draw him too close to his foil, Michel Foucault. Spierenburg prefers to employ the phrase "process oriented," meaning that changes were serial, phases in long-term development. Such a concept is "more congruent with historical reality" (p. 4).

Disciplinary institutions took their model from the medieval monastery; the earliest secular examples were workhouses and refuges designed to control marginal peoples, which became conjoined to the system of punishment and thus concerned with the incarceration of convicts. The key period in which prisons—defined as different from mere jails since they exhibited regimes designed to occupy inmates—became an important element of the penal system was around 1650, in Holland at least, rather than the late eighteenth century, as argued by Foucault in *Discipline and Punish* (1975). Spierenburg's argument is successful in establishing the incorporation of the workhouse model into the penal system, but less helpful in linking the elite houses of correction—designed to hide away disobedient persons whose behavior threatened the reputation of their families—to the emergence of the penitentiary, the origins of which interested Foucault. The *beterhuis* displayed no reform-minded regime: its inmates did not work but only engaged in conversation.

The processes of state formation, urbanization, and commercialization were ultimately responsible for the changed system. Yet this scheme did not develop evenly across Europe: it was most fully achieved before 1800 in Holland and the Holy Roman Empire, while Italy and Spain maintained reliance on older systems such as galley service and forced labor, and Britain and France added reliance on transportation of convicts. Rulers who favored financially expedient solutions in the treatment of criminals favored bondage over imprisonment: by the mid-seventeenth century it was certainly southern Europe that was less able to support the heavy financial costs of imprisonment than the prosperous economies of the north.

Great Britain, always mistrustful of the abuses that came with the expansion of the sovereign's power, resisted the construction of prisons because they were seen as another manifestation of the monarch's overweening desire for power over subjects.

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KENNETH M. SETTON. *Venice, Austria, and the Turks in the Seventeenth Century*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society. 1991. Pp. 502. \$35.00.

In an age when so many monographs are narrowly focused and highly specialized, Kenneth M. Setton's majestic book on the eastern Mediterranean in the seventeenth century makes for a refreshing change to military and political history on a large scale. Like the ancient Greek historian Thucydides, Setton treats diplomatic maneuverings, great states, military campaigns, and prominent personalities with breath-taking majesty and felicitous attention to detail. In many ways this work is a welcome sequel to his monumental four-volume study, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204–1571)* (1976–84).

Setton begins with the "Long War" between the Austrians and the Turks from 1592 to 1606, a war which the Venetians stayed out of, as a prelude to his discussion of the Bohemian succession and the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War. His next two chapters provide an admirable summary of that war and the concluding treaties of Westphalia. Setton then turns to the struggles between Venice and the Turks in the Mediterranean, which parallel the beginnings of the Thirty Years' War north of the Alps but have not received nearly as much attention from Western historians. In this section he provides a particularly fascinating vignette about the deposition of the corrupt Sultan Ibrahim I in 1648 (pp. 152–53). His discussions of harem politics in general are very well done, although he relies exclusively on Western sources.

Setton's skillful coverage of the Turco-Venetian War of 1646–53 is followed by a summary of the naval war at the Dardanelles fought between 1654 and 1657. As his next section on the diplomacy of the Venetians and the French and the surrender of Candia to the Turks reveals, the author is as skilled at handling complicated political narrative as he is at writing vivid accounts of military battles. This is followed by coverage of the events leading up to the Turkish siege of Vienna in 1683, followed by a full account of the campaign for Greece and the Turkish reconquest of the Morea. The book concludes with the Peace of Passarowitz of 1718, which brought this series of wars between Austria and Venice against the Ottoman Turks to an end.

All in all, it is a gripping tale told with the skill of a master historian who is comfortable treating a vast array of events, issues, and personalities. Since he is

covering such a vast subject, the author can provide only brief but sharply drawn sketches of a few of the major actors in his drama. Seventeenth-century warfare is not glamorized, and such painful aftermaths as plague and the damage to the Parthenon during the siege of Athens are vividly portrayed (pp. 314–15). Setton's footnotes, some of which contain several pages of direct quotation from diplomatic sources, reveal massive amounts of research in Western archives. The volume is handsomely printed and remarkably free of error, although Dennis Romano becomes "Ruggiero Romano" (p. 454, n. 36). Military maps would have made a nice addition, but these cavils are like hurling spitballs against a battleship; this is an extremely well-done history of major proportions.

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PETER MATHIAS and SIDNEY POLLARD, editors. *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*. Volume 8, *The Industrial Economies: The Development of Economic and Social Policies*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1989. Pp. xix, 1243. \$125.00.

In the contemporary European state taxes are about half of GNP, but the historical roots of the state's dominant role have not yet been adequately traced. Understanding the economic role of the modern state has proven extremely difficult; separate states evolved from separate histories, and we lack a satisfactory theoretical framework to analyze and evaluate state action. Detailed historical analysis, such as Peter Mathias and Sidney Pollard's volume attempts, is an important part of clearer understanding.

Understanding the modern state is an enormous task and this is an enormous book; it measures nearly four inches across the spine. The contents range widely, from the late eighteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries, covering eight different economies in detail and aspects of many more. It is hardly a volume to sit down with and read from end to end, and few reviewers (certainly not myself) would feel expert in all its topics.

Although the volume contains useful contributions, it cannot be judged an unqualified success. It is not a timeless reference volume, and extraordinary publication delay has left much of the research out of date. As the authors—who have suffered most by the delay—point out, the research was done in the mid-1970s, and it now shows its age. It is hard to see a compelling rationale for the collection of all these papers in a single volume. This is neither a general reference book, an attempt to draw insights from a common analytical approach, nor a confrontation of alternative views. Although analysis of state behavior is notoriously difficult, the volume might reasonably have attempted to use analysis as a unifying feature,

but the authors did not usually attempt much of it. In light of the lack of unity in the volume and the delay in publication, both authors and readers would have been better served if the individual contributions had been published separately.

The volume's sixteen chapters begin with seven overviews: two on tariff policy, two on monetary policy under the gold standard, a comparative chapter on the taxation policy of the major powers, two on labor policy; the remaining nine chapters deal with individual countries in detail. The selection of countries is somewhat idiosyncratic; both Japan and the United States have been awarded honorary European status, but southern Europe—particularly Italy and the Iberian peninsula, which together contain a third of the population of the European Community—are covered only briefly in the general surveys.

After reading through the volume, I am left uncertain as to its intentions. The articles range from short overviews (less than fifty pages), with no footnotes, on the evolution of public policy in Britain and the United States, to a nearly two hundred-page detailed comparative analysis of the tax and expenditure systems of Britain, France, and Germany by D. E. Schremmer. Schremmer's paper, with its rich institutional detail and insights into different national philosophies of public finance, is probably the most enduring contribution. Similarly, the descriptive institutional detail in Paul Bairoch's 160 pages on nineteenth-century tariff policy will provide professional readers a convenient compendium. Here, however, a casual analytic point of view intrudes so that tariffs on modern manufacturing are given excessive weight while issues of comparative advantage are slighted.

Charles Kindleberger on interwar commercial policy, A. G. Ford on the nineteenth-century gold standard, and D. E. Moggridge on the interwar gold standard have suffered most by the long publication delay, and their chapters look particularly dated. I suspect most English-speaking readers will find the summaries of policy evolution in France, Germany, and particularly in Austria-Hungary and its successors and in Sweden (by T. Kemp, Volker Hentschel, Scott Eddie, Alice Teichova and Lennart Jorberg, and Olle Kranz) interesting. Particularly in the last three cases, the authors present accessible summaries of relatively unfamiliar cases. R. W. Davies's summary of the Soviet Union is a useful overview even if it now seems strangely apologetic for the excesses of Stalinism. His hopeful concluding statements about the system in the Gorbachev era, added in the final revisions, are now badly dated.

Most readers will come to this volume for insights into the development on the modern welfare state, but they generally will be disappointed. First, the analysis ends in 1939 and nowhere, except in the minds of some of its future architects, was the welfare state even beginning to emerge. In Sweden, for example, taxes, after growing for a decade, took less

than 10 percent of national income in 1939. Except for some brief attempts in Jorberg and Kranz's discussion of Sweden, the discussions lack analysis of the motivations, dynamics, and effects of government spending. Too often, government policy is presented as an inevitable consequence of industrialization and social change. One looks in vain for discussion of such topics as the influence of pressure groups on public policy, the role and motivation of bureaucracy, the political business cycle, or the capture of regulatory agencies by regulated industries. There is also almost no discussion of the effects of government regulation on economic performance. Did unemployment insurance increase unemployment? How effective were various policies in meeting their stated goals?

Overall, the volume is disappointing. The editors and the publisher must accept substantial blame for the lack of timely publication. Even if the book had appeared ten years ago, however, I would have wondered if collecting papers in this volume was particularly appropriate. Collections of details of tariffs, public finance, and social policy, while useful, seem insufficient to justify the volume.

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KARL W. SCHWEIZER. *Frederick the Great, William Pitt, and Lord Bute: The Anglo-Prussian Alliance, 1756–1763*. (A Garland Series of Outstanding Studies and Dissertations.) New York: Garland. 1991. Pp. ix, 358. \$53.00.

This interesting study of Anglo-Prussian relations in the middle of the eighteenth century is a revision of a doctoral dissertation completed in 1975 at Cambridge University. Karl W. Schweizer reviews the details of the divergent points of view, the complex interactions, and the multiplicity of events that took place in European politics during the Seven Years' War. His principal thesis is that the Anglo-Prussian alliance, rather than reflecting strong and mutual commitments to common goals, was the result of the development of parallel interests in international politics. At some fundamental level it was, from the British perspective, therefore, an extension of the Whig policy of opposition to the French wrapped in the new goals of colonial expansion, coupled with Prussian concerns for the two frontier problem.

This volume is unique because it uses both British and Prussian archives as well as Schweizer's recent archival excursions in Russian sources. The combination provides a far greater international perspective than traditionally has been presented by partisans of both the Prussian and the British perspective. Several revisions of traditional scholarship emerge as a consequence of this fresh analysis.

Schweizer fully realizes the importance of bureaucratic constraints as well as financial and other forces as they helped to shape and formulate state policy in

the middle of the eighteenth century. He is clearer about these matters in dealing with the British situation than with the Prussian. In both cases, however, the limitations that these more impersonal forces placed on even the most powerful personages such as William Pitt and Frederick the Great were considerable.

Schweizer also makes a cogent case for a reassessment of the role played by Lord Bute in determining the course of British policy during these years. Bute emerges as a serious statesman who quickly learned the issues and who played a leading role in decision making. This was true even while Pitt was in the ministry. Pitt, however, appears to have been less independent of both impersonal forces and his colleagues in ministerial decision making. When one looks, therefore, at the end of the reign of George II and the beginning of the reign of George III, one comes away with a far more complex mosaic of decision making than most of the traditional studies portray. The decision to abandon Prussia, to give one instance, was largely the result of a rational and clear understanding of imperative domestic politics and public finance, not the clash of personalities in British politics during this crucial period.

This study makes clear the case that the elder Pitt and King Frederick, although perhaps always mutually suspicious (and deservedly so), grew to respect each other's goals despite their adversarial relationship on specific points. Out of this experience, at least to the fall of 1761 when Pitt left office, there emerged as firm an alliance as was possible in the eighteenth century. It was based on a strategic, continental strategy to check the Bourbon powers and also helped to divert attention—from the British perspective a most important consideration—away from the Hanoverian connection in British foreign affairs. Frederick emerges as an astute international statesman. He and Pitt were clearly partners in common endeavors despite generally divergent goals and purposes.

The most interesting part of the book deals with the Golitsyn letter and its impact on European politics toward the end of Bute's ascendancy. By using Russian archives, Schweizer has provided incontrovertible proof that Bute's version of what was said, usually seen as suspect in the historiography, was actually quite accurate. It is clear that he was misrepresented at the Russian court and that this had a significant impact on Tsar Peter's representations to Frederick with regard to British intentions at crucial points at the end of the war.

In the end, the Anglo-Prussian alliance failed. Indeed, it might be seen to have been doomed to failure because of the lack of common tangible goals and a common enemy. Both Prussia and Britain pursued their national interests in reference to the national interests of the other, but essentially they were not collaborating in a common endeavor.

A final comment with regard to the text. The book

reads like a revised dissertation. The title is also misleading in that the author focuses not so much on the people involved as on the policy decisions made by the respective governments. These shortcomings notwithstanding, this volume provides an important detailed analysis to our understanding of mid-eighteenth-century European politics. It deserves to be read carefully for its insightful and useful correctives to the general interpretations of the historiography for this period.

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ANSELM DOERING-MANTEUFFEL. *Vom Wiener Kongress zur Pariser Konferenz: England, die deutsche Frage und das Mächtesystem 1815–1856*. (Veröffentlichungen des Deutschen Historischen Instituts London, number 28.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1991. Pp. 351. DM 88.

Anselm Doering-Manteuffel's *Habilitation* publication proposes that Palmerston in 1848–49 abandoned the 1815 European order to take a "first step into the age of *Realpolitik*" (p. 8). The revolutions of 1848 convinced Palmerston that the treaties of 1815 were obsolete for preserving the European Concert and stabilizing the balance of power and peace by great power solidarity. Losing faith in a European order based on the territorial settlement of 1815, Palmerston sought independence of any continental "system" (p. 293) and showed a "lighthearted readiness for drastic territorial revisions" on the Continent (p. 261).

The great Whig's ideologically driven policy determined his disposition to favor revisions in the European order: moderate constitutional monarchies, encompassing a kingdom of Poland; a reformed Austria compensated in the Danubian Principalities for abandoning Lombardy and Venice; and a strong German union dominated by "liberal" and "Protestant" Prussia. Despite Palmerston's attempt to mediate conflicting German and Danish claims to Schleswig-Holstein and his mistrust of the aggressive Frankfurt Parliament, he endorsed the plans of both Heinrich von Gagern and Joseph Maria von Radowitz for German unification. Thus, Palmerston never contested German unity as such, but preferred a moderate Prussian union as more likely to preserve peace and the balance of power than the plans of the more disruptive and "revolutionary" Frankfurt Parliament.

Doering-Manteuffel contends that Austrian-Prussian rivalry influenced Palmerston's decision to break with the old state system. Apprehensive of Austrian hegemony in middle Europe following the eastern powers' bloody suppression of the Hungarian revolt in 1849, the British public regarded Austria and Russia as barbarous and reactionary. Although Palmerston insisted that Austria was necessary to guaran-

tee a balance in southeast Europe, he doubted its stabilizing role in Germany and northern Italy.

Arguing convincingly that Prussian-Austrian dualism provided hidden clues to Britain's policy in 1856, Doering-Manteuffel's conclusions fit into a wider context. Günther Gillessen separated British misgivings about Schleswig-Holstein from the wider question of German unity (*Lord Palmerston und die Einigung Deutschlands* [1961]). His emphasis on the ideological direction during 1848 parallels recent analyses of the Frankfurt Parliament by Günter Wollstein (*Das "Grossdeutschland" der Paulskirche* [1977]) and of France which I presented in *Liberation of Sovereign Peoples* (1988). All emphasize the dangerous implications of an immoderate liberal agenda on international relations; the Franco-British revisionist program, including restoration of Poland, freedom in Italy, and a new mission for constitutional Austria was inherently disruptive. Doering-Manteuffel joins those disputing the postulate that Britain (and France) were basically conservative in 1848–49.

Doering-Manteuffel shifts the responsibility for abandoning the European order of 1815 from the old triumvirate of Camillo di Cavour, Louis Napoleon, and Otto von Bismarck to Palmerston, who took the first step into the age of *Realpolitik* (pp. 8, 104). Britain's rejection of the European order allowed changes of borders in central Europe. "British disinterest in Prussia and her role in Germany" (p. 330) meant that the German question remained irrelevant to the Foreign Office and the British public until Prussian-Austrian rivalry threatened to upset the European balance. Prussia's room for maneuver in Germany arose in the wake of British policy toward Austria. Multinational Austria was the greatest proponent and benefactor of the prenational European system; as the British "Lord Dynamite" undermined the Viennese order, the decline of the Habsburg monarchy was inevitable and British-Austrian relations became strained after 1859. Thus, "England's 'German' policy between the Revolution and the Crimean War, which was basically an Austrian policy, decisively prepared the way for Prussia's later triumph in Germany" (p. 331).

Doering-Manteuffel's emphasis on liberal Europe's promotion of German unity underscores Bismarck's achievement. The "white revolutionary" united the German Reich with the moribund Romanov and Habsburg empires at the cost of estrangement from the West.

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JOACHIM HOFFMANN. *Kaukasien 1942/43: Das deutsche Heer und die Orientvölker der Sowjetunion*. (Einzelschriften zur Militärgeschichte, number 35.) Freiburg: Rombach. 1991. Pp. 534. DM 42.

This monograph by Joachim Hoffmann is devoted to the history of the German-Soviet war in the Caucasus during the years 1942–43. The major part of the book covers the history of “Eastern” troops and legions, that is, those from Turkestan, the north Caucasus, Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Armenia. This volume is striking in its meticulousness, its attempt not only to take an encompassing view of the problem but also to investigate it as fully as possible. A huge volume of documents, witnesses, and materials were used.

The author sets for himself the complex task of clarifying the policy of the German high command on the Caucasus front in 1942–43 and to establish whether it deviated in any way from the official political line established in Berlin. He also examines the relationship between the German Army and the battalions and legions of “volunteers” from the northern Caucasus, Transcaucasus, and Central Asia (Turkestan). Special attention is paid to the *Abwehr* (military intelligence) battalion called “Bergman.” This unit consisted of 900 soldiers of Caucasian origin, including some émigrés who had lived in the West. Others fell or were captured by the Germans. In this battalion there were also 300 German military personnel, including its commander, Theodor Oberländer. Hoffmann devotes several pages of one chapter to a defense of Oberländer, who was charged by the Soviet Union with war crimes (pp. 119–31).

Hoffmann examines the fate of the nationalities’ military formations in the Red Army, not forgetting to remind the reader that during military operations many rank-and-file soldiers deserted to the German side. The author has made considerable use of the testimony of Soviet turncoats, focusing on their reasons for switching sides. This source of information is interesting, but only in conjunction with other kinds of sources. Often the soldiers of the adversary, who were captured or who deserted to the other side, are inclined to meet the expectations of the interrogating officer, hoping to please him and therefore to ease their fate in captivity.

The history of many “Eastern” battalions also is examined. This is a major achievement, since in Soviet historiography—at least until very recently—few materials about the military participation of Soviet citizens on the German side have come to light. According to Hoffmann’s calculations there were (including police and auxiliary units) about one million Soviets in these battalions. The case is quite unique in Russian history. The author, moreover, has not neglected the nature of the military collaboration between the people of the Caucasus and the Red Army.

It seems that one of Hoffmann’s aims was to provide evidence that the command of the German Army in the Caucasus carried out a sensitive policy designed to establish friendly relations with the local population. Whether such a policy would have continued had the German Army broken through to the

Transcaucasus we do not know. Given what actually happened, one cannot make a judgment about German policy in this region and what would have been the reactions of Azerbaijanis, Georgians, and Armenians to the occupation of their territories by the German Army with the help of some of their own people.

No doubt a substantial part in implementing a more balanced policy in the Caucasus was played directly by some German officers who were later involved in the assassination attempt on Adolf Hitler in July 1944. Hoffmann even provides the names of these officers and publishes some documents about Klaus von Stauffenberg, architect of the plot. Fifty years after the event, when passions have cooled (but still not died down), the elucidation of who was who in that period is, for a historian, far from irrelevant.

It seems that the relatively measured policy that the German command followed in the Caucasus was dictated by the necessity of securing a quiet rear, particularly because the German Army’s communication lines spread over many hundreds of miles. It is not clear for how long this policy could have been continued had the Soviet Army not forced the Germans to leave the occupied part of the Caucasus on short notice. Finally, we should not forget that Hitler’s wars had as their aim the imposing of German hegemony over the European mainland by force of arms. And the Wehrmacht was a major instrument of this policy.

Hoffmann’s work is an important contribution in the study of the history of the German-Soviet conflict. The scope of problems examined in this book is, in fact, larger than its title would suggest. It would be useful to make this work accessible to a broader audience of readers by publishing it in English.

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JOHN COSTELLO. *Ten Days to Destiny: The Secret Story of the Hess Peace Initiative and British Efforts to Strike a Deal with Hitler*. New York: William Morrow. 1991. Pp. xvi, 600. \$23.00.

This book is essentially a story of intrigue, of the sometimes complex behind-the-scenes maneuvering that went on in London, Paris, and elsewhere during the first year of World War II, particularly between May and September 1940. It is excellent history insofar as the range of John Costello’s research and ability to weave a fascinating narrative are concerned. But the conspiratorial tone and the frequency of suggestions (if not assertions) that reach beyond clear-cut evidence will make some historians uncomfortable. The author clearly wishes to explode certain myths, and he is generally quite successful in raising legitimate questions and offering alternative possibilities. But some of the myths may not be as widely held or as crucial to basic historical understanding as the

author seems to think. Thus, the book will be most useful to persons who already know the history of the period well or those who are interested in a "good read" without particular concern for the mainstream of events.

A central theme running throughout the work is that some influential people in Britain, including the foreign secretary, Lord Halifax, and his under-secretary, R. A. Butler, schemed industriously to seek a possible compromise peace with Germany. Winston Churchill's contention, both at the time and later, that the government was united in its determination to fight on was therefore clearly untrue, a line calculated for public consumption. Churchill had to combat defeatism constantly, often by means of his own intrigue and subterfuge, and the amazing scope of his accomplishment is enhanced thereby. A corollary theme is that Hitler had no desire to destroy Britain and the empire, seeing them as a force for stability outside of Europe; he wanted to make peace with London in order to concentrate on the Soviet Union. During the heaviest air attacks on Britain he continued to hope for a negotiated settlement (on his own terms, of course), and his heart was never really in Operation Sea Lion. These dual themes most likely explain, Costello claims, Hitler's order to his armies to halt before Dunkirk, the flight of Rudolf Hess to Scotland (May 1941), and a variety of other clandestine maneuverings in the nearly year-long interval between those two events. The number of seemingly serious peace feelers emanating from Britain was sufficient to keep Hitler's hopes alive, and he eventually turned on Russia in the belief that victory there would help to bring Britain to her senses.

Beyond the main themes, there are many other challenging interpretations. Without concern for cohesion beyond chronological order, some of them are indicated here to convey a sense of the scope and nature of the work. Neville Chamberlain conspired with Churchill to keep the defeatist Halifax from succeeding him; ergo he "did much to atone for the disaster he had brought on the world at Munich" (p. 49). Hitler did not intend to let the Allied armies escape at Dunkirk, but rather to postpone their annihilation while peace diplomacy had a chance to work. The Germans had access to the Churchill-Roosevelt communications, which were no doubt intentionally unprotected in the hope of influencing Hitler. Churchill used the danger of the British fleet falling into German hands to manipulate Roosevelt toward swifter, greater aid to Britain. A scheming Joseph Kennedy advanced his personal financial interests and sought to enhance his presidential ambitions through double-dealings in the name of negotiated peace. Save for Churchill, World War II would have ended in a compromise peace in June 1940. Churchill knew about the Halifax-Butler intrigue and tolerated it as a means of encouraging Hitler to believe that negotiated peace was possible, thus delaying an invasion of Britain. The British attack on

French vessels at Oran (July 3, 1940), after Churchill had made every effort to keep France in the war, was the single event that convinced Roosevelt of Britain's determination to fight on. The flight of Rudolf Hess to Scotland was not simply a brainstorm of Hitler's deluded deputy but the outcome of an interlocking sequence of British and German peace maneuvers and quite possibly a "sting" operation arranged, without Churchill's knowledge, by British intelligence (whether Hess was actually sent by Hitler is unresolved). Hess provided Churchill with irrefutable proof that Hitler was about to spare Britain and turn against Russia, enabling Churchill's warnings to Stalin. Churchill's strenuous cover-up of the Hess mission was necessary to maintain the myth of British resolution, and later to allay Soviet suspicions, now clear from KGB evidence, that Hess had been lured to Scotland as part of a bizarre double-cross plot.

The degree of Costello's persuasiveness will be variously assessed by his readers. But there is a lot of interesting evidence here, and much to ponder.

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JOHN BOSSY. *Giordano Bruno and the Embassy Affair*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1991. Pp. xix, 294. \$29.95.

What would once have been called conjecture and speculation play an increasing role in the writing of early modern European history, since at least Carlo Ginzburg's *Cheese and the Worms* (1976) and Natalie Zemon Davis's *Return of Martin Guerre* (1983). Heretofore, the beneficiaries have been exotic figures, usually from the lower orders, usually new to historiography, often presented as tricksters or outspoken autodidacts. In this book, John Bossy hunts down a member of the elite who has held a major place in early modern history since the Risorgimento and adds trickster to the prevailing view of Bruno as an iconoclastic precursor of modern science. Since Bossy intends his book as a polemic on the role of narrative in history, he assigns himself a similarly iconoclastic part.

All this is not terribly surprising in light of Bossy's earlier anthropologically inspired work on religion, but innovation by a return to the history of espionage, of all things, may be. A mere revival of diplomatic history will raise eyebrows, as will Bossy's portrait of Bruno as a clever but evil man. To give the "plot" away, Bossy argues that Bruno spent most of his time in England in the early 1580s and some of his subsequent time in Paris as the spy "Henry Fagot." Bossy's argument is complicated, but Bruno's motive allegedly was not: the destruction of the papacy and all its works. Bossy establishes these points through a close reading of certain passages in Bruno's works, a minute analysis of Fagot's correspondence, a meticulously re-created chronology of Bruno's movements,

and (least satisfactory) a study of Fagot's and Bruno's handwriting.

Added to these claims are large, even enormous, doses of conjecture. In fact, although supposedly a narrative, Bossy's book is a tense amalgam of analysis, speculation, and only then some kind of brief summary in story form. Instead of demonstrating the indispensability of narrative, Bossy seems rather to have made a damaging case for the priority of analysis. In particular, the first seventy-five pages, in which Bossy coyly refuses to give the game away, may well prove almost impossible to get through without stronger sops to impatient readers. Spicy, even racy prose (in one place fingers must be pulled out, for example) may not be enough to substitute for telling a real story.

Bossy's most important prop—a disquisition on Bruno's handwriting—is buried in an appendix following nearly sixty pages of valuable text. Alas, the analysis neither makes nor mars Bossy's case. As Bossy admits, his procedure is not technical. Instead, he compares a few letter forms between an astonishing variety of hands, all of which turn out to be written by Bruno. This approach must have only limited value, since letter forms are not the most distinctive point about handwriting; one must also consider systematic regularities such as slant. Complicated as Bossy's treatment is in itself, errors in keying it to the plates and Bruno's texts often make it impossible to find even those places which are illustrated. A hard slog reveals that, first, the two vital plates, lengthy passages certainly in Bruno's hand, are reproduced from photographs which make them almost illegible; and second, worse and far more frequently, the telling pieces of evidence are not reproduced at all! This fairly slipshod study also stumbles over major problems that are dismissed on the grounds that they do not fit Bossy's hypothesis.

And yet what Bossy attempts is most impressive and definitely welcome. One may regret the execution, which leaves his case as largely conjecture, but the attempt deserves hosannas. Bossy bravely blazes a path that many others should continue to clear.

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ROBERT E. RODES, JR. *Law and Modernization in the Church of England: Charles II to the Welfare State*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 1991. Pp. xiii, 497. \$34.95.

This is the last of Robert E. Rhodes, Jr.'s three-volume study of the legal history of establishment in England. The first volumes, *Ecclesiastical Administration in Medieval England* (1977) and *Lay Authority and Reformation in the English Church* (1982), brought the story from the Anglo-Saxon beginnings of establishment (or, as Rhodes prefers, the "church-state nexus") to the Civil War. This volume takes us from the Restoration to

the "present" (1988). The project is at once monumental and technical. Rhodes is a lawyer as well as a historian, and this volume is redolent of statutes and cases, being both legally and theologically informed. Rhodes is conscious of but not apologetic for being an American and a Roman Catholic convert from Anglicanism, and his book is strengthened by his wider perspective.

The first chapter deals with the "quiet time" between 1660 and 1832, shaped by the Erastian consensus of the Restoration, "when the spiritual aspirations (such as they were) of the nation were more closely reflected in the institutional patterns of the church than they ever had been before or were ever to be again" (p. ix). But the church's integration with society made it vulnerable to social changes in the early nineteenth century. The next two chapters deal with the juridical adjustments to those changes: first coping with the rise of religious pluralism, and second responding to the "utilitarian" demands of modern society for an efficient church. The final two chapters deal with the legal adjustments affecting the church's doctrine, liturgy, and internal governance, often involving painful (and continuing) debates. Uniformity of doctrine and worship has been virtually ended and autonomy virtually attained both nationally and congregationally.

Rhodes is aware throughout his study of the tension between Erastianism and High Church theology, which he believes to be inherent in institutional Christianity. The unique and characteristic feature of the English situation was the decision at the time of the Reformation to revise rather than reconstruct the medieval synthesis. Because of this, the privatization of religion and the secularization of the state did not have the same effects in England as on the Continent: "The national religion was to retain an integral place in the national culture, and the ministrations of the church were to continue being a public entitlement" (p. 363). The church managed to adjust to utilitarianism and pluralism without losing its official establishment or its role as at least the residual religion of the English people, but this came at the price of internal tensions and shocks that would have splintered any other denomination.

The Anglican situation results from "a historical and cultural identification that goes back to the earliest time. It will remain what it is as long as that identification endures" (p. 373). The use of the future tense is a sign both of the perils of carrying a study to a "present" that is already merging into the past and of Rhodes's abiding and affectionate concern for his former church. He concludes by citing Vatican II's *Gaudium et Spes* to justify the role as a witness to the wider society of the Christian message of a church whose active members are a small minority, recognized by the state through establishment and accepted by the majority through nominal membership: "In the long history of England, that presence, that recognition, that acceptance, have had a pro-

found and salutary effect" (p. 375). For all its minuteness, this is not scholarship without opinions.

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JOHN SPURR. *The Restoration Church of England, 1646–1689*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1991. Pp. xvii, 445. \$45.00.

In recent years scholars of Restoration England have grown increasingly aware of the importance of religion in generating political and social tensions during this period. Yet while the historiography of Protestant Nonconformity and even Catholicism for the reigns of Charles II and James II is reasonably well advanced, surprisingly little work has been done on that religious institution to which the vast majority of English people conformed, the established Church of England. This lacuna is now filled by John Spurr's excellent book on the Restoration Church. His study is based on a wide range of printed materials (sermons, apologetical and theological works, and devotional manuals), in combination with diaries and clerical correspondence (mainly from the manuscript collections of the Bodleian and British libraries). Little attempt has been made to explore the local archives, but care has been taken to provide a local context by drawing on the work of other scholars who have done detailed studies of particular regions or dioceses. The result is a powerfully written and richly detailed empirical monograph that seems destined to become the standard authority for many years to come.

Spurr shows that it was during the period between the 1640s and 1680s that "Anglicanism" was invented. The roots of this "Anglican" religious identity are traced back to the years of suffering between 1646 and 1660, when the Church of England was kept alive by a significant group of clergy and laity who remained attached to the liturgy of the Prayer Book. The emergence of a distinctive Anglican apologetic, however, really comes with the resurrection of the church after the "miracle" of the Restoration. Successive chapters analyze the reconstruction of the church after 1660 (and the political and religious implications behind the quest for religious unity between the Act of Uniformity and the Glorious Revolution); the development of an Anglican ecclesiology; the attempt to enforce discipline and impose the authority of the national church; and the nature of Anglican piety and doctrine. Spurr wants to show that the Restoration Church of England was a united church; the Anglican clergy, he tells us, were united not only in a belief in the principle of a national church but also on pastoral priorities and the dangers of apathy, sin, and various forms of religious dissidence. It was only after the Glorious Revolution that this unity broke down,

with the emergence of an irreconcilable breach between High and Low Church factions.

I was more impressed, however, by how superficial this alleged unity was. The Anglican way was a *via media*: the church was united in its hostility toward the extremes of Popery and Dissent; it liked to see itself as being both Catholic and Reformed; it championed episcopacy while at the same time defending the royal supremacy and remaining sympathetic toward non-episcopalian reformed churches on the Continent. The Anglican clergy was a highly mixed group, comprising both Calvinists and anti-Calvinists or Arminians. Some were Commonwealth conformists, others had suffered for their beliefs, and still others were careerist vicars of Bray. There were those who, at one extreme, leaned toward Roman Catholicism, and partial conformists who, at the other, did their best to keep the old Puritan traditions alive. One gets the impression that the apparent unity was to a certain extent a façade, carefully kept up by that handful of bishops who really ran the church. The laity appears to have been equally divided; although Roman Catholics, separatists, unitarians, and outright atheists might have been a small proportion of the total population, the religious experience of the vast majority who were nominal Anglicans was hardly uniform, since they included devout types who exhibited various shades of theological opinion and also others less devout who fell far short of the Christian ideal.

Spurr's book is rich in original insights but it suffers from lack of pace and balance; the chapters are too long, and a disproportionate amount of space is spent looking at the rather dry topics of piety and doctrine while not enough is devoted to exploring the implications for political and social historians of all the wonderful material unearthed. It is odd that Spurr can write a chapter entitled "The Whole Duty of Man" and yet nowhere in the book make a serious effort to address the question of where women fit in. Anglicanism was a highly patriarchal religion, both in the strictly Filmerian sense and also in the broader sense employed by historians of gender. Indeed, Richard Allestree, author of *The Whole Duty of Man* (1663), said a number of interesting things about the status of women, both in this tract and in some of his other publications. In some ways, then, Spurr has given us a rather old-fashioned religious history. His is an important study nevertheless, and it will be indispensable for anyone working in the Restoration period.

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LOWELL GALLAGHER. *Medusa's Gaze: Casuistry and Conscience in the Renaissance*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1991. Pp. 331. \$29.50.

Lowell Gallagher's study of casuistry in Elizabethan England combines historical scholarship with theoretical sophistication, arguing that casuistical epistemology and interpretive practices have affinities with deconstructive theories of language. Part 1 examines cases of conscience resulting from the presence of a Catholic minority, analyzing both canonical texts, such as Elizabeth I's speeches to Parliament concerning the trial of Mary Queen of Scots, and marginal ones, such as Robert Person's "The Fall of Anthony Tyrrel." Part 2 interprets the "Siena Sieve" portrait of Elizabeth and Book Five of Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* (1596).

The most useful part of Gallagher's study is his account of casuistry's inherent duality. According to casuists, the conscience comprises two parts: the *synteresis*, the internalized knowledge of divine and natural law, and the *conscientia*, which applies that law to specific cases in particular circumstances. As a repository of immutable truths, conscience functioned as a stabilizing force; yet in its application of moral law to the circumstances of individual cases, conscience responded to the transitory and contingent. Posited on this dualistic conception of conscience, casuistry functioned both as an instrument of social control and as an agent of subversion.

Gallagher deftly charts the destabilizing effect of casuistical discourse through the Scots controversy, the intrigues of both the Jesuit English mission and Sir Francis Walsingham's network of informers, and Spenser's treatment of justice. But I am unpersuaded by his argument that casuistry's subversive force is attributable not to the concept of conscience as "a little God" within, but to its representation of conscience as "a self-effacing text destined to be misread" (pp. 14, 11). The social and political power of the conscience stemmed precisely from its claim to inviolability as the voice of God within the individual soul. In addition, Gallagher frequently cites Protestant casuists like William Perkins and Robert Sanderson without acknowledging their rejection of the concepts of probabilism, equivocation, and mental reservation that figure prominently in his exposition of the metacritical ambiguity of casuistical discourse.

At the end of *The Rape of the Lock* (1714) Alexander Pope banishes Belinda's lock of hair to a celestial haven for such trivialities as "cages of gnats, and chains to yoke a flea, / Dried butterflies, and tomes of casuistry." Gallagher cites these lines to point to the major historical shift by which the discourse of conscience that was central to European culture in the sixteenth century became by the eighteenth century synonymous with empty inconsequentiality. He argues too, however, that casuistry survived in altered forms.

According to Gallagher, aside from George Starr's study of the secularization of casuistry in Daniel Defoe's novels, "the relationship between casuistry and literary discourse seems to have remained in the lunar orbit in which Pope fixed it," and he proposes

the need for further study of the "manifestations of the discourse of conscience in the literary culture of the eighteenth century" (pp. 3, 18). This account of the history of casuistry troubles me, not merely because it wounds my vanity by situating my own work (*The Casuistical Tradition* [1981]) in the lunar sphere, but more significantly because the jump from the 1580s to the novels of Samuel Richardson and Defoe ignores the crucial role conscience played in the upheavals of the seventeenth century. Like Gallagher, John Milton was aware that in the friction between state power and individual conscience truth becomes unknowable and unrepresentable: "do not bind her," he warns in *Areopagitica* (1644), "for then she speaks not true . . . rather she turns herself into all shapes, except her own." Yet for Milton "the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience [is] above all liberties." Although Gallagher's juxtapositions of heterogeneous texts are original and his readings are often genuinely illuminating, his narrow focus on textual disruptions and ambiguities limits his ability to explain the casuistical thinking that led Royalists and Parliamentarians alike to fight a civil war as a cause of conscience.

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CHRISTINE MCGLADDERY. *James II*. (The Stewart Dynasty in Scotland, 1371–1603, number 3.) Edinburgh: John Donald; distributed by Humanities Press, Atlantic Highlands, N.J. 1990. Pp. vii, 185. \$65.00.

The reign of James II of Scotland poses a rather intractable problem for the historian. There is only one contemporary chronicle, and the government record is scanty. "It is," as Gordon Donaldson has observed, "all rather like watching a play in an unknown language, and watching it, too, by a rather fitful light" (*Scottish Kings* [1967], 79). Christine McGladdery, having quoted this opinion at the beginning of her book, declares it too pessimistic and sets out, as she says, to "make some sense" (p. 1) of the complex events of the reign.

Her book derives from her doctoral dissertation, "Crown-Magnate Relations in the Reign of James II of Scotland 1437–1460," and it contains little else. There is some justification for this: the pivotal event of the reign was the destruction of the greatest of James's over-mighty subjects, the earls of Douglas, one of whom James personally murdered. McGladdery takes us through the drama in careful detail, although she does not see all the implications of the evidence she presents. In the first place, the Douglases were beginning to self-destruct. While James was still a minor, the sixteen-year-old sixth earl and his younger brother were judicially murdered on a treason charge with the connivance of their great-uncle, who inherited the earldom: there was no

forfeiture. His eldest son, the eighth earl, eventually married the executed boys' sister, the "Fair Maid of Galloway." She was an important personage: as a great-grandchild of the first Stewart king, she might be put forward as a claimant to the throne under the proper conditions. McGladdery fails to grasp this point.

James's impulsive murder of the eighth earl in 1452 plunged him into considerable difficulties. He was forced to allow the Fair Maid to marry the murdered man's brother, and only rescued himself from potential backlash by lavish bribes—looking the other way, for instance, when the laird of Johnstone seized the royal castle of Lochmaben. The bribery worked: the Douglasses were finally destroyed in 1455 and the Fair Maid safely married to the king's half-brother. James's rewards to the aristocracy did not cease: three new earldoms were created in 1458. How long this could have gone on is hard to say; it is well for James's posthumous reputation that he was killed in 1460 by the explosion of one of the guns he loved so well. McGladdery gives us the evidence for a negative assessment of James II, but like other scholars before her she regards the king as a success.

McGladdery has not been served well by her copy editor. There are many repetitions, sometimes on the same page (p. 98), once even in the same paragraph (p. 96). There is too much conditional writing: the phrases "must have," "seems to," and "may have" flood these pages. McGladdery's preoccupation with her central theme causes her to neglect everything else, including foreign trade, the condition of the church, education, and the burghs, to name but a few obvious subjects. In brief, this is a disappointing book, which does not replace the better-balanced account by Ranald Nicholson in *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages* (1974), his volume in the *Edinburgh History of Scotland*.

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TESSA WATT. *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1991. Pp. xix, 370. \$59.50.

In the wake of research by Robert Mandrou, Robert Scribner, and her mentor Margaret Spufford, Tessa Watt has attempted to connect the ephemeral publications that interest her to the larger social and cultural themes of English historiography. She is more successful, however, with the strictly bibliographical detail of these neglected genres. The study is best described as "a measure of typographic acculturation" (p. 322) rather than as a window on the dramatic changes of her chosen century. This is not because Watt is unaware of the issues in the field: the putative divorce of elite and popular culture; the relations between print and performance, or among

music, dance, image, and text; the cultural divisiveness of Protestantism; iconoclasm and iconophobia. She is eager to speak to each of these issues but unable to advance any of the debates associated with them.

Still, Cambridge University Press deserves our thanks for publishing a monograph that offers such a wealth of bibliographical detail. If there is little in the way of ideological or literary analysis and no semiology, there are valuable inventories of markets, printers, and themes, and sensible estimates of production. Knowing that a sense of scale is an essential feature of any such study, Watt always attempts to offer one, while noting the difficulties in her way. Sections on the ballad trade (which makes use of Robert Thomson's still-unpublished dissertation), single-sheet woodcuts and charts, broadside prints, painted cloths, chapbooks, and penny godlies trace the standardization of each of those genres and give a sense of the whole English trade in each category.

The title suggests some contribution to an understanding of religious change, but the author found that these works would have done little to promote Protestantism (as opposed to anti-Catholicism). To a large extent, cheap print maintained a conservative and unsophisticated popular piety that was Pelagian and uncontentious. Indeed, publishers' investment in Catholic engravings might make them loath to follow the newer currents, and Watt finds that some publishers worked both sides of the Reformation street. She suspects that others softened their rhetoric for an audience that was not notably partisan.

The reader must not forget, however, that Watt's world of "cheap print" was not self-contained. Even the lower orders might have access to "higher" culture, which renders Watt's negative conclusions questionable. This work should be supplemented with Spufford's *Small Books and Pleasant Histories* (1981) or my own *Popular Religion in Restoration England* (1977).

Finally, without searching for it, Watt has stumbled on evidence of secularization within even this humble literature. Originally, Protestants had used the whole range of popular genres to promote their views. By the middle of Elizabeth's reign, however, plays and ballads, for example, had ceased to be acceptable forms for religious expression. The use of images followed a similar pattern, with true icons giving way first to sacred histories and then moving down a ladder of sanctity to a level more comfortable to an iconophobic society. Entertainment was separating itself from a religious culture as religion became a world unto itself.

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MURRAY G. H. PITTOCK. *The Invention of Scotland: The Stuart Myth and the Scottish Identity, 1638 to the Present*. New York: Routledge. 1991. Pp. 198. \$59.95.

It is no easy matter to draw inspiration from the House of Stuart. From the moment we can first perceive highly etched personalities, beginning with Mary in the mid-sixteenth century, to their final demise, with the young pretender in the mid-eighteenth century, the family showed itself to be consistently reactionary, bigoted, destructive—and ultimately self-destructive. None of them specifically identified with the Scottish realm. The prime aim of the family's ablest representative, and the only one raised in Scotland, James VI and I, was the creation of a Great Britain modeled on the Christian Roman empire of late antiquity. His son precipitated the greatest upheaval in post-medieval British history, initially by his reckless efforts to secure Scotland's conformity to English religious practice. Every member of the dynasty saw the southern crown as his or her ultimate objective. Not one could in any conceivable sense be considered to be a Scottish nationalist. How then did this dynasty succeed in so thoroughly penetrating the Scottish popular imagination and in shaping Scottish patriotism? The answer is an extraordinary story and an important one in Scotland's cultural history.

According to Murray G. H. Pittock, the later Stuarts achieved symbolic if not political success because they promoted themselves in ways that had exceedingly disparate appeal. Not only did they believe their own mythologies (unlike both predecessors and successors) but their images also turned out to be so structured as to accommodate an enormous range of iconographic possibilities and political agendas. Jacobitism could therefore embody royalist absolutism as well as classical republicanism, traditionalism and privilege as well as reform, authoritarian counterreformed piety as well as apocalyptic transformation, messianism, and a Scotland conceived as a liberating latter-day Israel. Although in fact the overwhelmingly victorious reformed and covenanting traditions far more cogently articulated all Scottish radicalism, the power of Stuart claims still remained unimpeached. At the heart of Scottish counterrevolution—what Pittock rather remotely calls “the Jacobite analysis”—lay the assertion that Scotland was fundamentally a Gaelic nation, that this nation was betrayed in 1707, and that the Stuart dynasty embodied its restoration—either literally or, later on, at least emblematically. This assertion has persisted up to the present day. On this telling, William Wallace, Robert Bruce, Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, Robert Burns, and John Maclean all become honorary Highlanders, and both the extreme legitimism of the Oxford Movement and the communalism of Hugh MacDiarmid's Scottish Marxism become expressions of Jacobitism. Also on this telling, Lowland Scots should at least in theory be supplanted by the more authentic Scots Gaelic.

More immediately, the later eighteenth century witnessed Jacobite antiquarianism and in Burns the assimilation of freedom as corporate autonomy with

freedom as the individual right proclaimed by the French Revolution. Subsequently, Sir Walter Scott tamed Jacobitism by anchoring the Scottish traditions associated with it in a remote and irretrievable past—thereby making them valid but irrelevant to the succeeding mature British identity. So constructed, Scottish sentimentalism could safely become a public property and would be embraced by figures no less than George IV and Victoria. Piercing this sentimentality to uncover the real insight of Jacobitism was, Pittock maintains, the intention and partial achievement of a wide range of late-nineteenth and early twentieth-century Scottish nationalists. The problem with twentieth-century Scottish nationalist politics and with the contemporary Scottish National Party (SNP) in particular, he concludes, lies in their reluctance to address the Scottish cultural experience. Transient social issues rather than central questions of Scotland's identity and the meaning of the British union have inherently marginalized the SNP and trivialized Scottish nationalism. In the end the myth of the Stuarts for Pittock has become fact as well as myth: its enchantment derives from its speaking to the real fissures and ambiguities of being a modern Scot.

This book addresses itself to a significant question, but its analysis and answers are quixotic and unsatisfactory. Imagining a Scottish past modeled on Irish romantic nationalism, as the Stuart myth ultimately does, so falsifies the deeply hybrid character of the Scottish experience as to be inherently unpersuasive. Moreover, the relatively recent work of J. G. A. Pocock, Roger Mason, Brian Levack, and many others has strongly suggested that precisely this hybrid character enabled Scots to play a leading role in formulating—indeed inventing—the idea of Great Britain. On this telling Scottish rationalism and reform lost before English common law conservatism, and Britain, rather than emerging as a pluralist structure, became simply England. Throughout much of its history Scottish identity has tended to generate radical British consciousness and, like the modern world itself, this circumstance is at once complex and potentially discomforting. Any serious assessment of the far easier Stuart romance will necessarily consider it within this British intellectual context.

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GARLAND CANNON. *The Life and Mind of Oriental Jones: Sir William Jones, the Father of Modern Linguistics*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1990. Pp. xix, 409. \$49.50.

Celebrated in his own day and remarkable even now, Sir William Jones (1746–94) has received too little attention in recent scholarship. Most British histori-

ans know him only for his statement in 1786 of the "common-source" theory linking Greek, Latin, and Sanskrit and paving the way for nineteenth-century philology. But with Garland Cannon's biography we have for the first time a reliable, highly detailed account of the multifaceted career of this late-eighteenth-century polymath.

The book adopts an almost exclusively chronological approach, based in large measure on the author's edition of Jones's letters. Cannon presents summary accounts of his subject's scholarly and creative writings at each stage of the biographical march from early education and Oxford years through political activities and quest for patronage to legal life's work in England and India, thereby seeking to link "life and mind." Along the way, some of Jones's associations with the powerful and the famous are revealingly analyzed, such as those with Samuel Johnson, the second Earl of Shelburne, Benjamin Franklin, and Edmund Burke. His advanced Whig political views receive insightful attention at various points, as do his related attitudes toward the classics, both eastern and western.

Unlike his near contemporary Jeremy Bentham, Jones shaped the law as a judge while probing it as a scholar. The eleven years of his judicial appointment in India occupy half the book, in which his "Orientalism" comes clearly into focus. As Cannon shows, his presence in India mingled an "ambition to know *India* better than any other European ever knew it" (p. 273) with the hope of helping the Indians through good administration; and the typical quest for financial independence with a curious desire to escape the homeland's troubling politics. His original goals for the Asiatic Society of Bengal stressed the advantages to be gained by Europe from familiarity with Asian culture and literature. Eventually he sought to pursue the mutual enrichment of the two civilizations, while his common-source theory "massively shook the ethnocentric Western view of the colonial world" (p. 246).

As Cannon points out, Jones's high standing within his era's intellectual class goes far to explain the rapid acceptance of his scholarly discoveries about Asia. Unfortunately, the book too seldom allows us to see Jones in the context of the great intellectual movement to which he belonged. For example, no mention is made of the century's strong cosmopolitanism or of the widespread contemporary British and French interest in studying the historical relationship between language and society, although both are directly relevant to Jones's work. Whether or not Jones really was the first modern linguist, as Cannon contends (with Hans Aarsleff), he surely was a member of the Enlightenment, of which nothing is said but whose castigation of system-making and emphasis on empirical evidence he shared. Unsatisfying, too, is the book's reticence about Jones's personality. Characteristics and habits appear in detail, but there is no overall assessment of his guiding emotional forces,

and rarely does he appear as vividly here as in Peter Brown's *The Chathamites* (1967). Nevertheless, for the facts of Jones's life and for some key elements of its interpretation, Cannon's biography now becomes the standard work.

DAVID SPADAFORA
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DAVID TURLEY. *The Culture of English Antislavery, 1780–1860*. New York: Routledge. 1991. Pp. 284. \$55.00.

David Turley builds on the work of Roger Anstey (*The Atlantic Slave Trade and Abolition, 1760–1810* [1975]), David Brion Davis (*The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture*, 2 vols. [1966, 1975]), Seymour Drescher (*Econocide: British Slavery in the Era of Abolition* [1977]), and others to argue that English antislavery was a cultural response to change in both English society and Great Britain's relations with the world. Turley minimizes economic determinants, holding that "Within Britain popular Protestantism . . . was central" (p. 3). He singles out three religious-intellectual traditions accounting for nearly all abolitionists in his period: Quakerism, evangelicalism, and rational dissent, which became Unitarianism. This last tradition, he believes, has not been sufficiently recognized, and one of his intentions is to demonstrate that, though never numerous, the Unitarians figured importantly. Beyond this ideological identity, abolitionists formed a phalanx in a religious, philanthropic, and reformist social complex.

Members of the middle class, they were ambivalent or opposed to reforms favoring the lower class, and on occasion appealed to patriotism in order to enlist lower-class support. Predominantly religious, preoccupied by antislavery, and skeptical of the state's morality, the abolitionists did not lend themselves to promoting either the secular interests of the industrial bourgeoisie or those of political reformers. Although they shared a general middle-class concern for maintaining social order, they held a concern for encouraging individualism. This divergence is illustrated in attitudes toward education, viewed by some reformers as a means to inculcate social values and deference but by abolitionists as an avenue to self-determination.

Set apart from other middle-class reformers, they diverged more sharply from the working class. Abolitionists in general did not favor political radicalism; of the various reform elements they felt closest to the Chartists, who emphasized Christianity and education. Ambiguous with respect to free labor, abolitionists, although looking to advance that cause, favored state action to regulate the lives of freed prisoners, provide apprenticeship for freed slaves, and pass protective factory laws, especially against child labor. Free trade was not the magnet it became for other reformers; for abolitionists it was not a doctrine to

promote industrial interests but an instrument to further reforms such as ending preferential duties on slave-grown sugar.

Taking issue with other interpretations, Turley rejects the argument that the development of an international market in the eighteenth century led to a broad humanitarianism; the interpretation, he contends, neglects the religious factor that was so dynamic in English abolitionism. Nor does he believe it accurate to speak of a single antislavery movement. Antislavery was not monolithic but rather a series of alliances, changing over time in leadership, location of strength, and specific objectives. Before 1815 abolitionists focused on slavery in the Caribbean, after that date on the suppression of the international slave trade and the extension of freedom to Africa and the Americas. The Anglo-American connection, of which so much has been made, actually increased tensions among English abolitionists because of the bitter divisions among Americans. In his summary Turley reduces the influence claimed for abolitionists by some historians. They exerted little influence on changing political practices or passing the great reform laws. Not a shaping force, they were a constituent of change.

The author has immersed himself in the literature of abolition. He is very much at home as he traverses a long, complex period. Not all scholars will agree with his downplaying of economic forces or widespread abolitionist influence. Turley does not cross the bridge between antislavery culture and political action. He is content to demonstrate the religious-intellectual thought of persons championing antislavery measures outside Parliament. But he does not attempt to persuade his readers that politicians acted on the same motives. Abolition of the slave trade was a wartime act; Anstey pointed out that parliamentary advocates invoked the national interest and expediency in ending the trade. To what extent legislators voted with such motives is not shown here. But Turley has produced a work, after years of study reaching back to his 1969 Cambridge University Ph.D. thesis, that deserves respect. The book is clearly organized but flawed at times by a cumbersome prose style and an inadequate index.

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STEFAN COLLINI. *Public Moralists: Political Thought and Intellectual Life in Britain, 1850–1930*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1991. Pp. 383. \$69.00.

Stefan Collini's study of British political thought in the period 1850–1930 attempts to reconstruct the ways in which prominent intellectuals spoke to a receptive audience within the educated classes. Although concentrating largely on the Victorian period,

his old-fashioned history of ideas covers four generations of an elite political class who carry on an extended conversation in language defined by common and continuing cultural and moral values. Social and economic ideas, religion, science, and the events that impinge on them and to which they respond are noticed only peripherally because Collini has separated a limited political culture from the greater society in which it exists. Although glossing his treatment of thought with the literary critic's emphasis on the written "voice," idiom, and cadence of the intellectuals he discusses, Collini's methodology remains largely conventional.

Collini examines thirty men and two women as central to a shared, coherent tradition about character, the individual, and the national treasury of moral will and altruism. The book is divided into four parts. Beginning with "Governing Values," he describes the world of the Victorian intellectual, the culture of altruism, and the idea of character. "Public Voices," concentrating on the last fifteen years of John Stuart Mill's life to 1873, casts him as a deliberate and partisan controversialist and public moralist whose authority rested on his commitment to equality and his moral psychology. Henry Fawcett appears as the representative of individualist Liberalism, who accepted Mill's logic and political economy as well as his political and social policies. Leslie Stephen, Fawcett's biographer and a youthful admirer of Mill, moved away from his former master, Collini argues, because Mill was deficient in qualities that both Fawcett and Stephen identified with character.

"Moral Sciences" starts with a chapter on professionalization and its discontents which presents the career of Benjamin Kidd—who initially stood outside the intellectual community by social background, education, and employment in the lower division of the civil service—to illustrate the possibility in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries of earning a living as a man of ideas. But, as Collini points out, Kidd was rejected by university scholars who were developing their own exclusive authority. The third part of the book finishes with Henry Maine, James Fitzjames Stephen, and A. V. Dicey, moral jurists in a public debate that ranged from the celebration of English history to the growing anxiety about the extension of democracy.

In the final part of the book, "English Genealogies," Collini places Mill's posthumous beatification as a political thinker in the larger context of the intellectual history of Englishness. The concluding chapter, the least coherent in the book, suggests that the study of English literature as an academic discipline with historical, biographical, and philological origins began with a Whig interpretation and emerged after 1918 as an insubordinate form of cultural criticism rooted in pastoral nostalgia.

Collini is especially perceptive in defining the organization of the elite intellectual's small world. He finds that membership in the Athenaeum conferred

intellectual status on the Victorians. Then, in the twentieth century, he sees the British Academy, which recognized increasing specialization and the role of university education, as replacing the Athenaeum as a symbol of the identity of intellectuals. His examination of Mill's political advocacy of the moral obligation of the state toward its citizens is very interesting, and he pursues the various interpretations of Mill's political views in the three decades after his death as a case of the continuing cultural construction of genealogies. And he treats Maine, Fitzjames Stephen, and Dicey, who discussed principles of legislation within the larger intellectual community, as more public men than members of an autonomous legal profession. He argues correctly that they had to justify the law's place in a liberal education to skeptical university men and the value of academic study to a skeptical legal profession.

What is often a witty and incisive study is marred by stylistic and substantive weaknesses. Collini stretches stylistically toward a cleverness that misses as much as it succeeds. The text is full of "frissons" and "sneerings" and parenthetical asides that call attention to the author's ingenuity in case the reader missed it. Collini also resurrects historiographical ghosts only to exorcise them. Few scholars during the last two decades have employed "bourgeois ideologues," as Collini suggests (p. 27), as an explanatory device. Collini's introduction of "intellectual" as an analytical category (p. 28) is hardly unprecedented. John Roach's seminal essay on the "Victorian Universities and the National Intelligentsia" (*Victorian Studies* 9 [1965]) illuminated the concept and its uses. Another bloodless specter, revived and dismissed, is "the standard histories of political theory," including even the "more nuanced versions" that reduce nineteenth-century thought to liberalism (p. 61). Instead of emphasizing the development of an individualist liberalism, Collini suggests that it would not be "startlingly revisionist" to emphasize the "primacy of morality" (p. 63). Most intellectual historians would not find his suggestion either startling or revisionist because they have long recognized the dominance of moral forces expressed through altruism and a cultivation of feelings.

Perhaps most seriously, Collini is ungenerous and inaccurate in introducing analytical categories as his own when they have been well developed by other historians. He claims that Marxists are the only scholars to have noticed, however inadequately, the role of character in Victorian political argument (p. 93). But Noel Annan, Sheldon Rothblatt, Arthur Engel, Peter Clarke, T. W. Heyck, H. C. G. Matthew, Standish Meacham, myself, and others have discussed the relation between character and private and public morality, the new contents of late-nineteenth-century nationalism, and the analytical concepts that Collini stresses.

This book, in spite of its failings, is a provocative inquiry into the political thought of Victorian intel-

lectuals. Collini looks at a well-known cast of characters, exhaustively treated in the literature, from unfamiliar and revealing perspectives. The book may not be as original as its author contends, but students of the period will want to read it.

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E. D. STEELE. *Palmerston and Liberalism, 1855–1865*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1991. Pp. xv, 467. \$69.50.

It was not very long ago that Michael Bentley characterized British high politics of the 1850s and first half of the 1860s as a "black hole" for historical scholarship, save for the "pioneering work of Professor J. B. Conacher" (*Politics without Democracy* [1984], 428). Bentley took no notice of David Krein's still useful study, *The Last Palmerston Government* (1978). Conacher's masterly analyses (*The Aberdeen Coalition, 1852–1855* [1968] and *The Peelites and the Party System, 1846–52* [1972]) certainly have not been superseded, but these have recently been joined by the outstanding contributions of Angus Hawkins (*Parliament, Party, and the Art of Politics in Britain, 1855–59* [1987]), the valuable work of P. M. Gurowich ("The Continuation of War by Other Means: Party and Politics, 1855–1865," *Historical Journal* [1984]), and another fine volume by Conacher himself (*Britain and the Crimea, 1855–56* [1987]). E. D. Steele's impressive book, however, is the first modern study to furnish a wide-ranging and detailed consideration of Palmerston in his decade of public and parliamentary preeminence, a preeminence that seems no less imposing in retrospect.

The author does not purport to provide a comprehensive narrative account of British politics for these ten years. Instead he presents a series of exceedingly well-informed and probing analytical essays on diverse aspects of the mid-Victorian political system: the problems of policy—foreign, imperial, and domestic—with which that system had to contend; the questions to which politicians had to show a measure of responsiveness in order not to alienate the political public; and the personalities that sought to work the system to their own political advantage. Among the last, Palmerston naturally figures most prominently, but we also learn much about other major players.

The originality of this monograph does not lie in its interpretation of the politics of its main protagonist, notwithstanding Steele's implied claims to the contrary. In his introduction he plays his arguments against John Vincent's statement that Palmerston's methods "involved crude belligerence abroad and class fear at home" (*The Formation of the Liberal Party, 1857–1868* [1966], quoted in Steele, p. 5). Steele's Palmerston is a progressive politician committed to upholding British prestige while avoiding costly Con-

tinental warfare and to promoting the reconciliation of classes. Such a view of Palmerston is not unique to Steele, and the perception of Palmerston as a perspicacious and accomplished politician (statesman, as Steele would have it) is commonplace enough. He astutely cultivated the press, deftly managed the House of Commons (after 1859 at any rate), and understood the importance of opinion outside the House. The book's primary achievement resides in its rich specificity and its penetrating elaboration of themes that have been adumbrated elsewhere (as in Norman Gash, *Aristocracy and People* [1979], 278–80).

Palmerston therefore did not really stand in need of rehabilitation; if he stands higher than before, it is because Steele's generous appreciation and admiration of his qualities is fixed in a bedrock of exhaustive research and lucid exposition. The vast array of evidence drawn on by Steele is deployed to elucidate his central motif, that Palmerston constructively adapted himself to change rather than resisting it. Steele sees in Palmerston's governments not only a serviceable response to the predemocratic politics of mid-Victorian England but also "a conscious introduction to the new era" (p. 367). Here he presses his case beyond what the evidence warrants. It is one thing to advance that Palmerston's firm grasp of political realities and ambition to hold on to what he had precluded his evincing an implacable opposition to changes that could not be stopped. It is another to suggest that he sought to prepare the ground for a smooth transition to democracy.

Whatever "introduction to the new era" Palmerston's administrations may have supplied, nothing in Steele's excellent book has persuaded me that their leader's part in it was by design rather than by accident. Walter Bagehot knew his man when he said of Palmerston in 1864: "He *does* live from hand to mouth, and has always done so. He has through life troubled himself with the principal matters of the moment, and troubled himself about nothing else. He does so now." ("Lord Palmerston at Bradford," *Economist*, August 3, 1864.)

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PAMELA HORN. *Victorian Countrywomen*. Cambridge, Mass.: Basil Blackwell. 1991. Pp. viii, 281. \$36.95.

Kathleen Barry has recently charged that the influence of postmodernism on historical scholarship has led to "the decentering of the subject just at the time when women's history has made significant gains by centering on women as the subject of its study" ("The New Historical Synthesis: Women's Biography," *Journal of Women's History* [Winter 1990], 93). Pamela Horn's richly detailed account of women's lives in rural Victorian England and Wales reaffirms the value of studying individual experience, but it also

reveals the pitfalls of neglecting the insights provided by the judicious use of theory.

Horn begins her work with a useful overview of the situation of women in village life, challenging the historian's habit of defining communities by male activities. She explores the lives of working women in farming, domestic service, and rural crafts, as well as women in gentry and professional families. Drawing on public records, parliamentary reports, letters, and novels (including Flora Thompson's neglected autobiographical masterpiece, *Lark Rise to Candleford* [1945]), Horn portrays women as active agents and vital contributors to rural life and local economies. These sources allow the reader a double perspective; women are seen both through their own eyes and the eyes of the state. In keeping with the exhaustive research on Victorian women generally, the fabric of rural women's lives and their contributions to the economy turn out to be much more substantial and complicated than previously acknowledged. Horn also examines, although less successfully, the effect of Victorian ideologies of domesticity on rural women. She traces the shift in female employment from traditional rural occupations to teaching and nursing and suggests that this trend resulted from the growing influence of Victorian ideas of womanhood on rural culture. A series of statistical charts supplements the text.

Despite its merits, Horn's work has some flaws. Most jarring is its seeming lack of connection to the current body of work in the field of British women's history. Granted, the experience of rural life (particularly rural women's lives) has been largely ignored by historians (with the notable exception of Horn, who has written extensively on the topic). Nevertheless, she does little to place her work within the larger context of the study of British women's history—a noticeable omission in light of the sophisticated body of scholarship that has appeared in the last decade. Her book is largely descriptive and contains numerous examples of women's observations about their condition, but while the anecdotal evidence is interesting, in the end the reader may wonder what it all means. Finally, Horn fails to address the question implicitly linking her two parallel arguments: if rural women worked out of necessity, either in traditional fields or in the professions that gradually opened to them in the late nineteenth century, how did they reconcile their labor with what Horn perceives as the increasingly powerful influence of the Victorian ideology of domesticity? She hints at the contradiction but fails to explore its implications. The debate over separate spheres has now moved, for better or worse, into the realm of "theory," and Horn might have strengthened her discussion by considering the influence of works such as Mary Poovey's *Uneven Developments* (1988) on our understanding of the relationship between ideology and experience. These reservations aside, Horn's book stands as a useful complement to

our understanding of the everyday lives of British women in the nineteenth century.

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RHODRI WILLIAMS. *Defending the Empire: The Conservative Party and British Defence Policy, 1899–1915*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1991. Pp. x, 306. \$35.00.

Rhodri Williams informs his readers that his intention is to cast light on what is to him the most ignored element of the Edwardian Right, the leadership cadre of the Conservative Party: the Tory "mandarins." The territory he stakes out for himself is defense policy, and the central character of his tale is Arthur James Balfour, the Tory prime minister (1902–05) and opposition leader (1905–11).

A Tory grandee of brilliance, complexity, and unequalled connections, Balfour has fascinated and mystified historians for generations. Was he an aloof dilettante, a hard-working leader shielded behind a carefully constructed patrician image, or just another tough and unscrupulous Tory politico? To Williams, he was a statesman of surpassing quality, a partisan leader who, at least in defense matters, put nation before party. Balfour has not had so dogged a defender in years.

The story told herein is not unfamiliar, but that does not make it uninteresting. Is all made new, as the introduction asserts? The answer, as usual, is mixed. Readers will encounter again the sad tale of failed Tory attempts at army reform during Balfour's ministry and the happier saga of the reforms inspired by "Jacky" Fisher at the Admiralty. Then we pass into the long period of Conservative opposition, where we gain some new insights: of Tories who opposed Fisher and supported Richard Haldane, the Liberal war secretary. We also are treated to a spirited discussion of the activities of the right-wing "wild men" of the patriotic "leagues" who deviled the Tory leadership.

Williams clarifies Balfour's refusal to abandon his empire-focused "Blue Water" defense mindset, even as the North Sea came to be the proper object of naval thinking. Also useful is his examination of the uncomfortable place in which Balfour found himself, caught between a Tory Party with large conscriptionist and big-navy elements and an electorate normally suspicious of military spending and mandatory service. Most helpful is the examination of Balfour's losing struggle to maintain his leadership of the party and his control of its defense approach (he would have rejected the idea that the opposition had a "program"). Williams makes no apology for his concentration on these and related problems at the expense of the other political crises that engulfed the

period. Readers, however, will find little that sheds new light on Balfour's complex personality.

There is a minor, troubling point here, however. The very first words encountered in the breezy and self-confident introduction pledge that the reader will find no attacks on alternate interpretations. This sort of opening is unusual enough, but the author seems to violate his own dictum with a few often unfortunately worded dismissals of the works of those who have taken other approaches (in fairness, it should be mentioned that he also offers some commendations). This useful book will take its place among studies of Edwardian defense and politics, but, to me at any rate, it is not strengthened by such an all-too-common device.

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JAMES D. STARTT. *Journalists for Empire: The Imperial Debate in the Edwardian Stately Press, 1903–1913*. (Contributions in Comparative Colonial Studies, number 29.) New York: Greenwood. 1991. Pp. xii, 275. \$49.95.

The British empire has had many champions. None were more steadfast than the journalists studied by James D. Startt. John St. Loe Strachey, James L. Garvin, J. A. Spender, and the personnel at Printing House Square were politically knowledgeable. They used their newspapers, the *Spectator*, *Observer*, *Westminster Gazette*, and *The Times*, to become politically important. Startt labels this press "stately" to differentiate it from the mass-circulation press, with its pressures for profit and popularity among voters. Unlike prestigious Victorian editors, serious Edwardians had to compete for influence. Startt discovers evidence of their success and, in so doing, detaches imperialism from a jingoistic context.

The chief concern of these writers was the nexus between London and the dominions, a link that they deemed essential to sustain British strength. Given the costs of welfarism and defense, matters prominent in Parliament, ties with offspring states would generate revenue, reinforce security, and ultimately lead to a community of nations with similar values and institutions. Notwithstanding this shared vision, commentators were divided, usually along partisan lines skillfully tracked by Startt, on how to maintain connections.

Discussion was most intense about tariffs, South Africa, and imperial unity. Talk of duties, inspired by trends in international relations and internal industrialism, dominated pages in 1903 but persisted as news throughout the era. Startt documents the arguments for free trade and preferential trade partnerships, capturing as well the emotions roused by levies that were seen to signify the subversion of British power.

South Africa had a similar connotation. After the

Boer War, all agreed that the integration of the Dutch territories was necessary, but they quarreled about the order of financial and constitutional development. Controversy about the use of Chinese labor in the Transvaal marked the opening of a debate that, Startt recognizes, contained racist implications and journalistic hyperbole meant to affect policy before and after the 1906 election.

That ballot was also pivotal in debates about autonomy, perceived as an indispensable prerequisite for Boer allegiance. Initially, there was a preference for representative, then for responsible government. After 1906, as the Liberals moved quickly toward unification, the media deliberated how to allocate legislative seats among Europeans and whether to enfranchise Africans. Native rights, like Chinese employment and Indian registration, rarely interested anyone. Imperial preservationists, Startt concludes, would not jeopardize rapprochement by promoting interference.

Lastly, journalists' attention was focused on imperial conferences, symbols of future association. Startt stresses the publicity for these meetings, especially the references to the navy and the ubiquitous tariffs.

By 1914, issues and faces were changing. Evaluating his subjects, Startt counts as assets their professional integrity and ability to distinguish their gazettes, thereby to enlighten powerbrokers about their version of imperialism. Among liabilities, he notes their contentiousness and disregard of separatist forces overseas.

The book has substantial endnotes, an excellent bibliography, and a thorough index. A flaw is Startt's habit of ending topics with a series of questions. Provocative as some of these are, they leave the reader wondering about answers and the intended audience. Nonetheless, this testimonial to the stately press would easily have passed its high standards.

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LAWRENCE W. MCBRIDE. *The Greening of Dublin Castle: The Transformation of Bureaucratic and Judicial Personnel in Ireland, 1892–1922*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press. 1991. Pp. xii, 337.

In his 1964 volume, *The Irish Administration, 1801–1914*, R. B. McDowell dismissed in one paragraph the question of the religious affiliations of the most senior civil servants as merely “one question which would certainly have interested contemporaries” (p. 48). In this remark the determination to eschew sectarian and political controversy on the part of those who had founded the modern Irish historical profession a generation earlier reached its *reductio ad absurdum*. The question of when and how the Protestant monopoly on the executive and judicial functions based in Dublin Castle would be broken, as at least some contemporaries understood, is the central issue in

Irish administrative history under the Union. At long last we have a book that addresses this issue head-on.

Whereas in 1892 only three department heads in the Irish bureaucratic elite were Catholics, by 1922 the approximately fifty department headships were divided equally among Catholics and Protestants. Similar changes were happening in the judiciary and at lower levels of the civil service and in the magistracy. The most rapid progress was apparently made during Liberal governments, and especially during the long tenure of Augustine Birrell as chief secretary for Ireland (1907–16), but even Conservative administrations occasionally contributed to the trend, as in the appointment of Sir Antony MacDonnell, a Liberal and a Catholic, to be under secretary in 1902.

Thus, in the 1918 crisis over conscription the government had to contend not only with the resistance of the Catholic church and the nationalist parties but also with the opposition of many justices of the peace and officials whose cooperation would be needed if conscription were to be enforced. Lawrence W. McBride presents this and the other results of his thorough research in a crisp, well-documented narrative whose implications are perhaps understated. Irish historians are accustomed to thinking of the politics of this period as structured by the confrontation of (British) state and (Irish) nation, but had the nation so infiltrated the state by 1916 that we should rethink these categories?

In part the received wisdom about the structure of Irish politics in this period reflects the contemporary nationalist taboo against accepting government office—a dogma whose implications for John Redmond and other members of the nationalist political elite McBride explores with profit. John Dillon was unwilling to set foot in Dublin Castle even for the purpose of negotiating the terms on which it would be turned over to a Home Rule government, of which he would be a prominent member. Clearly, however, despite stigmatization in the press of “placehunters,” “West Britons,” and “Castle Catholics,” there was a second Catholic nationalist elite that had already taken over many of the Castle's functions. The implications of McBride's excellent monograph for our understanding of the process by which independence was obtained and for the character of the modern Irish state are profound.

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NICHOLAS MANSERGH. *The Unresolved Question: The Anglo-Irish Settlement and Its Undoing, 1912–72*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1991. Pp. x, 386. \$40.00.

Nicholas Mansergh, who died in January 1991, was a scholar renowned for his contributions in the fields of Commonwealth and Irish history. His first three books, all written before he was thirty, were on Irish

topics. The third, published in 1940 as *Ireland in the Age of Reform and Revolution* and quickly accepted as a brilliant, reflective study, was revised and reissued in 1965 as *The Irish Question 1840–1921*. In this, his last book, Mansergh has returned to the complexities of Irish history; first, to reexplore the creation of the Irish Free State and the retention, under a devolved form of government, of the six northeastern counties of Ireland within the British state; and, second, to clarify how the Irish Free State (later Eire) eventually severed all formal ties with the Commonwealth and why devolved government in Northern Ireland failed.

Mansergh has approached his task chronologically although, as he points out, the book is less a conventional narrative than a series of essays analyzing a variety of political-cum-constitutional issues and themes. Mansergh's primary focus is the period up to 1925, with the final section, "The Undoing of the Settlement," taking up only one-fifth of the book and tailing off with a cursory ten pages devoted to "Stormont Undermined 1949–1973." The lack of a socio-economic dimension to his study and Mansergh's close, legalistic scrutiny of the phrasing and intent of documents leaves many broader questions unasked and, thus, unanswered. In many ways, therefore, this book is reflective of an older, now somewhat unfashionable, scholarly tradition and will not suit all tastes, but for those either interested in the issues or prepared to reflect along with Mansergh as he explores nuance and poses questions this will prove a rewarding read.

The book is divided into six sections. The first two explore the Irish question to the end of World War I. It is here that Mansergh is at his magisterial, stimulating best, offering a richly textured analysis of the political actors, the parameters within which they worked, and the excruciatingly complex problems they tackled. Using an allusive, elliptical, parenthetical style, indicative of a mind tumbling over itself in the pursuit of ideas, Mansergh obliges the reader to grapple with alternatives and rethink problems from new or different perspectives. The only weakness here, and in the next section dealing with the making of the Government of Ireland Act of 1920, is a failure to explore as fully as he might have the impact that "federal" ideas had on the making of the act and thus on the nature of the post-Treaty constitutional map of the British state. The fourth section is the longest and deals with the working out of a dominion settlement for the twenty-six counties of the Irish Free State from 1920 to 1925. Here both Mansergh's approach and his writing style change. There is much less analysis of either political circumstance or personality and a concentration on the legal/constitutional implications of decisions taken. As a consequence, the style is crisper and more cogent and there is less rumination by Mansergh and consequently less challenge to the reader. The final two sections deal

quickly and summarily with the fortunes of both the new state and the unique experiment in devolution in the six counties, ending with the abolition of Stormont in 1973. In these sections, Mansergh relies more than he did earlier on recent scholarship, as well as drawing on his own memories and personal experience of particular episodes. An important feature of the last three sections is the degree to which Mansergh deliberately places the Irish question into the Commonwealth dimension and reminds us of two things: first, that the Commonwealth framework enabled the Irish Free State to move more rapidly than it might otherwise have done to "external association" and then to the status of an independent republic outside the Commonwealth; and, second, that the presence of the Irish Free State had an impact on the evolution of the Commonwealth. Mansergh thus reminds us of the necessity of taking the wider view on complex and intricate national questions.

This book is a fitting complement to Mansergh's early work. He returns to a time and a set of conundra that have been much examined and debated by historians over the past thirty years. He forces a rethinking and a reevaluation of a variety of issues and actions, and historians of the island of Ireland will welcome the opportunity to reexplore them with him.

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MICHÈLE FOGEL. *Les Cérémonies de l'information dans la France du XVI^e au XVIII^e siècle*. Paris: Fayard. 1989. Pp. 498.

Historians of early modern France have provided a new compass for charting political and cultural change in the monarchic state as negotiated among governors: the study of state rituals (royal coronations, entries, funerals, *Lit de Justice* assemblies) that articulated precepts of governance and, as amended over time, signaled historical change. Michèle Fogel's study adds a new dimension to such studies by reconstructing and analyzing "informational ceremonies" conducted regularly by successive governments from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries to disseminate "correct" news to the public. Adhering to the rhythms of everyday life and located in familiar and accessible public spaces, these ceremonies were rooted in the sociopolitical landscape and bred familiarity. Yet, as is the wont of rituals that remain vital over time, such ceremonies also allowed for subtle amendments, even elaborate transformations. Information ceremonies gradually moved from a sixteenth-century format focused on the "celebration of information" to a seventeenth and eighteenth-century format that fashioned a "system of information" ritually inscribed on the social body and readily recognized by its adherents.

Through expertly drawn diagrams reenacting

mapped routes and their magnification over the decades, readers retrace the steps of information purveyors. Sworn *juré-crieurs* accompanied by *juré-trompettes* announced all events including new laws, which they then posted. Licensed *colporteurs* linked producers and consumers by purveying written materials, including copies of new edicts. Through meticulously drawn sources depicting the magnificent *Te Deum* ceremony, celebrating royal births and the like, Fogel shows the ceremony's revision in reaction to different demands for public knowledge during the seventeenth century. *Parlementaires*, church officials, and governors converted church turf into public space and (with the help of masters of ceremonies) spruced up the old ceremony; finally, a new ritual emerged (albeit still entitled *Te Deum*) that specialized in the publication of war news into the eighteenth century. Year after year, reading after reading, these repetitive, precise, loud, and public methods of "publication" constituted an information transmission system that guaranteed the circulation of news necessary for the maintenance of community cohesion.

This finely nuanced study does not stop at government ingenuity but moves into the community itself, probing the relationships necessarily forged on a daily basis between the state officials who passed on information and the persons normally addressed as audience. The notion of cultural transmission as a top-down phenomenon (elite persons as agents, common people as recipients) does not obtain here, where persons in the streets did not constitute quiescent groups simply acted on. To the contrary, cognizant of their status as community members, they received information, shared and shaped knowledge, formed opinions about issues, reconveyed news themselves, and sometimes studiously ignored all messages.

Fogel's study of information ceremonies is very important for fully understanding early modern France. She negates the contention of some eighteenth-century historians that the phenomenon of "public opinion" did not emerge until the 1750s. And she further undermines the already untenable view that the rise of "public opinion" in France converged in the mid-eighteenth century with the emergence of an intellectual "bourgeois public sphere." Deftly crossing three centuries, this book demonstrates how information ceremonies, amended over time to suit changing circumstances, transmitted public information, and how newscasting itself was negotiated with the populace on a crowded public stage amid a variety of competitors. This provocative study also makes sense of a seeming enigma for historians of early modern France: the obvious fact that ordinary men and women, literate or not, and especially those who lived in Paris, always appeared to be extraordinarily well informed.

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JEFFREY K. SAWYER. *Printed Poison: Pamphlet Propaganda, Faction Politics, and the Public Sphere in Early Seventeenth-Century France*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1990. Pp. xx, 178. \$29.95.

Seventeenth-century French "public opinion" as exemplified in pamphlets has existed as an object of study at least since the publication of Gustave Fagniez's *L'opinion publique et la presse politique sous Louis XIII* in 1900. But the question of just how "public" printed "opinion" was has never been settled. Whatever they represented, pamphlets published during this period clearly lacked the public passions of the wars of religion; yet they just as clearly bespoke something more multivocal than they did after the effective implementation of censorship under Cardinal Richelieu and—after the loquacious interlude of the Fronde—Louis XIV. As applied to the seventeenth century, the recent attention to printed texts and their readers has either artfully begged the question of public opinion or openly questioned its existence.

It is at once a strength and weakness of Jeffrey K. Sawyer's book that it concerns much more than the nature of seventeenth-century public opinion. As its subtitle indicates, the book analyzes pamphlets as "propaganda," delineates the "public sphere" that was propagandized, and recounts the history of princely "factional politics" in early seventeenth-century France. It also treats of the elaboration of absolutistic political "rhetoric," tries to account for the implementation of effective censorship by Richelieu after 1630, and speculates about the long-term failure of both to prevent the French Revolution.

Sawyer's chapter on absolutistic thought demonstrates more convincingly than have William Church, Denis Richet, or even Ernst Kossmann how thoroughly absolutistic political "rhetoric" had preempted the "public sphere" by the early seventeenth century, how far the resistance theories sponsored by both Protestant *réforme* and the Catholic *ligue* had already receded. And if his argument that the pamphleteering in 1614–17 was decisive in Richelieu's later determination to control the press is not entirely convincing, Sawyer nevertheless demonstrates the importance of the triangular conflict between the queen-regent and her ministers, the prince de Condé and his supporters, and the Parlement of Paris—a conflict that portended the lines of political force as well as the rhetoric of the Fronde.

Yet striking out in so many different directions in so few pages is also one of the book's principle limitations, at best blurring its focus and at worst committing it to goals that are barely if at all compatible. The most incompatible of these different directions is methodological. Although one of the book's strengths is its forthright discussion of the issue of seventeenth-century "public opinion," this emphasis is a weakness as well because it links this concept to

the Habermasian and, as applied to the seventeenth century, quite competitive notion of a "public sphere."

Sawyer wisely cautions his readers against the pitfalls of the quest for an early seventeenth-century "public opinion," preferring instead the Habermasian concept of a "public sphere" or *Öffentlichkeit* as more appropriate to the period. Indeed, as applied to the seventeenth century in contrast to the eighteenth century, Jürgen Habermas's concept of "public sphere" designates the closed arena of neofeudal politics of princely court and noble fiefdom in which the great personages of church and state "represented" mainly themselves, and others only to the extent that these personages were assumed to embody all that was socially beneath them. Like the "thought of political action" described by Christian Jouhaud during the Fronde, pamphleteering in such a premodern context is at most a textual extension of this mode of aristocratic and princely "representation" and political action.

Situating his analysis squarely within an episode in which the sponsors of pamphlets were exclusively the "great actors" of church and state, Sawyer wants his seventeenth-century "public sphere," but also something like eighteenth-century "public opinion" too. First appearing midway through the second chapter (p. 36) and figuring ever more frequently thereafter, the expression "public opinion" is clearly not a slip of the pen. It becomes apparent that Sawyer's purpose is to argue that this aristocratic pamphleteering made a "real" difference, that both Condé and the queen-regent and her ministers addressed a "broad" public sphere including the municipal bourgeoisie. Sawyer really argues that the Medici and her ministers got the better of Condé in 1614–15 because they not only outmaneuvered his armies in the field but outwrote his pamphleteers in the press.

Demonstrating connections between print, public opinion, and the outcome of events is difficult even in the best of archival circumstances, however. For the archivally parsimonious early seventeenth century it is all but impossible. Sawyer's inquiry into the "production and distribution of pamphlets" comes up mainly empty-handed, while disarmingly telling his readers that "direct evidence concerning authorship, production, and dissemination [of pamphlets] is scarce" (p. 47). In the absence of the missing "direct evidence," conjectural statements abound: thus, "pamphlets appear to have been particularly important in struggles over political control over provincial towns" (p. 54); "many otherwise minor presses must have been able to turn out a pamphlet" (p. 58); "the elites of provincial cities may have been a more significantly important audience [than the royal court or Parisians]" (p. 65); and so on.

This generous recourse to the conjectural and conditional does not so much conceal as reveal that it is not possible to say precisely what public held which opinions, or what pamphlets had to do with them in

1614–17, much less that pamphlet-induced "public opinion" was the decisive factor in how political conflict came out. Sawyer's heroic attempt to deduce the existence of a bourgeois public opinion from an analysis of the rhetorical strategies of some of the pamphlets is one of the more interesting chapters of his book, but it inevitably falls short of its goal, especially in the absence of any explicit rhetorical appeal to "public opinion" or even, apparently, to a "public" of any sort. The different appeal to the "public good" is of course quite traditional, pointing back to Armagnac-Burgundian conflict and medieval and conciliar political thought. And if having more and better pamphlets—having had "public opinion" on her side—was really the decisive factor in the queen-regent's victory over Condé in 1614–15, then Cardinal Mazarin should not have prevailed over either Condé's or Gondi's "old and respectable" Fronde in 1652. Having the most and best pamphlets on their side did not even enable pro-parlementary "patriots" to prevail over Chancellor Maupeou a century later, well after the rhetorical conceit of "public opinion" had been invented and invoked.

If Sawyer had wanted to establish the existence of an early modern French bourgeois "public opinion," he would have been better advised to try to do so in a period when religious passions strained the dikes of aristocratic "factional politics." Having chosen his narrative base in such a politics of limited aristocratic stakes, however, he would have done better to content himself with an analysis of the role of the pamphlet within that politics and to leave "public opinion" where he found it. But if Sawyer does not succeed in establishing the existence of an early seventeenth-century "public opinion," he nonetheless succeeds in presenting an interesting chapter in the history of early absolutistic French politics and political thought.

DALE K. VAN KLEY
Calvin College

WENDY GIBSON. *Women in Seventeenth-Century France*. New York: St. Martin's. 1989. Pp. vii, 440. \$39.95.

It may well be that a synthetic work on women in early modern France would be timely. The classics in the genre are now outdated: Léon Abensour's *La Femme et le féminisme avant la Révolution* (1923), Gustave Fagniez's *La Femme et la société française dans la première moitié du XVII^e siècle* (1929), Gustave Reynier's *La Femme au XVII^e siècle* (1929). Wendy Gibson's book follows the formula of the genre. It surveys the various aspects of women's lives: education, marriage, motherhood, work, cultural and public life, religion, death. And like the classics, it uses as its sources the memoirs, letters, travel accounts, prescriptive literature, and fiction written in the seventeenth century.

Gibson has read an immense number of such materials, and researchers will find the book useful

for its citations of opinions expressed or experiences mentioned in them. But the book has a Rip van Winkle quality, for it seems to have missed all the scholarly work that, in the half-century since the heyday of literature-based histories, has transformed not merely the understanding of the seventeenth century but the very definitions of research and standards of evidence held by historians and informed readers alike. The names of Philippe Ariès, Natalie Zemon Davis, Joan Kelly, Louis Henry, and Michel Vovelle are absent from Gibson's bibliography, their insights and findings foreign to her picture.

Gibson assumes improvisations by common sense from her literary sources capable of revealing "the role of women in France from 1600 to 1700" (p. vii); she interprets quite literally what contemporaries said, assuming she thus captures "the prevailing attitude" (p. 2) or "the feminine point of view" (p. 48). She makes assertions that may be consistent with her literary materials but yet are known from direct demographic evidence to be profoundly untrue: for example, that marriage brought "veritable prodigies of fertility amongst mothers of the leisured and moneyed classes" and that "smallpox could strike down more than a thousand infants without leaving any visible gap in the population" (p. 71). She generalizes that "it was perfectly feasible for a woman, as well as working in conjunction with her husband, to branch out in business on her own account" (p. 106) and, in a statement redolent with anachronism, concludes: "That a woman should earn her keep by homemaking, as had countless generations of her sex, seemed as natural in the seventeenth century as that she should wear skirts and bear children" (p. 97).

Gibson's picture also suffers from a deficient cognizance of the Old Regime social structure: salons, she says, were "a typical manifestation of the spirit of individualism" (p. 175) and "the bourgeoisie was a perpetually shifting and, for that reason, ill-defined social class in the seventeenth century" (p. 113). She often frames her discussion in ways trivializing to women: "While aristocratic ladies hatched their plots at court and rode round the land in search of thrills and lovers, plebeian women did not sit idly by" (p. 154). "In an age when feelings, particularly on the emotive subject of religion, were easily aroused, the female response was predictably impassioned" (p. 237).

The author writes with clarity and produces a highly detailed picture that conveys a certain plausibility. The book will mislead those who unwittingly pick it up without understanding the flaws at the heart of the project.

CAROLYN C. LOUGEE
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MARTINE SEGALIN. *Fifteen Generations of Bretons: Kinship and Society in Lower Brittany, 1720–1980*. Trans-

lated by J. A. UNDERWOOD. (Cambridge Studies in Social and Cultural Anthropology.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1991. Pp. xiv, 323. \$59.50.

A natural focus for the analysis of peasant societies is the kinship system, whose strength seems to distinguish these societies from urban societies. Martine Segalen's painstaking study of the South Bigouden region of Brittany since the early eighteenth century shows how this focus can illuminate the changing structures of peasant life. The result is a book that richly describes one of the most interesting regions of rural France, provides further support for the notion that the first decades of the Third Republic were years of significant change in rural France, and advances recent attempts to incorporate the post-World War II years into the history of the French peasantry.

Segalen's account is based on extensive genealogical information, archival materials, and ethnological field work in the village of Saint-Jean-Trolimon in the South Bigouden. Central to Segalen's rendering of this peasant society is the kinship system, closely tied to the peculiarities of land tenure and inheritance and built around the practice of regular relinking through affinal marriage. In this system, two couples had two pairs of ancestors in common and affinal connections with each other. Until the 1860s, close consanguinity was uncommon, but the affinal marriage pattern linked both paternal and maternal lines of descent and was practiced among close kin, helping to create relatively integrated and closed kindreds within which marriage partners were found. Beginning in the 1860s, however, these closed kindreds began to open up as relinkings were less frequently made with regard to the same ancestral couples. This was the result of the pressures on family resources by the "overqualification" of individuals who occupied several places in the network of affinal and consanguine relationships in the kindred.

Beginning in the 1880s, the agricultural sector of the local economy weakened, mechanization appeared, and peasants began to purchase the land that they farmed. At the same time fishing and canning provided employment alternatives, delaying for a generation an exodus from the countryside. Between the 1930s and 1970s, however, these newer industries experienced crises, and it was only in the 1980s that the region began to discover a new equilibrium built on a booming fishing industry, a still-impoorished agriculture, and growing tourism. These dramatic social and economic changes of the last century have produced a decline in the significance of the older pattern of relinking through affinal marriage, although the kinship system continues to structure social relations.

The strength of Segalen's account is her portrayal of the kinship system; she is most effective in challenging interpretations that link partible inheritance and consanguine marriage. Its weakness is that, al-

though she aims at restoring a dynamic perspective to the study of peasants, that dynamism is not clearly related to factors outside of the peasant community. South Bigouden seems to keep an internally driven history, impinged on only dimly by the factors of economic change, educational development, and new political institutions that have seemed so important to other historians of the French peasantry. Segalen's book therefore adds magnificently to our understanding of the internal dynamics of French peasant society, but leaves unspoken many of the ties that bound that society to the French state and nation.

JAMES R. LEHNING
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ROBERT DARNTON. *Édition et sédition: L'univers de la littérature clandestine au XVIII^e siècle*. (NRF essais.) Paris: Gallimard. 1991. Pp. vi, 278. 125 fr.

Only a generation or two ago, scholars usually studied French eighteenth-century thought by stressing the works of a few authors, most notably Voltaire, Montesquieu, Diderot, and Rousseau. Robert Darnton has pioneered in the reaction against such a way of viewing the French Enlightenment. In books and articles he has demonstrated that scholars should also be concerned with many lesser-known writers and with how printers, booksellers, salesmen, and literary agents spread the ideas of these writers.

This volume continues his pathbreaking work by surveying the nature and circulation of clandestine, illegal books at the end of the Old Regime in France. He argues that such books, including many scarcely known to scholars, constituted an important part of what the French read at the time and that, by undermining church, state, and tradition, they unintentionally helped cause the French Revolution. Like all of Darnton's publications, this one is well researched. It mines the manuscript records of the Société Typographique de Neuchâtel, "the sole publishing house of the eighteenth century whose complete archives have been preserved" (p. 41), and he verifies his findings there by examining other manuscript holdings as well as the most recent secondary works.

Darnton presents vivid descriptions of hitherto obscure individuals connected with the clandestine book trade. He also provides information on such topics as who printed illegal books, how they were distributed, and what kind of business relationships developed among the sellers for whom the search for profit was most important. He includes an extremely valuable list of the 110 illegal books—treatises, satires, lampoons, pornographic novels, and polemics—that the Société Typographique de Neuchâtel sold in 1775. These works criticize and ridicule the Catholic church, the monarchy, and French society in general. Three of the Société's best sellers he describes in some detail: *L'an 2440*, by Louis-Sébastien Mercier, a satire of French society in the guise of a utopian novel;

Thérèse philosophe, sometimes attributed to the marquis d'Argens, a pornographic novel hostile to Christian ethics and the Catholic church; and *Les anecdotes sur Mme la Comtesse du Barry*, sometimes attributed to Mathieu-François Pidansat de Mairobert, a scandalous description of Louis XV, Mme. du Barry, and the French court in general.

Some of Darnton's main points are plausible, but difficult to prove. In fact, they may be impossible to prove. Before deciding the impact of the little-known clandestine books, historians would want to compare their sales figures with those of conventional books that the French government permitted to circulate and with the classics of the Enlightenment. The number of illegal books sold by the Société Typographique de Neuchâtel was small considering the total market for French-language books. For example, the Société sold 1,071 copies of *Les anecdotes sur Mme la Comtesse du Barry*, one of its best sellers. This was a much smaller number than the 4,225 sets of the first edition of Diderot's *Encyclopédie*. Moreover, thanks to Darnton's previous research, we know that the sales of all editions of the *Encyclopédie* reached over 25,000 sets. Given the paucity of publishers' records for clandestine books, estimating the total sales of *Les anecdotes* or most other clandestine books is difficult, although we do know that the Société Typographique's best seller, *L'an 2440* (1,394 copies), did go into at least twenty-five editions from 1771 to 1789 and almost surely outsold the *Encyclopédie*.

In addition, before we could feel secure about evaluating the influence of little-known clandestine books on the coming of the French Revolution, we would want to know whether some of them were actually read by reformers and their followers at the end of the Old Regime. Will such sources be available? If so, will we be able to estimate the impact of these books compared with such other publications as the classic texts of the Enlightenment and the thousands of pamphlets that appeared in 1787–89?

Darnton regards this study as an introduction to a vast subject. Like all important, imaginative, and bold works, it will encourage much future research and debate.

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NICOLE DE BLOMAC. *La Gloire et le jeu: Des hommes et des chevaux (1766–1866)*. Paris: Fayard. 1991. Pp. 391. 150 fr.

Nicole de Blomac has combined technical knowledge and experience acquired through thirty years as a horse trainer with the research skills gained along with a diploma from the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales to produce a book that is serious in intent, idiosyncratic in style, brimming with entertaining details, and stuffed with maps, charts, and tables extracted from documents found in private and pub-

lic libraries and archives. It should come as no surprise that she credits Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, long associated with the journal *Annales*, with inspiring her to write this study of the French passion for thoroughbred horses from the end of the Old Regime to the height of the Second Empire.

"L'histoire de ce couple, dont l'homme est le porteparole" (p. 9), as she puts it, is a story laced with a subplot of anglophobia and anglomania: Louis XVI had to be convinced by his advisors that horse racing was more than a frivolous foreign custom; General Bonaparte rejected British stock as a counterrevolutionary equine influence and encouraged the development of Arabian steeds as a national resource; Charles X (who, as the Comte d'Artois, had opened an "Écurie Anglaise" in 1774) recalled with nostalgia the studbooks of his youth; Louis Philippe, a first-rate rider, welcomed the English sporting types who flocked across the Channel to the competitions sponsored by the "Jockey Club" of Paris; and Napoleon III inaugurated the Longchamp track in the Bois de Boulogne in 1857. This book is also a tale of conflict between the state's interest in having a supply of cavalry horses, bred for strength and endurance, and the interest of wealthy private citizens in the speed and appearance of their prize animals. The Napoleonic campaigns, the conquest of Algeria, and the suppression of domestic disorder after the Revolution of 1848 were all moments when government ministries in the capital and prefects in the provinces were actively engaged in the bureaucratic process necessary to put uniformed men on horseback.

Although Blomac's treatment of these subjects is exhaustive, one wishes she had chosen to increase the scope of the book and not confine herself exclusively to the history of thoroughbred elites. According to an estimate made by Lavoisier in 1784 (p. 103), the French horse population was 1,781,000, of which 1,560,000 were employed in agriculture and 181,500 worked in urban transportation and cartage. The research of economic historians such as F. M. L. Thompson, Jennifer Tann, and others on the rise of a horse-based economy in England suggests that similar work remains to be done on France. Blomac might also have benefited from a broader cultural perspective on some of the attitudes she describes. Her explanation of the belief held by late-eighteenth-century French breeders that stallions played a greater reproductive role than mares, for example, is that nobility and royalty in France were transferred through the male line (p. 150). Salic law may have been a factor, but, as Harriet Ritvo has pointed out, English breeders under Queen Victoria also supported the theory of male dominance for a variety of other reasons (*The Animal Estate* [1987]). Scientific knowledge that the sperm and egg are of equal importance in reproduction was not available until the end of the nineteenth century.

ROBERT J. BEZUCHA
Amherst College

R. S. ALEXANDER. *Bonapartism and Revolutionary Tradition in France: The Fédérés of 1815*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1991. Pp. xii, 314. \$54.50.

It is important to note exactly how Robert S. Alexander worded his subtitle: not "in" but "of" 1815. For he deals with the *fédérés* from 1789 through the Revolution of 1830. One of the many values of this work is that, unlike earlier studies, it does not stop with the dissolution of the federations at the Second Restoration. The author also points out weaknesses and inaccuracies in earlier accounts of the federation movement.

To give the background for 1815, Alexander studies the development of the federative movement and its social and political characteristics. He then uses about 40 percent of the text for a study of the *fédérés* of Rennes, Dijon, and Paris during and after Bonaparte's Hundred Days. These studies show why generalizing on a national scale is hazardous. Finally, he deals with the *fédérés* after Napoleon's second fall.

Alexander's research, basically archival, seems impeccable. He has delved into national, departmental, and municipal archives, his reading comes up to date, and many of the articles cited are in regional journals. The writing style is generally good, despite a few compositional errors. There is some repetition, and a great many quotations, almost all in French. There are thirteen tables, including valuable and interesting ones breaking down *fédéré* membership by age and occupation. Interested in the personnel, organization, and activities of the federations, Alexander divides the membership into old revolutionaries, Bonapartists, and future Liberals.

The author is rightly cautious about generalizing, but the work contains many valuable conclusions. Because members had different motives for joining, the movement was bound to be heterogeneous. There were divisions among the *fédérés* during the Hundred Days—based on whether they believed in strictly legal means or were willing to resort to violence, or on whether they were pro-Napoleon or merely anti-Bourbon (they all agreed on this latter point, as they did in opposing the allies and social privilege)—but not again until after the July Revolution. The author shows why, for varying reasons, there was a White Terror in some places but not in others. Because the federations were in part spontaneous, their demands offer insight into what considerable groups of the populace wanted; their degree of success, however, depended in large part on the attitude of the authorities. The *fédérés* were important in the Second Restoration because they brought opponents of the regime together in a nationwide association and they gave the opposition continuity for the next fifteen years.

It is important that Alexander distinguishes the federation movement by region. He uses local studies and contemporary assessments to determine whether

a federation was more revolutionary or more Bonapartist. He tackles, and answers, such important questions as: How many *fédérés* were there? How many arms were distributed, and for what purpose?

The author aims to break down broad interpretations through research and thus to provide a more inclusive study than the earlier partial ones. He has succeeded.

ROBERT B. HOLTMAN
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ANN RIGNEY. *The Rhetoric of Historical Representation: Three Narrative Histories of the French Revolution*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1990. Pp. xii, 189. \$39.50.

In this study, the nineteenth-century histories of the French Revolution are presented as a dialogue between historian and audience. Ann Rigney places this remarkable relation at the center of her work so that our understanding of these three histories written in the 1840s must begin with an understanding of this audience of the late July Monarchy.

Rigney argues that these histories cannot be original works. They were written fifty years after the event; the French Revolution, with its clearly established boundaries, had already taken shape, a powerful and constraining tradition had been created, and the French Revolution had passed into history—something that Edmund Burke could scarcely have imagined. The beginning and ending dates of the revolution had already been clearly agreed on, and Alphonse de Lamartine, Jules Michelet, and Louis Blanc had to work within these heavily charged parameters, coming to terms with these established traditions.

Rigney is brilliant in revealing how the preconceptions and expectations of this audience shaped the historical narrative. In a footnote she summarizes the entire argument: "there is a certain difficulty involved for a twentieth century reader—particularly a reader who is not French—in following these nineteenth-century histories of the French Revolution (or indeed more recent ones) since they depend so largely on the reader's foreknowledge of a particular cultural code to which the principal elements of the Revolution already belong" (p. 40).

The histories of Lamartine, Michelet, and Blanc are treated as true *Umerzählungen*: rewritings of a history already written. In Rigney's vision, these nineteenth-century historians of the revolution communicate through a kind of cultural code, and deciphering this code is a notable achievement. She demonstrates how this code—the use of metaphor, quotations, and even the method of footnoting—are all part of the reciprocal signals between historian and audience.

Thus, Blanc invokes St. Bartholomew's Day and May of 1848 as ways of relating to his readers. Then we have those notorious nineteenth-century interven-

tions, those personal interruptions which Rigney explains as essential to a kind of bonding between historian and audience. These constant intrusions of historians into their own histories are an indispensable way of making sense out of the revolutionary past. Michelet concludes that as the result of events in his own time and life "many things which used to be incomprehensible to me have now become clear to me" (p. 50).

Another feature of the code is the way in which these historians engaged in a running debate with each other. Rigney describes this process as "the role of the historian and his rivals as factors in the historical world which they discursively represent" (p. 59). Thus, Michelet attacks those who have attacked the Girondins and—in their defense—intrudes directly: "and I say, I say to you" (p. 59).

This awareness, this sense of rivalry with other historians, gives these nineteenth-century histories of revolution their unique political and polemical tone. Rigney invokes Blanc's great observation, "a special book could be written on the false histories of the French Revolution" (p. 47). These historians, thanks to Rigney, emerge as men in a courtroom, involved in an adversary procedure, questioning the witnesses, contesting the evidence, all before a jury of their peers. This work is a *tour de force* and a genuine triumph.

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JOHN M. MERRIMAN. *The Margins of City Life: Explorations on the French Urban Frontier, 1815–1851*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1991. Pp. x, 318. \$45.00.

The English urban historian H. J. Dyos called suburbs the transit camps of modern society. For John M. Merriman, they are (or are perceived by beleaguered bourgeois to be) more like encampments of barbarians at the city gate. Through the first half of the nineteenth century, a floating population lurked on the threshold of urban civilization, unskilled laborers, gypsies (real or symbolic), smugglers waiting to dodge the *octroi*, vagabonds, prostitutes, beggars, and ragpickers, sheltered in huts, shacks, sheds, and shanties. Their numbers sometimes grew faster than those of the urban populations they encircled (three and a half times as fast around Paris, Merriman tells us, between 1800 and 1851).

Part workers, part peasants, part outlaws, associated with "an idea of liberty, of savage independence" (p. 11), these people disturbed and frightened. The city dwellers, "reaching octopus-like tentacles of capital and coercion into the countryside" (p. 21), wanted the suburbs disciplined, policed, and taxed. Gradually, suburbs were absorbed, incorporated, and brought to heel. Between the 1820s and the 1840s,

administration and police chipped and whittled down barbarian wastes. For Paris this "conquest" was completed for the nearer suburbs by 1860, promoting the growth of a Red Belt around the capital that other scholars situate in the twentieth century but which Merriman traces to the nineteenth. Yet our author ranges far beyond Paris, all over France; a truffle hound of provincial archives, he is never dull when he lays out his finds.

In many respects this is a rich book, a treasure trove of intriguing finds, a novel narrative about relations between urban centers large and small and their peripheries, a moving picture painted by a writer with a strong sense of places, over many of which he must have walked himself. But, like the curate's egg, the book is only good in parts.

Instead of letting his material tell the story for him, Merriman casts it within a larger "dialectic of popular mobilization and police repression" (p. 224). Others have associated urban incorporation of surrounding communities with a search for tax revenues or a desire to extend municipal services. Merriman makes light of greed, conscientiousness, or bureaucratic imperialism. For him, the paramount impulse behind urban creep is fear, of the marginal population, but even more of "organized workers" (pp. 25, 201). Belleville apart, it is not clear where organized workers were to be found in frightening numbers on the peripheries of Second Empire centers. But, when he does not theorize, Merriman is a good historian. His stories about Tours, Poitiers, Rouen, and other places describe traditional rivalries and conflicts between neighboring localities and sketchy attempts to reduce violence and disorder, rather than a wish to supervise and punish for which, in early nineteenth-century France, the means were lacking.

Nor is it entirely clear that demands for more efficient policing came only from "people of means . . . prosperous farmers and owners of country houses" (p. 201). Small folk were seldom audible, but they were there, market gardeners, open-field farmers, cowkeepers selling their milk in town into the 1920s, and villagers betwixt and between. By Merriman's own account, citizens and administrators had reason to be concerned about tax collection, uncontrolled development, problems of public health, and unwanted activities like thieving or prostitution. Nor is it blameworthy for people of means whose country houses were being "systematically pillaged" (p. 216) to worry about burglary, robbery, or arson.

Equitably, Merriman pronounces bourgeois fears "to some extent imaginary and to some extent real" (p. 227). But if experience today makes you expect your car or wallet to be stolen, which of your fears are imaginary and which are real? Considerations of public order were surely part of the agenda when outer suburbs were annexed in Rouen and Le Havre, Paris, or Lyons. Were they a major part, as Merriman avers? Were the political arguments "for conquest of the threatening periphery" (p. 224) stronger than

other considerations, or were they sometimes used to bolster more pedestrian interests? Was modern urbanism always invasive and repressive, or could it be perceived as bringing a modicum of comfort, convenience, and progress? And how did its coming affect living conditions, transport, sewers, lighting (if any), taxes, or, indeed, policing? Even if it does not raise these questions, a book that suggests so many is worth the read.

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DANIEL J. SHERMAN. *Worthy Monuments: Art Museums and the Politics of Culture in Nineteenth-Century France*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1991. pp. xiii, 337.

The word "museum" comes from the Latin form of a Greek word *museion*, meaning a temple of the Muses. In the later eighteenth century the word had two meanings, either a place devoted to the study of the arts or a public collection of objects of artistic, scientific, or historical interest. The latter meaning has come to dominate. The year 1993 marks the bicentennial of the opening of the Louvre as a public museum, realizing a dream of certain royal officials such as the Comte d'Angiviller before the revolution. There have been some recent studies of the origins of the Louvre, but there has been no comparable modern study of French provincial museums. Daniel J. Sherman fills this gap with this important study.

Sherman argues that the museum by its very nature is public, and this means that in France it falls within the scope of the central state. He shows how the basis for provincial museums began when the state, which as a result of the revolution had acquired more works than it could accommodate, decided under the Consulate to send surplus old masters to the provinces. This practice developed in the nineteenth century into the system of *envois*, by which the government sent out new works of art that it had commissioned or purchased at the salons. As the size of the salons grew, and later other exhibitions sprang up, the state continued to acquire more works of art than could be displayed in the Luxembourg, the gallery reserved for contemporary art.

Sherman argues that all regimes, whether royal, imperial, or republican, continued to patronize the arts regardless of their content because they believed that the arts would contribute to the moral prestige and material prosperity of France. At first the works sent out by the *envoi* system were badly housed and poorly catalogued, but once the republicans had gained firm control over the Third Republic, the government began to send out inspectors whose questions gradually fostered a more standardized conception of the museum. At the same time museums were influenced by new developments in urban

government, increasing tourism caused by the advent of railways, the publication of guidebooks including information about museums, the proliferation of art periodicals, and the growth of art associations. Finally, between 1860 and 1890 impressive new museums were constructed in such cities as Bordeaux, Marseilles, and Rouen.

Sherman links the construction of museums, and the urban planning of which they were a part, to the elite members of the bourgeoisie in provincial cities. He argues that there could hardly be a better example of Roland Barthes's notion of myth-making than this case where bourgeois elites appropriated whole an existing signifying process (for example, columns as signifiers for the ancient world) to stand for their own cultural prowess. Unfortunately, he takes this bourgeois elite as a given and consequently we learn little about it. Moreover, he underestimates the role of the *longue durée*: the buildings and urban planning reveal many features that run from the Old Regime, through the revolution and the empire, on to Baron Haussmann and beyond.

Sherman also links the internal organization and administration of the archetypical museum with its hierarchy, its order, its emphasis on decorum, and its respect for the arts separate from everyday life, as a model of the bourgeois elite. One does not necessarily have to see the museum in this way. One can just as well see it as the product of the quasi-religious awe that came to surround works of art, just as the concert hall is a place where one listens quietly to the works of great composers. In both cases discipline, order, and decorum are the logical consequence of reverence for the work of art, even if some of the values coincide with bourgeois values. Also, even after the imposition of admission fees, the museum was open on Thursdays (a day off for French children) and Sundays to all social classes who wanted to see the treasures inside.

The book features revealing tables showing the costs of works of art commissioned or purchased by the government, the number of works displayed in exhibitions, the destination of works purchased by the government, classification of the *envois*, and so on. It also features twenty plates of paintings in provincial museums and of the architecture of such museums. Whether or not one agrees with Sherman's emphasis on the bourgeois nature of the provincial museum, historians of all sorts—political, social, and cultural—will find his book rewarding and stimulating.

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ELLEN FURLOUGH. *Consumer Cooperation in France: The Politics of Consumption, 1834–1930*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1991. Pp. ix, 311. \$37.95.

Ellen Furlough has written an intelligent book that traces with exemplary thoroughness the trajectory of consumer cooperation in France from 1834 until 1930. The movement began as an adjunct of popular associationism in the 1830s and 1840s. After 1860 it entered a phase of dramatic expansion, competing head-on with new forms of capitalist commerce, the chain store in particular, but heroism degenerated into business as usual. By the 1920s, the consumer cooperative, once touted by devotees as an alternative to a private-enterprise consumerism, had been transformed into a form of capitalist enterprise much like any other.

A double agenda structures Furlough's narrative. She wants to celebrate the consumer cooperative and to account for why, to all appearances, it came to so little. On the normative front, it is not difficult to decipher what Furlough's sympathies are. In its *fin-de-siècle* heyday, the coop movement split. A reformist wing—a mix of Protestant reformers and solidarist republicans—dreamed of a cooperative republic in which citizens of all classes, via participation in cooperative organization, might learn the principles of collective action, self-help, and thrift. A radical wing composed in the main of Allemanists and Guesdists rejected class collaborationism. They conceived of the cooperative, in conjunction with the party and trade union, as the "third pillar of socialism," the germ of a coming socialist order. Reformists worried about dividend levels; radicals set aside monies to fund strikes and propaganda. The tepid militancy of the reformers holds little appeal for Furlough, who plumps for cooperation on the socialist model, variously characterized as a form of daily life socialism, an enclave of empowerment, a culture of resistance. This is labor history of a familiar stamp, original in institutional focus—the coop instead of the trade union or shop floor—but not in point of view. Furlough recognizes certain commonalities binding reformers and radicals, and here she ventures onto newer terrain. Co-operators of all stripes, in the name of simplicity and sincerity, repudiated luxury; with equal unanimity, they excluded women from positions of administrative authority. A masculinist abstemiousness characterized movement culture, and in making the point Furlough tempers the heroicizing tone of her narrative.

Whatever the cooperative movement's possible failings, Furlough argues, it represented an emancipatory opening when the culture of consumption might have taken a less grasping turn. It did not, however, and Furlough tries to explain why. She places blame in part on the socialist movement, of which cooperation was a subsidiary. Socialism's debilitating factionalism and gradual evolution after 1905 toward an accommodating reformism were replicated within cooperative ranks. The domestication of the consumer movement was a subplot in a grander drama, the domestication of socialism. But the real culprit in Furlough's account is capitalism itself. The emer-

gence in the late nineteenth century of chains and department stores opened a debate on commerce. The consumer cooperative joined the fray, contesting the terrain of an emergent consumer culture, but capitalist commerce held the stronger hand. It was wealthy: chains had enormous capital resources. It was inventive: in the interwar years, department store owners opened five-and-dimes to tap into a burgeoning mass market. To compete, cooperators were obliged to play by capitalist rules—to advertise, to rationalize management practices—but in so doing, they abandoned an erstwhile radicalism. In such an account, the cooperative movement appears less actor than acted on, constrained by political and economic forces beyond its control.

The reader is left with a sour taste of inevitability. Capitalism, however much contested, will steamroller all in its way. But need the verdict be so open and shut? Catholic agricultural cooperatives in France, which got under way in the very period under discussion, managed to reshape rural markets. And even within the bounds of consumer culture, there may be room for maneuver, for gestures of defiance and subversive pleasures. But such observations can come as but cold comfort to partisans of the labor movement of old, which held out prospects, now so remote, of a secularist and austere collectivist future.

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IAN R. DOWBIGGIN. *Inheriting Madness: Professionalization and Psychiatric Knowledge in Nineteenth-Century France*. (Medicine and Society, number 4.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1991. Pp. x, 217.

Ian R. Dowbiggin argues that the evolution of French psychiatry must be understood in terms of a desperate search by psychiatrists for a scientific underpinning to their discipline that would allow them to compete on equal terms for public recognition and esteem with medical doctors, and that would shore up their claims to exclusive treatment of the insane in public asylums. This search was conducted against, and deeply affected by, the rise and fall of republics, the establishment of Bonapartism, and the conflict between the forces of anticlericalism and secularism. The major forces that determined theories of mental illness were the imperatives of professionalization and changing social and political structures in nineteenth-century France.

According to Dowbiggin, psychiatry was always in danger of losing prestige and legitimacy because of its failure to produce a scientific explanation of insanity as well as an acceptable model of treatment. Moreover, psychiatry was under attack because of the inexorable growth in asylum populations and because the public suspected that psychiatrists were using their authority to incarcerate egocentrics, people who

were troublesome to the social order, or, in some cases, those whose fortunes were coveted by grasping relatives, rather than the truly insane.

The author lucidly explains the complexities of the mind-body debate, where one school of psychiatry attributed insanity to physical lesions, that is, to organic causes, while another argued for the supremacy of mental causes. Those who argued for a non-somatic explanation risked the ire of the Catholic church and the public authorities, both of which saw a threat to the idea of the primacy of the soul in purely psychological explanations of madness. By the end of the nineteenth century, French psychiatry was under attack from antipsychiatric forces including the press, politicians, and the Catholic church. In 1870, Léon Gambetta introduced the first of a series of bills intended to restrict psychiatric authority by increasing judicial safeguards against unjust commitments.

According to Dowbiggin, this climate was propitious for a theory that managed to combine somatic and psychological explanations for insanity. Because "heredity . . . did not reduce mind to matter," it allowed psychiatrists to "base their diagnoses on an integrated, biological relationship between body and mind without appearing less medical for recording psychopathological symptoms" (p. 130). Hereditarianism was, therefore, an all-purpose theory that could be used to justify moral treatment in asylums (because heredity predisposed, rather than determined, behavior), as well as psychiatrists' claims to expertise in diagnosing a myriad of social and political problems. Thus, in response to the Paris Commune of 1870, Dr. J. V. Labored proposed the "heightened suggestibility of hereditary neuropaths as a cause of revolutionary mob behavior" (p. 155). According to Dowbiggin, degeneracy theory gradually disappeared in the face of "the discovery of the unconscious," the progress of neurology, the gradual decline of the asylum, and changing social and political forces.

Dowbiggin's book is particularly interesting because it provokes comparison between the controversies that wracked nineteenth-century French psychiatry and contemporary debates about issues such as the organic basis of mental disorder and its relation to social problems. The only caveat is that there is a tendency toward a *post hoc, ergo propter hoc* interpretation of psychiatry, whereby the impulse toward professionalization or social and political forces push aside contemporaneous ideas on the nature of insanity as influences on the development of the profession. Nevertheless, this study is a major contribution to our understanding of the development of French psychiatry.

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DENISE JODELET. *Madness and Social Representations: Living with the Mad in One French Community*. Edited by GÉRARD DUVEEN. Translated by TIM POWELL. (Medicine and Society, number 5.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1991. Pp. 310. \$49.00.

Although this book about the way societies construct representations of madness is not a work of history, it is nonetheless a book from which historians will learn much of use. This will be so in particular for those engaged in studying the complex ways individuals and societies in the past have constructed cognitive and symbolic frameworks that allow them to know and understand themselves and others by means of characteristic identities. In this study, the social psychologist Denise Jodelet has carried out lengthy ethnographic observations of the relations of "civilians" and their mentally ill lodgers in a rural town in central France, Ainay-le-Château. This unique experiment in deinstitutionalizing the insane actually dates back to 1900, a time when the creation of family colonies for the mad and agricultural colonies for convicts was all the rage, reflecting a contemporary hope that routines of work and life in the open air would reform the morally corrupt and cure the mentally degenerate. Jodelet has made little effort here to study in depth the nature of the colony at Ainay in its original form, but we are able to learn a great deal from her older interviewees about the "old days" of the program, and she addresses as directly as her evidence will permit the changes and the continuities in this program over the years.

The chief interest of this book, however, lies in Jodelet's exploration of the way the community of Ainay has managed to integrate this rather profitable, perhaps financially indispensable, population of "others" into its life while maintaining a rigid practical and symbolic segregation to defend itself and its identity from "pollution" by the *bredins* (loonies). Jodelet depends on a diverse body of social and psychological theories from Émile Durkheim to Mary Douglas to explain how the social representations of madness employed by the community incorporate traditional rural fears of strangers, vagrants, and dark-skinned races with anxiety about violence, peculiar behavior, and sexual aggression. But she also demonstrates that in their thinking about their lucrative lodgers, the local population also finds ways to mitigate the most profound dread of the "otherness" of insanity, domesticating it, so to speak, into a "normal" aspect of daily life.

It is the female foster parents, those most responsible for the care of the lodgers, who do the cognitive "work" of naturalizing mental illness, equating the insane to children or animals who may be trained, taught the boundaries of permissible behavior and the rules of elementary hygiene. In the eyes of Jodelet's informants, "good" lodgers are incurable but inoffensive, and suffer from congenital brain

disorders that make them "innocent" of malign intent. Such generally tolerant assessments coexist, however, with a pervasive discourse in which the deep fear of the "otherness" of insanity is clearly expressed in everyday language and in rituals of hygiene and purification that resemble the taboos of primitive societies. The bodies of the mad, together with their odors and secretions, are segregated in elaborate living, eating, and hygienic arrangements that protect foster families from contamination by their unfortunate patients.

As Jodelet reveals in her conclusion, the motivation for these precautions is the "normal" community's efforts to defend its own identity against the threat of the alien presence of madness. As she convincingly shows, this defense resolves itself into a series of injunctions about blood, sexual contact, and a potentially degraded inheritance that resembles uncannily the doctrines of biological degeneracy that still flourished in Europe and America at the time the colony was originally founded; marriage and intimate emotional contact between civilians and patients are thus strictly forbidden and transgressors shunned or driven into exile.

The power of these anxieties, as expressed in the words of the otherwise prosaic residents of Ainay, is startling and disturbing to a contemporary reader, who might prefer to think such cruelty and Manichean symbolism more typical of seventeenth-century Salem or of Spain at the height of the Inquisition. As a form of "otherness," insanity presents to us an unusually blank slate on which we may paint as we please all the negative qualities of our civilization. But this study should remind us that we are doing much the same thing when we construct sexual, racial, and criminal "others" to justify and maintain cherished cultural and social norms.

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RICHARD GRIFFITHS. *The Use of Abuse: The Polemics of the Dreyfus Affair and Its Aftermath*. New York: Berg; distributed by St. Martin's. 1991. Pp. xiv, 207. \$44.50.

In recent years, the role of language in shaping—even creating—our perception of reality has imaginatively reinvigorated the study of historical texts. Without explicitly embracing the postmodern critical theories that have informed much of this writing, Richard Griffiths analyzes the rhetorical devices used in the polemic produced during the Dreyfus Affair. He is particularly interested in the development of what he calls "clan languages," the rallying cries and formalized insults that constructed the political and intellectual debate of the time. He acknowledges that the interest in these "clan languages" arises from the influence of the popular press, but he is most interested in the polemic of intellectuals, writers, and artists like Léon Bloy, Charles Péguy, Émile Zola,

Jean-Louis Forain, and Caran d'Ache, who largely addressed literary and urban audiences.

Griffiths's most interesting argument is that a polemical culture existed in *fin-de-siècle* France that transcended parties and factions; Dreyfusards and anti-Dreyfusards made use of the same rhetorical devices. The Dreyfusards constructed a "Jesuit plot" that resembled the anti-Dreyfusards' "Jewish plot." Similarly, both sides incorporated certain key concepts—truth, justice, nation—into their discourses. The anti-Dreyfusards Charles Maurras and Maurice Barrès argued that what the Dreyfusards espoused as the "universal" notions of truth and justice were, in fact, merely "Jewish" and "Kantian" (Enlightenment) ideas. In contrast, they emphasized the primacy of the maintenance of social institutions like the army, the magistracy, and the church without which justice and truth could not exist. Dreyfusards also contested the "clan language" of their adversaries, who argued that the Dreyfusards were destroying "the nation" by defending a Jewish traitor who was *sans-patrie*, or without a country. They used historical references to demonstrate that the anti-Dreyfusards were "truly" those who were against France and *sans-patrie*, since they had traditional and intellectual connections to the counterrevolutionary armies of the Prince de Condé, which had joined the Prussians and the Austrians in attacking France during the French Revolution. Griffiths also explores the creation of new words to shift arguments, the use of irony to alter preconceived notions about how a particular language ought to be employed, and the polemical impact of obscenities and other "gutter" language related to filth, disease, and degeneration.

Griffiths thus reinforces the interpretation that the Dreyfusards and anti-Dreyfusards were strikingly similar in the morality of their arguments. His contribution is to demonstrate that the Dreyfusards' claim to moral superiority was undermined by their immersion in the same polemical culture as their rivals. This argument would have been more persuasive had he not eschewed the analysis of racial epithets because they were used so automatically that "their application to individuals can hardly be seen as having had any very striking polemical effect" (p. 65). The argument would also have been strengthened had Griffiths clarified why he analyzed particular texts and images. Why, for example, did he devote special sections to Bloy (who was neutral on the affair) and Péguy ("who was untypical of that period in both his tone and his methods" [p. 170]) while largely ignoring the polemic of the notorious anti-Semite Edouard Drumont? Given Griffiths's examples, his main point might be summarized better in the words of one of his subheadings: historians must view "The Affair as Sign," a collection of unstable meanings produced by the "pollution" of central concepts through the "prostitution of words" until, paraphrasing Bloy, the signification of these words is absolutely

destroyed. My caveats notwithstanding, this is an interesting conclusion.

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PAULA E. HYMAN. *The Emancipation of the Jews of Alsace: Acculturation and Tradition in the Nineteenth Century*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1991. Pp. viii, 214. \$29.95.

Paula E. Hyman's book on Alsatian Jewry is a study of the first traditional Jewish community in Europe to gain civil equality. The book begins with a detailed description of the social, economic, and political status of Alsatian Jewry in the decades after the French Revolution and then considers how the Jews of Alsace responded to the condition of legal equality that the revolution had bestowed on them. Hyman shows how changing economic realities in the rural towns and villages where most Alsatian Jews lived prompted many of them to migrate to larger cities and how an acculturating urban elite increasingly set the tone for Alsatian Jewry more generally. She also shows how local Jewish leaders and local institutions such as synagogues and schools, often under the influence of government officials, were able to promote an ideal of acculturated, productive citizenship.

At the same time, however, Hyman demonstrates that there were forces in postrevolutionary Alsace that fostered the continuity of a traditional Jewish lifestyle. Many ordinary Jews initially resisted occupational change, for example, and the Jewish masses clung tenaciously to a pre-emancipation popular culture. Ultimately, Hyman reveals that the relationship between adherence to tradition and acceptance of change was a complex one, and that the acculturation of Alsatian Jewry was a process to be "measured in generations, not years" (p. 156).

In exploring what happened to the ordinary Jewish citizens of Alsace in the century or so after the revolution of 1789, Hyman exploits the available sources to their fullest. She studies naming patterns revealed in official documents to learn about rates of acculturation, for example, and she mines marriage records to examine issues such as literacy and migration patterns. Hyman's statistical data are often complemented by anecdotal evidence from correspondence, memoirs, novels, and the like. Her book is also strengthened by the comparisons she draws between the lives of the Jewish masses in Alsace and the lives of their non-Jewish neighbors. In her chapter on "Education and Modernization," for instance, Hyman uses a study conducted in 1864 to compare the social profiles of Jewish and Gentile secondary school students. Also helpful are Hyman's comparisons of French Jews with those in other counties. The insights provided by such comparisons make the reader wish there were more.

Hyman's fine book is not without a few minor flaws. Some sections of the text make for drier reading than others (a situation that is perhaps unavoidable when there is so much carefully researched demographic information to report), and there is a potentially troublesome inconsistency in the way French and Hebrew terminology is handled. Most French and Hebrew references in the text are translated or explained, but some key terms are not: the French *cahiers*, for example (p. 14), and the Hebrew *mikveh* (p. 124). The titles of some literary works are translated, but the titles of others are not. There is even some confusion over the use of italics for foreign words. It is possible that lapses such as these are simply editing problems, but it is also possible that they reflect some indecision about exactly what audience the book is intended to address. One is reminded of the scholar who stopped translating the Hebrew word *tefilin* as "phylacteries" when he became convinced that the only people who know the word phylacteries are ones who also know the word *tefilin*. (Hyman tells her readers that *tefilin* are phylacteries on page 73.)

This book makes a very important contribution to the field of Franco-Jewish history for it presents a profile of Alsatian Jewry in its entirety while also providing a perceptive analysis of the way Alsatian Jews developed their postrevolutionary identity. The book also has a broader significance as a corrective to most previous studies of West European Jewry in the modern era, studies that have usually focused on urban elites and stressed the discontinuities in the Judaism and the Jewish society of the emancipation era. Hyman's book draws much needed attention to the fact that although important changes did take place in the way Western Jews thought and acted during the nineteenth century, ideals of acculturation and assimilation were not always adopted quickly or with great eagerness.

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CATHERINE ROLLET-ECHALIER. *La politique à l'égard de la petite enfance sous la III^e République*. (Travaux et Documents, number 127.) Foreword by ALAIN GIRARD. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France for the Institut d'Études Démographiques. 1990. Pp. 677.

Catherine Rollet-Echalier's demographic and political study of dominant attitudes toward infants and children correctly argues that protecting the lives of infants became one of the major policies of the French government between 1866 and 1940. The politics of infant protection, in part to counteract perceived depopulation, involved the close political association of prominent doctors and legislators. Rollet-Echalier contends that the goal of preventing infant mortality also embraced a concern with children's rights, rights that often corresponded to the

nation's discerned needs. By creating protective institutions for children, by instructing mothers in hygienic child care, and by surveillance over these and various other aspects of infant rearing, the medical and political communities hoped to realize their goal of saving babies' lives. It was not until the Pasteurian revolution of the late nineteenth century, however, that politicians and doctors could begin to achieve their desired results.

Although the title indicates that the work covers the entire Third Republic, Rollet-Echalier focuses almost entirely on the period before World War I, during which time children became a national concern and the government took measures to safeguard their well-being. This book complements, but does not duplicate, several recent books, theses, and articles by North American historians that demonstrate the centrality of women and children, and the power of doctors and their allies, in understanding the formative decades of the Third Republic.

The many statistical tables, graphs, and illustrations, along with abundant footnotes and extensive bibliography (published in an appended slim volume), reveal that Rollet-Echalier bases her work solidly on a wealth of printed primary sources that include the writings of important doctor-politicians such as Théophile Roussel, Gaston Variot, and Pierre Budin; the statistical reports of Jacques Bertillon; the *Journal Officiel*; and numerous periodicals, most notably the *Bulletin de l'Académie de Médecine*. Archival research is minimal, but that does not significantly mar this superbly researched account of official attitudes and national policies toward infants and children over more than half a century. Readers will find this thick book as dense and as detailed as the thesis it so closely resembles, but they may also wish for a more enriched analysis taking into account some of the recent historiography on the subject.

Why was the Third Republic so preoccupied with the nation's infants, as Rollet-Echalier and others claim? In parts 1 and 2 of this book, she maintains that national politics toward children had two major ideological dimensions: a growing belief in social justice (including the rights of children), and fears of national depopulation caused in part by a high infant mortality rate. Rollet-Echalier places the infant, as a natural resource, at the heart of a national survival strategy and implicitly denies a simplistic explanation that the political interest in children resulted from a desire for social control.

The first half of the book describes the evolution of attitudes toward children before 1914. It culminates with the Pasteurian revolution's impact on medical and legal developments and the formulation of laws to improve infants' environment and lives (such as the Roussel Law of 1874 attempting to regulate the wet-nursing industry and the law of 1904 on *enfants assistés*). The second half of the book builds on the ideologies, medical discoveries, and laws delineated in the first half, and provides many concrete examples

of the implementation, in successive stages, of the political agenda. It provides particulars about the development of *puériculture*, with its ramifications, both public and private, such as *consultations de nourrissons*, inspection of *enfants assistés*, and the provision of sterilized milk to needy infants.

The last section provides a demographic balance sheet in which Rollet-Echalier weighs the effects of a seventy-year evolution in attitudes and their manifestation in laws and institutions designed to protect babies' lives. The descriptive demographic statistics indicate a progressive decline in infant mortality, but there are no correlations, no time-lag analyses, and no more sophisticated statistical analyses than mortality and natality rates. This is unfortunate in a chapter heavy with data, detail, and duplication, but reflects the nature of her sources. Rollet-Echalier does not adequately explain the direct causes of this decline in mortality. It may have resulted from factors other than government policy. Nor does she deal with the consequences of national policies on the lives of the mothers; it was by means of the mothers, after all, that the government executed its policies toward infants. Her interpretation is a bit too Whiggish and begs a more nuanced interpretation beyond acceptance of the doctors', statisticians', and officials' reports. More synthesis and fewer details would provide a clearer analytical framework and aid in readability.

These minor criticisms aside, Rollet-Echalier's study is a significant addition to the growing corpus of research on the history of childhood and the relationship of children to society and to national politics. The author's complete grasp of an enormous amount of detail, her deep understanding of official attitudes, and her description of a complex array of institutions for children warrant this book's use as a reference guide, if not actually to be read in its entirety for its erudite contents.

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ROBERT J. YOUNG. *Power and Pleasure: Louis Barthou and the Third French Republic*. Buffalo, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1991. Pp. xv, 330. \$44.95.

Not long ago biography was termed the missing form in French historical studies (Joseph Konvits, "Biography: The Missing Form in French Historical Studies," *European Studies Review* 6 [1976]), with many of the Third Republic's leaders awaiting serious scholarly examination. Robert J. Young's sympathetic but not uncritical biography of Louis Barthou admirably responds to this need. He offers a "full-life" (p. 228) reconstruction of this notable republican politician who, like many contemporaries, has been the victim of a "collective act of forgetfulness" that has removed them "from the public consciousness" (p. ix).

Louis Barthou is perhaps best known because of his

tragic end in 1934: as French foreign minister he and visiting King Alexander of Yugoslavia were assassinated in Marseilles. Trained as a lawyer in the Béarn, Barthou was a politician who sat in the Chamber of Deputies and later the Senate for forty-five years; a republican leader who held numerous ministerial posts; an accomplished journalist, popular historian, and member of the elite Académie Française; and an active bibliophile and cultural amateur. Lacking a corpus of unpublished Barthou papers or contemporary references to him, Young has with considerable ingenuity assembled a vast bibliography of Barthou's unpublished letters, published books, articles, and speeches, as well as impressive secondary references.

To Young, Barthou's "centrism," an avoidance of both reaction and revolution, is the key to explaining his subject's various political experiences. A man of moderation whose pragmatism induced a flexible response to specific issues, he nonetheless held fast to the principle of middle-class republicanism.

A deputy since 1889, Barthou became minister of Public Works in 1894, at the age of thirty-two the youngest minister in the Third Republic. Although he served as minister of the Interior in Méline's ministry (1896), he broke with the Progressive bloc in 1899 to vote for revision of the Dreyfus case. A supporter of Pierre-Marie-René Waldeck-Rousseau and a founding member of the left-center *Alliance Républicaine Démocratique*, Barthou remained a firm centrist, supporting such social-reform legislation as an eleven-hour day and pensions for railroad employees but resolutely opposing "acts of sabotage" like the postal workers strike of 1909 (p. 65).

Young's discussion of several controversial aspects of Barthou's career is particularly instructive and perceptive. His analysis of Barthou's premiership of 1913 and the successful passage of the three-year military service law clearly outlines the military, financial, and political ramifications of that measure but also delineates the growing hostility between former friends Barthou and Joseph Caillaux. His thoughtful evaluation of the Calmette affair, which culminated in Mme. Caillaux's assassination of the *Figaro's* editor, acknowledges the case's ambiguities but accepts Barthou's denial that he fostered the press campaign. Young attributes Barthou's exclusion from cabinet office during World War I (except briefly in 1917) first to Socialist opposition and then to Georges Clemenceau's evaluation of him as not solid enough and insufficiently committed to winning the war, an unmerited accusation.

Barthou's postwar interest in foreign affairs illustrated his concern for France's long-term security interests, reflected in his determination that the Versailles Treaty be fully implemented. Young's discussion of Barthou's role as Jules-Henri Poincaré's delegate to the Genoa Conference of 1922 is particularly perceptive. Barthou managed to delay the conference's collapse in the face of Poincaré's recalcitrance toward Germany and Russia and insistence on pre-

serving Anglo-French amity, with David Lloyd George seeking to pacify both states. Weaving in conflicting contemporary perceptions of Barthou's behavior, Young concludes that pragmatism best explains his actions; he was committed to French security but flexible about means for implementing it in 1922, as again in 1934 (p. 179).

In Young's biography of Barthou, we have a brilliant contribution to the historical literature on France's Third Republic. Not only does it fill an important gap in our knowledge of the period but its elegant, beautifully written, perceptive analysis of this important centrist figure also makes vivid the interrelationship between society and the individual.

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JOHN E. DREIFORT. *Myopic Grandeur: The Ambivalence of French Foreign Policy toward the Far East, 1919–1945*. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press. 1992. Pp. xiv, 333. \$35.00.

Admiral Raoul Castex, a French naval strategist, wrote in the 1930s that Indochina could not be defended and that the security of French possessions in Asia depended on a delicate balance of forces in the region. French attempts to create an Asian balance of power that would protect the nation's imperial stake in Indochina is the subject of John E. Dreifort's careful and balanced monograph. It is the story of failure, and Dreifort narrates the desperate and ultimately futile efforts of the diplomats with a great deal of irony and occasional condescension. Based on a judicious reading of the secondary literature, published documentation, sources at the Public Record Office in Great Britain, the State Department archives in Washington, and the French Foreign Ministry archives, Dreifort's book reconstructs French attempts to uphold a colonial interest in the face of Japanese expansionism. As Dreifort notes, this story is less well known than French efforts to contain Germany. In both instances French diplomats combined appeasement, a search for allies, and some form of military deterrence to protect French interests, yet the reconciliation of diplomatic policies with the military and economic means to sustain them was no more effective in Asia than in Europe. Dreifort follows French diplomatic efforts from Versailles through the Manchurian crisis, the China "incident," and, ultimately, the Japanese takeover in Indochina. Dreifort's book is another story of French decline in international power and influence during the interwar and war years. The account is straightforward, clearly expressed, and conventional in its interpretation. The author has provided an important addition to the sparse literature on the French role in Asia.

One of the low points in this history of diplomatic futility is to be found in the failure of the Brussels Conference of November 1937 to resolve the war

between China and Japan. With the League of Nations unable to halt aggression, the diplomats hoped that the nine signatories of the Washington Pact of 1922 might be more effective. The Japanese refused to attend and the Americans refused to do more than condemn Japanese actions, despite the entreaties of Yvon Delbos, the French foreign minister, to get a stronger commitment. In the absence of American support, French policy turned to appeasing Japan by limiting arms shipments over the Yunnan Railroad while expressing sympathy for China. With America aloof and British power as hollow as the Singapore defenses, French policy makers had no option but to avoid confrontation. Was this "myopic grandeur"? Charles de Gaulle complained that the Third Republic lacked grandeur, and France's short-sighted focus on Europe recognized that defeat in Europe would be fatal for France in Asia. French policy, like French imperialism, had become overextended and this constituted a myopia, but the evidence suggests that the desperation of French policy in Asia was driven by a sense of the limitations of imperial glory.

Dreifort's final chapter discusses de Gaulle's ultimately successful effort to restore a French presence in Indochina despite both Franklin Roosevelt's hostility and the discredit that Admiral Jean Decoux's policy of collaboration under Vichy had brought to French prestige in Indochina. Dreifort's account of this well-known episode is sound and based on a good use of the State Department archives to show the way in which U.S. policy shifted at the end of the war. This account might have been enriched by consultation of the French Foreign Ministry archives for the wartime period for both Vichy and the Free French that were opened in the 1980s (with some reservations). As Dreifort acknowledges, there is room for additional research. In the meantime, he has given us a solid account of French policy and its limitations in Asia that will become a standard work in the field.

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RENÉ RÉMOND *et al.* *Paul Touvier et l'Église*. (Pour une histoire du XX^e siècle.) Paris: Fayard. 1992. Pp. 417. 130 fr.

Paul Touvier headed the intelligence section of the Lyons region of the *Milice*, the paramilitary force that helped the Vichy French government and the Germans pursue labor service dodgers, Resisters, and Jews in 1943–44. After the Liberation, Touvier was twice condemned to death in absentia, but he managed to live in hiding until 1967 when these sentences expired under the statute of limitations.

In 1971, French President Georges Pompidou relieved Touvier of two subsidiary sentences that had not expired: confiscation of property and banishment from his native Savoy (leaving in place a third subsid-

iary sentence, the loss of civic rights). Pompidou's pardon brought Touvier's existence to public notice and aroused a furor. When descendants of some of Touvier's alleged victims brought new charges of crimes against humanity (to which no statute of limitations applies), he went back underground. Seventeen years later, in May 1989, he was discovered in the Priory of St. Francis in Nice and arrested.

Preferring scholarly truth to hostile speculation about clerical aid to Touvier, Cardinal Decourtray, archbishop of Lyons, took the unprecedented step of opening the archdiocesan archives to a committee of respected historians of contemporary France, headed by René Rémond. This volume is their report. It appeared before the Paris Court of Appeals dismissed all charges against Touvier on April 13, 1992, on the ground that, while he had indeed been involved in at least one multiple killing, such actions under the Vichy regime did not fit the legal definition of crimes against humanity. Unless the Cour de Cassation rules otherwise on appeal, this startling decision blocks prosecution of any French citizen under the 1964 statute on crimes against humanity under which Klaus Barbie was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1987.

In addition to the archives of the Archdiocese of Lyons, the authors had access to the private papers of some of Touvier's most ardent clerical defenders and conducted some eighty interviews. They were scrupulous in stating only what their evidence shows conclusively. Moreover, although they found evidence of secular complicities—notably by members of the Interior Ministry and police, as well as by the singer Jacques Brel, who knew Touvier by another name—they focused strictly on the clerical fraction of the story.

They found that the church did not act as an institution to protect Touvier, although the number, variety, and prominence of individual churchmen and religious communities involved (including the Grande Chartreuse monastery and Cardinal Villot, the papal secretary of state) was far greater than expected. Nor were these all conservatives; they included former Resisters, and some of the monasteries had begun sheltering fugitives during the Occupation. Motives included the belief that the time had come for reconciliation, that the church's duty of charity was above the law, that Touvier had raised a family in piety since 1945, or even that Touvier was innocent. Touvier himself seems to have had a gift for manipulating clergymen, having replaced a scandalous private life by overt religiosity after 1945. Ideological sympathy for Touvier's loathing of Communists, Jews, and Freemasons was not at first the principal motive for priestly support; for the early period, the authors blame naïveté and a misplaced supposition that Christian charity may include concealing a fugitive from justice. The role of right-wing and *intégriste* clergy became predominant only after the indictment for crimes against humanity. This

book is deliberately austere, and the reader only begins to imagine the life that Touvier, his wife, and their two now-adult children led in hiding or semi-hiding for most of forty-two years. Even nonspecialists, however, will be fascinated by this intimate look at ecclesiastical influence in postwar France.

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CHRISTINA BORREGUERO BELTRÁN. *El reclutamiento militar por quintas en la España del siglo XVIII: Orígenes del servicio militar obligatorio*. (Historia y sociedad, number 17.) Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid. 1989. Pp. 432.

From the seminal works by Jean Sarrailh, Antonio Dominguez Ortiz, and Richard Herr to the decade-old books by Gonzalo Anes and the timely new reappraisal by John Lynch, eighteenth-century Bourbon Spain has proven a fertile area of inquiry. The field has been enriched in the last two decades by a panoply of regional and economic histories and specialized studies by a younger generation of historians who have filled glaring gaps, corrected conventional assumptions, and contributed to our knowledge of a century widely regarded as a positive counterweight to the crisis-ridden seventeenth century. Christina Borreguero Beltrán's book accords with these efforts. Her investigation breaks new ground in the history of Spanish conscription with the aim of explaining the origins of obligatory military service. Despite the topic's significance, and a strenuous archival effort, the book resembles a thesis rushed to press; it contains deficiencies in presentation, style, and organization that greatly undermine the author's findings and interpretation. What might have been a good work proves instead disappointing.

Among the book's weaknesses are its generally unattractive, often confusing, and occasionally erroneous presentation; its lack of an index; tables that do not add up (p. 295) or have unexplained discrepancies (pp. 298–299); its poor maps; illustrations that seem like adornments; appendices that add little; and in general an inelegant prose that persistently interrupts the narrative.

Serious problems in the use of sources and in organization mar the book. The handling of data is unsatisfactory; Borreguero Beltrán fails to select judiciously from the sources and is equally unwilling to condense them. Perhaps overpowered by the volume and richness of the documentation, she loses sight of the need to weigh and marshal the facts effectively. Readers will be pressed to keep track of the parade of royal measures, the correspondingly numerous local responses, and the intricacies of recruitment. Clearly the failure to synthesize poses difficulties. Likewise, an insistence on treating separately (and chronologically) each aspect of conscription is a clumsy arrangement that reinforces the work's jagged feel.

Notable gaps and shortcomings are evident in key areas. There is little discussion, for example, of the Spanish military in general. Tellingly, the army's structure and organization are hardly mentioned, nor their cost and financing. The pre-eighteenth-century antecedents of military service in Spain are inadequately analyzed. Therefore the impact of Bourbon measures and how they broke with the past remains unclear. Just as the author fails to offer rationales for government policies on military matters, the links between political initiatives and conscription are barely explored. Questions cry out for answers and issues for interpretation. What considerations drove state policies on military issues? How were annual figures for replenishing the army with fresh recruits determined by bureaucrats? And how did the Bourbons strengthen the military in the face of such stubborn resistance to conscription that the author so eloquently describes? The study extends ambitiously into the late 1830s, but the author lands in unfamiliar territory. The awkwardness is underscored by the scant attention devoted to the War of Independence and its aftermath—defining moments in Spanish history. Not addressing the fundamental mutations caused by the 1808–13 convulsions—especially in the military, where the recent work of Charles Esdaile comes to mind—obscures the significance of conscription during the transition from the *ancien régime* to the bourgeois order. Nor is there a concerted attempt at situating the study within a comparative international context.

Whatever its drawbacks, the book is not without some merit. Borreguero Beltrán has opened a promising field of research. In so doing, she uncovers important currents of resistance to enlightened despotism and strongly suggests that the vaunted Bourbon reforms (in military recruitment questions) met with profound opposition from a gamut of interests bent on preserving age-old privileges and a precarious socioeconomic status quo. Rather than seeing military service as a universal obligation, which it was not, many Spaniards regarded it as an additional burdensome tax. Borreguero Beltrán documents a host of methods to elude military service: legal loopholes and exemptions; far more questionable means and subterfuges, including bribery, perjury, and the undercounting of the eligible by recalcitrant municipalities; and more overt forms of personal and collective opposition, encompassing flight, desertion, mutiny, and armed rebellion. The author offers painful testimonies of attempts to dodge army duty through self-inflicted wounds and even mutilation. Finally, although haphazardly, Borreguero Beltrán affords fascinating glimpses of the enduring symbiotic relationship between poverty, idleness, and vagrancy on the one hand and military service on the other. Although these elements do not completely overcome the monograph's inadequacies, they redeem somewhat an arduous and worthy investigation. If the work will only appeal to a limited constitu-

ency, hopefully the investigation will heighten interest in a field deserving further attention. Future studies, however, should be sharply focused, systematically organized, and engagingly written.

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ADRIAN SHUBERT. *A Social History of Modern Spain*. Boston: Unwin Hyman. 1990. Pp. ix, 292. Cloth \$35.00, paper \$12.95.

Adrian Shubert's book is indispensable reading for both Spanish historians and those teaching comparative courses in European social history. He has put together a textbook that is really the first of its kind: a synthesis of the growing body of literature on the social history of modern Spain that has emerged since the late 1970s. The monographic work on the topic has not begun to reach the sophistication and depth of French, British, or American studies, but there is enough information to begin putting the pieces together. The result is a textbook that is extremely informative and accessible but understandably thin in those areas that still require more research. Although these gaps are frustrating for the reader, they are also useful in suggesting dozens of future research projects.

In synthesizing the existing material, Shubert makes the case for a new vantage point from which to interpret the economic, demographic, cultural, and political evolution of Spain over the last two centuries. Simply put, this revisionist position states that "in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Spain has been in the European mainstream" (p. 1). Instead of Spain on the margin of European history following the Industrial and French revolutions, Shubert argues that Spain participated in the same major trends as did the rest of Western Europe, albeit at its own pace and with its own style. Here Shubert draws on David Blackbourn and Geoff Eley's work on Germany (*The Peculiarities of German History* [1984]) to conclude that there was no rigid model of "bourgeois revolution" in Europe, but only a number of "exceptionalisms" that fit around a flexibly conceived norm. This perspective transforms the entire vocabulary of modern Spanish history, which has been constrained by the concepts of "failure," "retardation," and "difference." Although Shubert is not the first to suggest this revisionist position, his book is the broadest attempt to apply it to a rereading of contemporary history.

The implications of this rereading are apparent from the outset, in a discussion of the evolution of the Spanish economy that stresses its dynamism instead of its stagnation. While the process of industrial development was slower than elsewhere in Europe, Spain did experience sustained economic growth over the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The recent "economic miracle" of the 1960s com-

pleted Spain's transformation into an advanced industrial economy, but this was only the culmination of what the chapter defines as "a century of dynamism."

Accompanying this process of industrialization was a political and legal process that Shubert calls the liberal revolution. In contrast to the traditional view that focuses on Spain's "failed bourgeois revolution," he argues that we cannot ignore or dismiss the revolution that did take place. The liberal state that was built over the nineteenth century established a different social and legal order, founded on private property, on the principle of constitutionalism, on the centralization of state institutions and functions, and even on the gradual secularization of state power. This new order definitively replaced the old regime by the second Restoration in 1875, thus putting Spain squarely in the European mainstream of triumphant liberalism.

Shubert's formulation of this revisionist argument is largely convincing, although he could have made a few more connections between the details and the conceptual framework. Aside from this minor complaint, the book is extremely valuable and useful precisely because it has gathered a wealth of informative details at the same time that it presents a conceptual framework that will set the agenda for future research.

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BRUCE H. KIRMMSE. *Kierkegaard in Golden Age Denmark*. (The Indiana Series in the Philosophy of Religion.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1990. Pp. xi, 558. \$35.00.

Bruce H. Kirmmse's long-awaited study of Søren Kierkegaard's social and political thought is virtually two books in one: a social, cultural, and political history of Golden Age Denmark (1800–50) and a detailed examination of Kierkegaard's (primarily nonpseudonymous) published writings after 1846, including the famous "attack upon Christendom" launched in the years just preceding the writer's death in 1855. Kirmmse's book is a major work of scholarship that confers on Kierkegaard's social and intellectual universe a depth and a richness of detail that will permanently alter the familiar stereotypes about Kierkegaard's isolation from his fellow Danes and his supposedly fanatical campaign against philistine Denmark and its corrupt state church. In addition, Kirmmse has delivered us from other stereotypes for which Kierkegaard himself is in part responsible. Here, for example, are Kierkegaard's *bêtes noires*—the all-too-respectable Bishop Mynster and the Hegelian professor Hans Lassen Martensen—rendered at last as living, breathing, and wholly plausible human beings inhabiting a complex and changing world.

Kirmmse's fundamental argument is that Kierkegaard "has been consistently misinterpreted as a reactionary supporter of the conservative, hierarchical *ancien régime*" (p. 264). This is a fair statement the author feels little need to document, although I would have liked to see Kirmmse's anatomy of the misunderstanding and a reckoning with some of Kierkegaard's more notable interpreters. For example, Karl Löwith's *From Hegel to Nietzsche* (1941) contains a long and insightful analysis of Kierkegaard's social-political *Weltanschauung*, including the interesting claim that Kierkegaard is "Marx's exact opposite." Yet Löwith, too, succumbs to the hyperbole Kirmmse has set out to expose: "Kierkegaard's political demand is purely and simply that rule be carried out with absolute authority" (p. 247). Kirmmse argues convincingly that Kierkegaard's response to the social realities of his epoch was more nuanced than this portrait of absolutism would allow, and that "the traditional arch-conservative version of his politics is an interpretive fiction" (p. 324).

Kirmmse shows that Kierkegaard consistently presented a dualistic picture of human identity, that his "vision of the Christian who is also 'citizen' has a good deal in common with the liberalism that so dominated SK's century" (p. 339). Indeed, Kirmmse's claim that "SK was a classical liberal in his schematic understanding of politics" (p. 414) will surprise many readers, because the traditional image of Kierkegaard's descent into a kind of political madness toward the end of his life has obscured his refusal to conflate secular and religious identities into a one-dimensional model of man. It is tempting to conclude that our image of the monomaniacal Kierkegaard can be traced back to the melodramatic appeal of the aging, quixotic eccentric goaded into a fury by his philistine foes. Kirmmse's achievement is to add many subtle layers of understanding that subvert this stereotype by showing that Kierkegaard guarded "the proper limits of politics" (p. 383) rather than denying politics per se. "SK's political philosophy," Kirmmse writes, "is one of self-restraint and priorities, of political modesty and self-control" (p. 373).

To be sure, this portrait strikes a discordant note, not least because of the cumulative effects of Kierkegaard's addiction to rhetorical hyperbole and the resulting image of his radical apartness. The importance of Kirmmse's book is that he has rescued Kierkegaard from this state of artificial isolation once and for all.

JOHN M. HOBERMAN
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SVENBJÖRN KILANDER. *Den nya staten och den gamla: En studie i ideologisk förändring* [The New State and the Old: A Study in Ideological Change]. (Studia Historica Upsaliensia, number 164.) Uppsala, Sweden: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, distributed by Almqvist and

Wiksell International, Stockholm. 1991. Pp. 249. 185 KR.

Svenbjörn Kilander's study focuses on an aspect of Swedish societal modernization that has not been previously examined, the ideological dimension of the metamorphosis of Swedish society and industrial capitalism between 1850 and 1910. This ideological change is analyzed in a structural perspective using the concepts of "state" and "society" as a contrasting pair, inspired by Hans-Ulrich Wehler's study on the *Interventionsstaat* and *Wirtschaftsnationalismus*, and by Eric Hobsbawm's work on the formation of the new nationalism and the new imperialism.

The current debate over the reduction of the public sector and the partial dismantling of the social welfare system is the starting point of the book. According to the author, the relevance of a historical analysis of the ideological structure of industrial capitalism at the end of the nineteenth century is that the ideological structure of the current debate is quite similar to that of the turn of the century, when the Swedish welfare system was forming. By combining a historical reading with a structuralist one, Kilander looks at the past through the present.

Until 1880, "society" was seen as the "sum of the parts." The sphere of the general and the state, and that of the individual and the private, were rigorously separated from one another. It was Parliament's (*Riksdag*) job to keep up this division. The state intervened, and its social responsibility was extended, only in the general sphere. In the private sphere one counted entities such as townships, branches of commerce, private enterprises, social classes, and families. These were to be treated equally and justly. A new ideological structure broke through when the Protectionists started criticizing the tariff system in the late 1880s. The state began supporting agriculture, which had been previously counted in the private sphere. State and society were redefined, as were the limits between them. The "societal whole" replaced "the sum of the parts."

This ideological transformation took place in a context of growing interaction on an international level. Sweden was drawn into the competitive expansion of industrial capitalist national economies. Simultaneously, Sweden's industrial production rose, its demography changed, and numerous social reforms were undertaken. These changes led to a new conception of reality, new definitions and values, and new areas of possible state intervention. Kilander traces these changes in the parliamentary debates of the period, illuminating the interplay between political ideas and socioeconomical changes. Rivalries developed between labor and capital, urban and rural areas, industry and farming, Sweden and foreign countries. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the state could legitimately intervene in areas where such involvement would have been impossible before. The "Old Sweden" was replaced by a "New Sweden."

Borders between conceptual pairs were erased, leading to "societalization." The state's field of action, and its bureaucracy, expanded in this direction. Sweden began waging a war against "the foreigner," in accordance with the new international economic situation.

The strong point of Kilander's pioneering study is the clarity of his analysis of the dialectical interaction between social and economic structures and ideological structure, that is, the relations between state and society. The author unfortunately does not explore the limitations of analogies between ideological structures at different periods of time. Kilander's thought-provoking and inspiring book provides an important contribution to the study of modern Sweden and an example to be followed in future research on the social welfare system and its ideological presuppositions.

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TIMO MYLLYNTAUS. *Electrifying Finland: The Transfer of a New Technology into a Late Industrialising Economy*. (ETLA—The Research Institute of the Finnish Economy Series, number A15.) London: MacMillan Academic and Professional, in association with ETLA, Helsinki. 1991. Pp. xvi, 407.

The adoption of an industrial technology by a relatively underdeveloped society provides an opportunity not only to examine the process of technological diffusion but also to learn more about the impact of that technology on economic growth everywhere. Such is the case with the electrification of Finland. A predominately poor, agrarian society under the rule of the Russian tsar at the time when the first electric light systems were introduced, Finland adopted the new technology with surprising speed. By the turn of the century it equaled Great Britain, France, and Italy in per capita consumption of electricity. Timo Myllyntaus shows that electrification did more than stimulate industry; it provided a catalyst for the modernization of Finnish society, creating a reservoir of valuable technical skills, encouraging the adoption of other technologies, and accelerating the move from country to city. Electricity brought home the benefits of a modern consumer society to Finns.

Although a new chapter in the history of electricity, the story of the diffusion of electrical technology to Finland does not significantly differ from the pattern of its diffusion throughout Europe. The same cast of characters are present: the roving entrepreneurs and engineers (many of whom did their electrical apprenticeship in Thomas Edison's laboratory) and the transnational electrical manufacturing companies. Although a rural society, Finland was part of the international information network that was critical in adopting new technology. In the 1880s "hardly a

month passed without at least one news item on Edison in the Finnish press" (p. 27).

Finland's successful adoption of electrical technology was achieved with a mix of imported equipment and local know-how. The "Finnish Model" of adoption as described by Myllyntaus is one in which Finnish nationals took an active role in the transfer process. Despite the strong presence of first German and later American electrical manufacturers, Finland avoided becoming overly dependent on foreign suppliers. The adoption of nuclear power in the 1970s illustrated how the Finns managed to get the best of both worlds: an inexpensive Russian reactor combined with control and safety systems from Western Europe. The author shows the important role of national pride in adopting new technology and bringing it under control. Electrification was an integral part of Finnish economic nationalism.

Much of the book is taken up with the presentation of data. The first section provides an overview of the history of Finnish electrification, and the next two parts dissect the factors making up electricity supply and the demand for electricity. The author's findings are clearly presented and supported with numerous charts and tables. Comparing the data of electricity usage in Finland with that of other European nations, he is happy to conclude that Finland's record of electrification compares favorably with its more developed neighbors. Except for the years of the two world wars, Finland's per capita production and consumption of electricity moved forward with the rest of Europe. This book constitutes a valuable reference work that documents all facets of electrical supply in Finland. The only important omission is that of detailed maps. Although Myllyntaus provides several maps, they are not reproduced very well and it is often difficult to understand geographic relationships.

This book is a valuable addition to our knowledge of the diffusion and economic impact of electricity. It will doubtless become the definitive account of Finnish electrification in the English language. The author's command of the literature of electrical technology enables him to make useful comparisons between Finland and other nations. Even those American readers with little interest in the affairs of this small Scandinavian country will find valuable insights into the process of technological change.

ANDRE MILLARD
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CHRISTOPH HALSTRICK. *Das Recht des Papiermacherhandwerkes im deutschsprachigen Raum in der Zeit von 1400 bis 1800: Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Organisation der Papiermacher.* (Schriften zur Rechtsgeschichte, number 48.) Berlin: Duncker und Humblot. 1990. Pp. 185. DM 56.

The paper industry is a useful test of the confrontation between factory methods and a guild system developed with small-scale handicrafts in mind. Paper was a late arrival on the European scene, and its production of a standardized product requiring expensive equipment (vats, frames, room for drying and smoothing) and the cooperation of large numbers of semiskilled workers challenged presumptions behind most craft rules. The only trades that can be compared with it as an industrial enterprise are printing (dependent on paper production and emerging after it) and tanning (because of its dependence on large vats). Paper mills tended to be located in the countryside beyond urban control, both because of the need for clean water and water power and because the industry depended on a steady supply of rags gathered from entire regions.

Traditional medieval industrial enterprises were dominated by the masters, who were relatively numerous; papermaking, in contrast, was dominated by its journeymen, and a journeyman only became a master when he was named to head a mill by the owner. In fact, it approached the capitalist model of a modern factory, while parallel trades such as tanning used communally owned facilities.

Christoph Halstrick's book, a small treatise prepared for a degree in law, focuses primarily on the legal and institutional implications of the paper industry. The statutes and customs concerning organized papermaking in early modern Germany are very thin and late, dating no earlier than the sixteenth century; much of it comes from German-speaking communities in the borderlands of Slavic Central Europe (Kraków and Silesia). Papermaking did not develop as a political guild, since it was often not incorporated directly into an urban constitution (when it was urban at all). At best, it was one craft among others within a larger political guild of tailors, mercers, or (more logically) tanners. Because journeymen played a larger role than in most guilds (where they usually were voiceless), surviving statutes speak openly of the use of strikes and other sanctions against management for violations of traditional discipline and conditions.

The most important technical innovation in the papermaking trade in the sixteenth century was the introduction of stamping mills to smooth the surface of freshly made paper. This mechanical process threatened those workers who had previously smoothened the sheets by hand with tallow-smeared stones. The journeymen engaged mill-owners in a rearguard action against stamping that lasted into the eighteenth century, when the stamping method finally won out.

This book might help some specialist interested in early models of factory production or a contrast to traditional guild operation, but the ideas will have to be applied to it. Although the material has interesting

potential, the author provides little beyond negative conclusions.

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JAMES M. STAYER. *The German Peasants' War and Anabaptist Community of Goods*. (McGill-Queen's Studies in the History of Religion, number 6.) Buffalo, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1991. Pp. x, 227. \$34.95.

James M. Stayer has made an important contribution to neorevisionist views of Anabaptism by affirming another dimension of the Anabaptists' close connectedness with the real world. His work is a tightly reasoned, densely written analysis of early Anabaptist communalism based on a well-documented traditional methodology that focuses on the ideals and legacies of individual leaders.

Stayer establishes his hypothesis at the very outset. The Anabaptist doctrine of community of goods, as practiced in south and central Germany, Switzerland, and Moravia, owes a crucial indirect debt to the Peasants' War of 1525. Radicalization of peasant social objectives persisted after the suppression of the revolt in efforts by Anabaptists to carry out the social program of divine law in the Bible.

The author focuses initially on the Peasants' War. In the 1520s, a broad spectrum of interests in economic, social, and political reforms unified peasants, village artisans, and small burghers; these unenfranchised groups sensed an assault on their legal status and anticipated a real-world community of sharing. The beginnings of the Peasants' War reveal the formative presence of Swiss Reformation ideas. The Swiss connection brought the Anabaptist doctrine of community of goods into the protests of the common man as a continuation of the Reformation social gospel of the 1520s. Repression of the revolts radicalized the social gospel into utopian projections embraced by an unreconciled minority of war veterans. Many of these were, or were soon to be, Anabaptists. Numerous parallels and even direct connections between rebels and Swiss believers are documented. Although Anabaptism will not account overall for the Peasants' War, the war was connected significantly to the beginnings of Anabaptism.

Initial consideration of the Anabaptist doctrine of community of goods focuses on the Swiss Brethren, distinguished by their adherence to *Naehrung*, meaning congregational concern that all enjoy at least a modest self-sufficiency. In this regard, Swiss Anabaptism was not radically different from most nonmagisterial Reformation movements. South-German Anabaptism's antimaterialism is the most important legacy of Thomas Müntzer.

Stayer embraces current revisionism on Münster. The events in Westphalia in 1534–35 began with a

legitimate magisterial reformation that allied with legitimate Anabaptism to protect the religious and political independence of the city. The apocalyptic death of Jan Matthijs on Easter in 1534 catapulted Jan of Leyden to dictatorial power and led to the institution of war communism. The ensuing war of survival grossly distorted valid ideas about a community of goods.

By contrast, a century of peaceful communal living and community of goods was practiced in the Hutterite *Brüderhöfe* in Moravia from the late 1520s to the early 1630s. Hutterite artisanal-aristocratic, magisterial-communal societies existed in toleration and prosperity amid the surrounding noble society until the Thirty Years' War shattered Moravian tranquility.

Stayer concludes that Hutterite communalism was not a unique or isolated instance of Anabaptist social radicalism, but a richly developed descendent of their tradition and practice that reaches back to the very origins of Anabaptism in Switzerland and south Germany. The immediate context of social-reform efforts in the 1520s tragically culminated in the magisterial war on the common man in 1525.

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CLAUDIA SCHNURMANN. *Kommerz und Klüngel: Der Englandhandel Kölner Kaufleute im 16. Jahrhundert*. (Veröffentlichungen des Deutschen Historischen Instituts London, number 27.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1991. Pp. 312. DM 96.

Claudia Schnurmann succeeds in illuminating the everyday business of Cologne's long-distance merchants involved in sixteenth-century trade with England, or Cologne's east-west trade network. The author promises, according to the title, to investigate the activities of Cologne's merchants, utilizing "a combined prosopographical-inductive method" (p. 18). She uniquely defines Cologne's merchants as long-distance businessmen who represented themselves as belonging to the city community. This included Hanseatics who became actively involved in the city's political, legal, and guild life, but not non-Hanseatic refugees of war and persecution who simply relocated their center of operations to Cologne. The prosopographical method is particularly rewarding in the sections dealing with book-printing, wine, and iron. The section on book-printing, for example, reveals clearly how marriage provided a means of bringing specialized knowledge and talent into a family firm. The author provides numerous statistical tables, making good use of the often meager data on quantities, prices, origins, and destinations of goods.

Schnurmann limits her study by carefully selecting certain products in the import and export trades that will reveal the range of the east-west trade. She examines the trades in books, wines, longbows and longbow wood, iron, weapons, and cloth. By includ-

ing a section on weapons, Schnurmann sheds light on a much-neglected sector of trade with England. She reveals the broad assortment of arms traded in England and the close connections of this industry with metals production. She also examines the trade in swords, daggers, lances, and armor, as well as fire-arms.

Perhaps the most significant contribution of this book is its illustration of the close interdependencies of states and merchants. Schnurmann clearly reveals how several trades depended on the English monarchy but were ultimately undermined by rising national sentiment or territorial integration in England, the Low Countries, and Germany. The rising desire of English competitors in the wool trade, for example, combined with an English state that was willing to support them in the name of national interest, are shown as causing the decline of the trade for Cologne. Similar forces in the Low Countries and Germany also hampered profitable trade for Cologne's merchants involved in the east-west trade network.

A second important contribution of this book is its demonstration that Cologne's trade with England depended on the axis of Cologne-Antwerp-London. After 1567, the increasing unreliability of the Low Countries transit area and of Antwerp as an emporium undermined Cologne and the entire Hansa. While Schnurmann devotes an early chapter to explaining the volatile political situation in the Low Countries, her examination of the cloth trade best illustrates their importance.

A third contribution of this book is that it brings careful analysis to one aspect of a great imperial town's economic life by focusing on Cologne's east-west trade network. This is the kind of microscopic examination that will enable us to better understand early modern trade. Specialized studies such as this allow us to test the hypotheses of the more general studies, such as those dealing with the Hanseatic League, and those that have treated economic issues from national perspectives.

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JOST HERMAND. *Grüne Utopien in Deutschland: Zur Geschichte des ökologischen Bewusstseins*. Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer Taschenbuch. 1991. Pp. 223. DM 16.80.

This book offers more than its title suggests. Jost Hermand intersperses his survey of more than 200 literary utopias and dystopias with summaries of the ideas of natural scientists, moderate social critics, and pragmatic conservation organizers as well as reformist conservation societies. To put these environmental advocates in perspective, he sketches the dominant, anti-environmental *Zeitgeist*, the "liberal" values of which promoted material prosperity and individual self-realization while ignoring the needs of nature.

According to Hermand, in the resulting climate of consumerism and self-indulgence, the early conservationists exercised "primarily a cosmetic function" and inadvertently served the "better integration of Nature into the general processes of urbanization and industrialization" (p. 68). Hermand similarly disparages subsequent reformers. An engaged rather than a detached study, this book preaches that avoiding the impending ecocatastrophe requires Green utopias, not palliatives.

Looking for models of appropriate behavior, Hermand explores the history of ecologically oriented utopias, a tradition he characterizes as a "history of the defeated" (p. 17). As he combs two centuries for examples, he criticizes some utopians for offering only timid proposals like renewable energy while ignoring the ravaging consequences of the pervasive anthropocentric world view. He chastises other visionaries for intoning a nebulous sense of responsibility to nature while neglecting concrete changes in society and the economy. Having highlighted the flaws in the hundreds of existing blueprints, Hermand concludes his book with a sixteen-page ecological panacea of his own.

Because the recent upsurge of the Green Party already has attracted considerable attention to this theme, Hermand's book unavoidably overlaps with the work of other scholars, particularly Rolf Peter Sieferle's *Fortschrittsfeinde* (1984), which explores the environmental aspects of Germany's antimodern tradition, and Ulrich Linse's *Zurück o Mensch zur Mutter Erde* (1983) and *Ökopax und Anarchie* (1986), both of which discuss past ecological visionaries. Still, Hermand's focus on utopian literature, combined with his range of illustrations from the 1770s to the 1990s, makes the book a valuable contribution. Its principal strength is its depiction of diversity. Hermand documents that, already by 1900, the tributaries to environmental consciousness included: an animal protection crusade that condemned vivisection and endorsed vegetarianism; a pantheistic perspective that worshipped God in nature and blasted anthropocentrism; a socialist current that condemned the careless exploitation of nature by capitalism and preached planned sustainability; a *völkisch* movement that lambasted the asphalt culture of the cities and called for a rejuvenated Germany rooted in a green countryside; and a *Lebensreform* campaign that experimented with alternative lifestyles in hundreds of communes, abandoning cities, alcohol, and sometimes even clothes. Hermand goes on to demonstrate that this diversity increased with time.

To pack so much into so few pages, Hermand sacrifices depth. Single paragraphs sometimes treat five or six books; on page 153, fourteen titles appear in a single sentence. Worse, Hermand reports nothing about the lives of the authors he discusses, leaving unexplained why these particular individuals escaped the influence of the dominant, growth-oriented culture. With rare exceptions, Hermand ignores the

reception and influence of these utopias. And on those occasions when he ventures beyond his base of evidence in literature to offer undocumented observations about the environmental movement as a whole, his assertions are not always reliable.

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SYLVIA PALETSCHEK. *Frauen und Dissens: Frauen im Deutschkatholizismus und in den freien Gemeinden, 1841–1852*. (Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, number 89.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1990. Pp. 374. DM 78.

During the 1840s, the states of central and northern Germany witnessed not only the growth of the political and social protest movements that would fuse in the revolutionary days of 1848 but also the emergence of two groups of religious dissidents. The German Catholics had their beginnings in a public protest orchestrated by the soon-to-be-excommunicated priest Johannes Ronge against the idolatry associated with a massive, church-sponsored pilgrimage to view the Shroud of Turin in Trier in 1844. Ronge's action quickly spurred a dissident movement that favored election of priests by congregations and the elimination of such traditional Catholic practices as priestly celibacy, confession, the Latin mass, and worship of the saints. The smaller second group, known as the Free Communities, involved similar protests against the hierarchy and increasing mysticism in the Protestant state churches.

Historians have tended to subsume the German Catholics and the Free Communities, most of whose members were radical liberals or democrats, into the general political opposition of the late 1840s, sometimes even portraying them as front organizations for illegal political activities. One of the great merits of Sylvia Paletschek's interesting work is that it takes the religious dimensions of both movements seriously, stressing the strong interconnection of religious and political issues in mid-nineteenth-century Germany. Drawing on a wide variety of archival and published sources, Paletschek also emphasizes the importance of women, who made up approximately 40 percent of the membership of the German Catholics and the Free Communities, as well as the links these groups had to the earliest feminist organizations in the German states.

After an introductory section that traces the history of the two movements, Paletschek discusses the varieties of religious discontents that led approximately 150,000 men and women, mostly lower-middle-class residents of central Germany, to break with the traditional churches. She notes that the German Catholics and the Free Communities attracted many more women than any other protest movements in the mid-nineteenth century, but she also points out

that the male majority in both groups contradicts the commonly held view of a "feminization" of religion in that era. Despite the variety of theological positions espoused by members of both movements, there was general accord on the need for equality for women within the context of belief in the complementarity of the sexes.

The final section of the book examines radical women's organizations founded between 1845 and 1852, building on but also revising Catherine Prelinger's *Charity, Challenge, and Change* (1987), which concentrated primarily on groups in Hamburg that Paletschek considers to have been atypical, especially with regard to the participation of many Jewish women. As have several other recent studies, Paletschek's work highlights the importance of Pestalozzian and Froebelian pedagogy for the views of motherhood advanced by these early feminists. The ban on "atheistic" and "democratic" kindergartens introduced by the Prussian government in 1851 clearly demonstrates, she suggests, "the interconnection of religion and politics" (p. 216).

Clearly written and organized, with extensive notes and bibliography, this book is a valuable contribution to the history of religion, revolution, and feminism in nineteenth-century Germany.

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JONATHAN SPERBER. *Rhineland Radicals: The Democratic Movement and the Revolution of 1848–1849*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1991. Pp. xvi, 528. \$49.50.

Jonathan Sperber has produced a substantial work on the democratic movement in the Rhineland in the revolution of 1848–49. After sketching the social and political situation in which *Vormärz* radicalism found itself and to which it responded, he deals with its activities during the revolutionary period from March 1848 to the civil war of April–June 1849. He covers the Rhenish portions of the Prussian and Bavarian kingdoms and of the Grand Duchy of Hesse-Darmstadt. Sperber picked the region, although it was not typical of Central Europe, because it was one of the principal centers of the democratic movement in the revolutionary era, as well as because of its extraordinary economic, social, religious, political, and geographical diversity.

Unlike the rest of Germany, the Rhineland continued to be governed by French revolutionary and Napoleonic institutions and laws in the restoration period. Thus, such restrictions on a free market as guilds and feudal tenures remained abolished, in sharp contrast to East Elbian feudalism, for instance. The right to trial by jury was an important safeguard of civil liberty at a time when governments elsewhere wielded considerable power in judicial matters. In view of the attachment of the population to this

French heritage, the three monarchies involved were unable to integrate their Rhenish provinces fully into their governmental systems.

The political complexities were compounded by differences in religion and culture. A mainly Roman Catholic Rhenish population was put under the rule of a Protestant king of Prussia to whom it had no dynastic loyalty, while the chiefly Protestant population of the Palatinate came under the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic king of the distant and not even contiguous Bavaria. With his earlier book, *Popular Catholicism in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (1984), Sperber joined the ranks of the small but growing band of historians intent on correcting the neglect of religious factors in the explanation of historical events. In the present volume, the author examines in detail not only the tensions resulting from one denomination being governed by a ruler of another confession but also the links between radical or conservative religion and their equivalents in politics.

The book is based on extensive archival research. One of its strengths lies in the detailed description of economic and social conditions in the pre-1848 period as background to events during the revolution. Preindustrial capitalism did not yet prominently feature the opposition between owners of the means of production and the proletarians who worked them, and so one of the most critical problems was the divide between those who had direct access to markets and those who did not. The author skillfully weaves economic, social, and religious threads into one story to account for the discontents in the region before 1848. The unifying element is the triangle of tensions centering around the market, the state, and the church.

The book breaks new ground, although it is not quite as revisionist as the author believes. Its chief merit lies in adding to our detailed knowledge of one region—the Rhineland—mainly for the radical movement, but in many ways also for the churches. Perhaps overconcentrating on “history from below,” the book does not adequately assess the impact the actions of the democratic movement had on the political centers, particularly on the Frankfurt Parliament and the provisional central power. The picture would also have been rounded off by a more comprehensive account of the human cost to the insurgents and their families after the crushing of the rebellion.

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PETER KRIEDTE. *Eine Stadt am seidenen Faden: Haushalt, Hausindustrie und soziale Bewegung in Krefeld in der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts.* (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, number 97.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1991. Pp. 436. DM 92.

This work constitutes the interim product of Peter Kriedte's longterm study of the silk industry in Krefeld, undertaken under the auspices of the Max Planck Institut für Geschichte as part of a project to examine protoindustrialization.

By the mid-nineteenth century, Krefeld's most important economic sector, silk manufacturing, was still very much tied to the putting-out system; the factory only began to predominate in the 1880s. The book investigates this period, when the cottage industry was at its height, under two main themes. The first concerns the social and economic aspects of cottage production itself, as it had evolved in Krefeld since the end of the *ancien régime*, and as it can be reconstructed from the remarkably abundant archival sources for 1815/20 to 1860/80. The second deals with a cluster of related issues—demographics, family life, cultural patterns—first subsumed in the 1970s under the term protoindustrialization. Initially defined by Franklin F. Mendels as “the first phase of industrialization” (“Proto-Industrialization: The First Phase of the Industrialization Process,” *Journal of Economic History* 32 [1972], 241–61), this concept has more recently been narrowed to emphasize the “evolution of rural districts in which a large part of the population made its living, entirely or to a substantial extent, from industrial mass production for transregional and international markets” (p. 19); and it is the latter sphere of inquiry that Kriedte has chosen to explore.

Kriedte is particularly interested in agglomeration and urbanization. In four major chapters, he undertakes to explicate Krefeld's role as a prime model for these processes. Beginning with an analysis of the city's growth and social and demographic structure, he goes on to review Krefeld's mode and conditions of production, together with the social history of its silk workers, and concludes with an investigation of the silk weavers' role in the revolution of 1848.

Hanging indeed on a silken thread, as the book's title implies, the city's future—its transition from household to factory production—was jeopardized in three ways: the technical difficulties that beset the introduction of the mechanical loom; the need to reengage entrepreneurs in the manufacturing phase; and the steadfast resistance of the weavers, whose way of life was largely defined by the decentralized nature of the production process. In the long run, the weavers and their cottage industry were doomed, as Kriedte demonstrates in this painstaking, exhaustively documented tour de force. As traditional paternalistic relations between merchant capitalists and weavers fell to the exigencies of an economy wracked by laissez-faire competition and financial crisis, the immediate response of the weavers was “political bargaining by riot” (Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Labouring Men: Studies in the History of Labour* [1964], 7). This tactic was of dubious help, however, and eventually gave way to a new class consciousness in which the artisan came to see himself as a worker irrevocably

bound to, and dependent on, unionization and political action, a denouement that easily makes for the book's most graphic and enduring impression of the human cost of protoindustrialization.

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ECKHARDT TREICHEL. *Der Primat der Bürokratie: Bürokratischer Staat und bürokratische Elite im Herzogtum Nassau 1806–1866*. (Frankfurter historische Abhandlungen, number 31.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner. 1991. Pp. xiv, 649. DM 198.

In this "lightly reworked" 1989 dissertation, Eckhardt Treichel examines the organization and operation of the duchy of Nassau, possibly Germany's most bureaucratic state. Nassau was small (186,000 inhabitants in 1816), thus permitting an exhaustive archival investigation of the mentalities, career cycles, and social structure of the 877 men forming Nassau's bureaucratic elite.

Nassau survived the disappearance of the Holy Roman Empire but, like other southwest German polities, the state emerging after 1806 was a new structure whose officials desperately needed to integrate diverse territories into a coherent, prosperous whole. Statesmen like Ernst Marschall von Bieberstein, Hans Christoph von Gagern, and Carl Friedrich von Ibell reorganized the government from top to bottom in complex ways that must be read in detail to be appreciated. Reforms were needed to counter centrifugal forces like former imperial princes, privileged manorial lords, secularized religious endowments, local town elites, and greedy neighboring states. A consultative, representative legislature and a written constitution served to anchor the duke to his people and to guarantee unity and fiscal liquidity. Economically backward, Nassau had no significant middle class to support either liberal reforms or constitutional government. As elsewhere, these came from the bureaucracy.

That the bureaucrats' state failed to take root became evident in the Revolution of 1848, when the diet extended civic freedoms, took steps to "debureaucratize" society, and slashed civil servants' salaries. Although the revolution was short-lived, it showed that neither the reigning duke nor his officials could count on their citizens' loyalty and pre-saged the widespread support for annexation to Prussia in 1866.

Treichel's rich analysis of Nassau's administrative-political history leaves one hesitant to ask for more. Yet questions remain. Exactly how did the innovations coming from Wiesbaden affect the average citizen? What we now need is a close empirical analysis of how reforms from above were received. Here Treichel could have benefited from Mack Walker's *German Home Towns* (1971). He also inexplicably omits

the military, an important auxiliary of the bureaucratic state.

Treichel delineates in extraordinary detail Nassau's civil servants' legal, financial, educational, and social circumstances. He has mobilized extensive data in forty-four tables, quantifying anything the sources will permit for the individuals brought under his scope, namely, those men occupying any sort of executive position from the local district level to the ministry of state. Treichel includes officials in finance, mining, forestry, and education, whereas most studies have focused on administrative and judicial elites. Several interesting findings emerge. Although the bureaucratic elite remained relatively constant at from 280 to 313 individuals during the period from 1808 to 1865, the number of subordinate officials increased by 60 percent. Fifty-three percent of the population was Protestant, compared to 75 percent of the civil servants. Roman Catholic officials married Protestants 34.5 percent of the time, compared to Protestants marrying Catholics only 7.7 percent of the time. Treichel also has extensive tables of civil servants' family backgrounds (something like 80 percent were sons of civil servants, 85 percent if military officers are included). Surely they formed one of Germany's most closed bureaucratic castes.

Treichel's challenge to the notion that traditional elites persisted in dominating the government is persuasive. The civil service was neither an extension of the nobility nor was it rooted in a rising "middle class." Treichel has redundantly demonstrated that we are dealing with a privileged, self-recruiting elite. Six hundred pages will daunt even the hardest reader, but excellent reference aids and summaries will ease locating those sections of special interest.

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FRANZ J. BAUER. *Bürgerwege und Bürgerwelten: Familienbiographische Untersuchungen zum deutschen Bürgertum im 19. Jahrhundert*. (Schriftenreihe der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, number 43.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1991. Pp. 328. DM 88.

This book is an engaging reflection on the difficulties of defining a unitary conceptual framework for the sociology, history, and culture of the German bourgeoisie. It considers the generational intersection of three families in the fifty years before 1914, a "configuration" of family histories, as Franz J. Bauer puts it. The main protagonists are Johann Ernst Sattler (1840–1923), a somewhat directionless aesthete and artist and the grandson of Wilhelm Sattler (1784–1859), a merchant-manufacturer of south German industrialization from Schweinfurt; the biologist Anton Dohrn (1840–1909), founder of the Zoological Station of Naples and the son of the gentleman

naturalist Carl August Dohrn (1806–92), himself heir to a mercantile-patrician family fortune in Stettin; and Adolf von Hildebrand (1847–1921), the neoclassical sculptor and son of the leading Jena economist Bruno Hildebrand (1812–78).

Friends from their youth, these three figures remained connected throughout their lives, linked through common social networks and “by an underlying consensus of values over the forms and contents of a bourgeois culture of living” (p. 12); their interrelationship experienced a further thickening with the marriages of Sattler’s son and Hildebrand’s daughter and Sattler’s daughter and Dohrn’s son. A description of Dohrn’s prized Zoological Station in Naples, in whose design both Hildebrand, Sattler, and Sattler’s architect son Carlo (1877–1966) were all involved, introduces the book.

These family trajectories provide an excellent means for exploring the relationship of economics and culture in the formation of the bourgeois world. The book falls into two slightly unequal parts. In the first, the elder generation’s solid fundament of economic and professional success is laid out. The Dohrn family’s profitable relationship to the east Elbian agrobusiness of sugar refining produces a somewhat more economic narrative than the careers of either Wilhelm Sattler or Bruno Hildebrand, who in their different ways are made to stand for the union of *Bildung und Besitz*—education and property—that Bauer sees as the key to the bourgeoisie’s definition. Sattler’s business achievements became generalized into an impressively elaborated philosophical outlook of materialist optimism and liberal political engagement, while Hildebrand translated his hard won career as an academic economist into a similar engagement with the political and cultural requirements of Germany’s emerging capitalist society. In the second, shorter part of the book, the order of salience is inverted. The less interesting younger Sattler receives cursory treatment (while his family story skips a generation, with the shadowy figure of Johann Ernst’s father, Wilhelm, Jr., scarcely materializing), and the weight of the exposition passes to Anton Dohrn, whose migration from the materialist *Heimat* of mercantile enterprise to the Italianate landscape of the *Bildungsbürgertum*’s cultural imagery symbolizes the book’s main argument. For here, once again, is the story of the German bourgeoisie’s fall, with the inevitable emplotment (from Thomas Mann’s *Buddenbrooks* [1900] to Luchino Visconti’s film *The Damned* [1969]) of the bourgeois family’s passage from patrician solidity to aesthetic self-absorption.

As a source of information, this book works very well, and some parts of the story—for instance, the midcentury ambience of economic progress, political liberalism, and the much-neglected intellectual milieu of secularized materialist philosophy and dissenting religion, told through the biography of the elder Sattler, or the high-cultural history of the Kaiserreich—are quite rich. Certain other aspects, however,

such as family, gender, sexuality, and the women in these men’s lives, are unacceptably missing. Moreover, as with another recent family chronicle, Lothar Gall’s study of the Bassermanns of Mannheim (*Bürgertum in Deutschland* [1989]), the main difficulty is in establishing the family stories’ relationship to the larger argument about the bourgeoisie, which in this case is almost wholly microcosmic, metaphorical, and emblematic. To be persuasive, the argument needs to be more firmly contextualized in social-historical terms, or more imaginatively constructed via literary theory and the techniques of the new cultural history, which would have been quite possible given the richness of the family correspondence Bauer was able to use.

In the end, Bauer backs away from the social history of bourgeois class formation altogether. The bourgeoisie must “not be understood as a social formation defined in estate or class terms and identifiable by structural criteria”; it is far more “the key element of a discourse-milieu in the medium of a common culture” (p. 289). Such a thesis needs to be argued through much more extensively than that.

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CHARLES E. MCCLELLAND. *The German Experience of Professionalization: Modern Learned Professions and Their Organizations from the Early Nineteenth Century to the Hitler Era*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1991. Pp. x, 253. \$54.50.

The history of the professions in Germany has become a hot topic of late, as scholars working in diverse areas of the history of modern German society have devoted increasing attention to groups other than the previously popular political elites and laboring masses. Charles E. McClelland’s contribution serves as an admirably clear and concise survey of the field, complementing recent monographs such as those by Konrad Jarausch, *The Unfree Professions* (1990), Kees Gispens, *New Profession, Old Order* (1989), and Claudia Huerkamp, *Der Aufstieg der Ärzte im 19. Jahrhundert* (1986), among others.

McClelland argues effectively that “the German experience of professionalization, with its complicated tangle of private sphere and bureaucratically controlled dimensions, may prove more typical of professionalization throughout the twentieth-century world than the Anglo-American ‘model’” (p. 10). Because he covers almost all of the professions, McClelland’s evidentiary basis for this claim is a broad and compelling one, even if it also essentially echoes rather than elaborates on the conclusions of other scholars regarding the complex interactions of state, society, and profession in Germany from the early nineteenth century to the present. McClelland’s previous books, *The German Historians and England* (1971)

and *State, Society, and University in Germany* (1980) cover aspects of higher education in Germany, so it is no surprise that he sees higher education as "the key to shaping professions" (p. 25). Although this argument is an effective part of McClelland's critique of the relative Anglo-American denigration of the role of higher education in the history of professions, the very comprehensiveness of his own research undercuts such a claim, since the story turns out to be so much more multifaceted.

McClelland devotes only a single brief chapter to the professions in Germany between 1933 and 1945. While this contributes to his aim of providing a concise survey of the development of the professions from their early nineteenth-century origins to the place and power they achieved in twentieth-century Germany, it is also a significant limitation in that it lets the professions off the moral hook more than it should. For example, McClelland argues that during the 1920s "German professions on the whole resisted the siren call of fascism" (p. 177). This may be (partially) true of active party membership or noisy espousal of Nazi ideals, but the history of the professions in Germany after 1933 exhibits extensive functional, ideological, and opportunistic compatibility between the Nazi government and the professions. In the case of doctors, McClelland is content to set up the straw man of a "genocidal medical profession" (p. 220) while not detailing the more widespread concessions to Nazi rule exhibited by many doctors. Because of the brevity of his coverage of the Third Reich, "state control" and *Volksgemeinschaft* become substitutes for a more fruitful analysis of the competitive social ethos under Nazism described by Detlev Peukert (*Inside Nazi Germany* [1987]). Also dubious is McClelland's holding to the notion of apoliticism among German professionals. While it is true that German "mandarin" culture displayed disdain for politics writ large, even university types and professionals could and did engage in political activities on behalf of their own interests.

Although one can sympathize with the economic travails of university presses, the publisher must take the blame here for the tiny print, obviously designed to reduce the number of pages, and probably also for the lack of a bibliography. Aside from footnotes (to be sure an advantage over endnotes), there is only "a word about sources" (pp. 243–44) in which the author complains about the paucity of archival materials. While there is something to this (wartime destruction, the "unmastered past," East German obstructionism, and so on), it seems here the author doth protest too much. Other works on this subject have made greater use of archival sources, especially those in regional and local archives. McClelland rejects these sources, however, since it is his declared intent to study the German professions on the national level. The cost is the loss of potential sources and of instructive regional variation.

Whatever its limitations, however, McClelland's

book is a very useful survey of an increasingly important field of study.

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EBERHARD KOLB. *Der Weg aus dem Krieg: Bismarcks Politik im Krieg und die Friedensanbahnung 1870/71*. Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 1990. Pp. xii, 408. DM 98.

The causes and the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War continue to attract scholarly attention a century and a quarter later. The conflict's ending, however, has been surprisingly and significantly neglected. Eberhard Kolb's exhaustive research demonstrates that the successes of the German armies in the summer of 1870 created an unexpected paradox. France was left without a government able and willing to negotiate peace in the context of defeat. As firebrands on both sides exchanged calls for war to the knife, and as the great powers sought profit from what increasingly seemed a broken-backed struggle neither combatant could win, Otto von Bismarck faced the greatest challenge of his career and arguably achieved his greatest success.

Kolb describes Bismarck as preparing for peace even before the war's outbreak. Careful diplomacy encouraged the other European powers to remain initially neutral. Nevertheless a protracted conflict like the one facing Bismarck in September invited unwelcome offers of "good offices" from Europe's foreign ministries—offers increasingly difficult to refuse without placing Germany in France's current position as a diplomatic outsider.

Bismarck's diplomatic difficulties were enhanced by his decision to annex Alsace-Lorraine to the new Reich. Nationalists demanded a symbol of victory. The general staff cited strategic advantages. Kolb makes a major contribution by demonstrating Bismarck's conviction that French revanchism was in the short run unmodifiable, even by peace terms amounting to status quo ante bellum. Alsace-Lorraine, Bismarck recognized, would be a heavy diplomatic burden to the German empire. The real burden, however, grew out of a Prussian victory whose consequences France was unlikely to accept. Kolb convincingly argues that neither the previous two centuries of French history nor the rhetoric of France's current decision makers suggested easy acquiescence in the emerging new European order. Frontier revisions in Germany's favor seemed a correspondingly necessary risk in order to secure peace in the foreseeable future. It was, moreover, by no means cynical to believe the population of the new Reichsland could eventually be integrated into a state organized along strong federal lines.

The crucial question then became how to conclude peace with Alsace-Lorraine, and without third-party intervention. Kolb's reconstruction shows Bismarck as a master of both political strategy and diplomatic

technique. His major challenge was to establish a legitimate negotiating partner. In October the Paris government refused an offer of a "semi-armistice," insisting on terms more appropriate to victors in pitched battle than to revolutionaries besieged in their own capital. In November a new set of negotiations collapsed when Louis-Adolphe Thiers could not afford to admit the fact of France's defeat. Bismarck's parallel efforts to establish a "Bonaparte option" based partly on the forces trapped in Metz proved futile, except as an empty threat the chancellor was too wise to use. In this context the armistice of January 28, 1871, came almost as a surprise. Kolb has high praise for the civil courage required of the French politicians who took "the way of Canossa" to Versailles. In the final analysis, however, he credits Bismarck for the skill and patience that kept open the door to the negotiated peace ending Europe's last cabinet war.

The Franco-Prussian War highlighted the question of war's utility as the continuation of politics by other means. Kolb describes Bismarck as concluding that Germany in 1870 had enjoyed near-optimal military and diplomatic conditions. Yet even so, the North German Confederation bade fair to conquer itself to death. The desperate search for peace that followed the victories of Gravelotte and Sedan left Bismarck convinced of the practical impossibility of negotiating terms in any future national war involving great powers. The policy of averting conflict through alliance and negotiation pursued by the German chancellor in his remaining years of power was a direct consequence of the experiences of his final war.

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AGNES BRETTING and HARTMUT BICKELMANN. *Auswanderungsagenturen und Auswanderungsvereine im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*. (Von Deutschland nach Amerika: Zur Sozialgeschichte der Auswanderung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert, number 4.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1991. Pp. 288.

This volume combines two independent but related studies: Agnes Bretting's on emigration agents (pp. 11–90) and Hartmut Bickelmann's on emigration societies (pp. 91–262). Both originated as part of a project funded by the Volkswagen Foundation and directed by Günter Moltmann at the University of Hamburg from 1978–81. Like much of the work at Hamburg, both sections deal primarily with institutional aspects of the migration process.

For many of their German contemporaries in positions of authority, and for an earlier generation of nationalist historians, emigration agents often served a scapegoat function, a way of denying that the mass exodus resulted from genuine social and economic problems. Drawing largely on selected archives (primarily in southwest Germany) and newspapers such

as the *Allgemeine Auswanderungs-Zeitung*, Bretting presents a more balanced picture. Many of the official complaints against agents were filed by competitors, not customers. Emigrants directed most fraud claims against transporters rather than against agents who may or may not have known of the problems of the firms they were representing. From the late 1840s on, most German states regulated agents operating in their territories and required them to post bond; problems more frequently occurred with subagents or those operating unofficially, who had nothing to lose except their reputations.

Several subjects deserve more attention. No use was made of Prussian tallies from the late 1850s of how many emigrants actually booked with agents: in Westphalia it was only about one-third, suggesting that the agent's importance is easily exaggerated. In immigrant letters (another unexploited source), the infrequent references to agents were more often positive or neutral rather than negative in tone.

If emigration agents are treated in less detail than they deserve (and be it only to debunk them), Bickelmann's meticulously researched and lucidly written piece gives emigration societies more attention than their historical relevance would warrant. His research focuses not on organizations that emigrated as groups (*Gesellschaften*), but rather on groups in Germany that were concerned with leading, overseeing, and easing the process of emigration (*Vereine*). Taking as his point of departure the program of the *Nationalverein* of 1847, Bickelmann identifies a number of characteristics common to most such organizations: their largely bourgeois membership (except for "mixed" societies that included persons hoping for subsidized passage); an often semiofficial character; an incongruous mixture of humanitarian objectives and nationalistic goals of supporting German commercial interests and promoting colonization; and the precarious, short-lived nature of most such endeavors. (Exceptions were the organizations in Hamburg, Bremen, and Frankfurt, which grew out of the enlightened self-interest of those in the transport trade.)

Some goals were contradictory—humanitarian considerations favored established North American destinations, whereas colonial ambitions were focused on more precarious Latin American sites. Promoting Hanseatic ports helped German trade interests, but not southwest German emigrants who could travel more economically via Havre or Antwerp. With regard to both routing and prices, commercial agencies offered better service than these allegedly humanitarian societies.

Both studies provide needed correctives to nationalistic tendencies in older immigration literature; both could have been strengthened by paying more attention to real immigrants rather than those claiming to speak for them. The comprehensive bibliography of primary sources and secondary works would be more useful if one knew which of the two studies

a particular item belonged to. A well-constructed index rounds out the book.

WALTER D. KAMPHOEFFNER
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RALF ROTH. *Gewerkschaftskartell und Sozialpolitik in Frankfurt am Main: Arbeiterbewegung vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg zwischen Restauration und liberaler Erneuerung*. (Studien zur Frankfurter Geschichte, number 31.) Frankfurt a.M.: Waldemar Kramer. 1991. Pp. 246.

Could Wilhelmine liberalism have staged a comeback by developing a program of social reform which reintegrated the German working class into liberal politics? The prospects were brightest in Germany's cities where liberals retained an influence they no longer enjoyed in national politics. One such liberal stronghold, the city of Frankfurt am Main, became an important center of "municipal socialism" in the years before World War I. Here, Ralf Roth shows, progressive businessmen, municipal administrators, and social policy experts promoted poor law and housing reform, municipal labor exchanges, labor arbitration courts, and even municipal unemployment insurance schemes.

But until 1910, Frankfurt's trade union leaders found these local experiments distinctly less interesting than the social policies of the central state. Only the national state could provide a counterweight to the collective power of German employers. And universal manhood suffrage gave the organized working class real influence over national governments, whereas municipal franchise systems made it very difficult for Social Democrats and trade union leaders to win city council seats (p. 197). Experience confirmed these strategic considerations. The royal factory inspectors earned the respect of Frankfurt trade unionists for their conscientious and impartial enforcement of protective legislation (*Arbeitsschutz*). But the performance of municipal institutions was disappointing. The Frankfurt *Gewerbegericht* failed, for example, to achieve peaceful resolutions of labor conflicts, which became more bitter and intense in the years just before the war.

Yet, by 1910 the central state was no longer acting as an instrument of social reform. Faced with mounting opposition from employers and the *Mittelstand*, the national government called a halt to further social legislation. The trade unions now became more receptive to the overtures of Frankfurt's liberal middle class reformers. Yet Roth does not claim that a British-style "Lib-Lab" coalition was about to emerge in Frankfurt. The city's trade unions had certainly not been converted to the idea of "municipal socialism." World War I shifted the labor movement's attention back to the central state, which now promised a renewal of social reform in return for trade union cooperation in the wartime mobilization of the economy.

Roth concludes that the German state and the conservative forces behind it profited the most from the trade unions' fascination with the promise of "social reform." Disagreements about the importance of "social policy" divided radicals from reformists and weakened the labor movement's influence on Wilhelmine political life (p. 220). But were the results of trade-union involvement with the problems of *Sozialpolitik* quite as negative as Roth suggests? To help workers understand and defend their legal rights, the Wilhelmine labor movement built new institutions, such as the *Arbeiter- und Gewerkschaftssekretariat*, the main subject of Roth's book. These practical activities created a working-class challenge to the bureaucratic administration of social policy "from above" and bequeathed to the Weimar Social Democratic labor movement a fund of experience, knowledge, and resources that allowed it to play an influential role in that republic's expanding welfare state.

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DORIT-MARIA KRENN. *Die christliche Arbeiterbewegung in Bayern vom Ersten Weltkrieg bis 1933*. (Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Zeitgeschichte, Series B, Forschungen, number 57.) Mainz: Matthias-Grünewald. 1991. Pp. lviii, 644. DM 128.

When, at the end of the nineteenth century, Catholic social theorists in Germany confronted the realities of the Industrial Revolution, they hoped to create for industrial workers a corporation or *Stand* of their own that would increase their self-esteem and facilitate their integration into society, in contrast to the Marxist idea of the class struggle. By the early twentieth century this policy had resulted in the development of an extensive network of social, educational, and economic organizations, including labor unions, that, ironically, resembled the socialist subculture it was designed to combat. After World War I, the interconfessional Christian Labor Unions continued to grow, but the Catholic workers' associations (*Arbeitervereine*) declined, in part because of the difficulty of collecting dues during the economic crisis. The associations were under critical attack in the Weimar period from Catholics both on the Left, who saw them as paternalistic and too committed to adapting to the status quo, and on the Right, who saw them as too concerned with workers' economic rights and as unnecessarily dividing congregations that should be concentrating on devotional matters, as recommended by Pope Pius XI and Catholic Action.

Dorit-Maria Krenn's documentation of the fate of the Bavarian Christian workers' movement is a continuation of the work of Hans Dieter Denk, whose book *Die christliche Arbeiterbewegung in Bayern bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg* (1980) covered the story up to the war

years. Four-fifths of her work is devoted to the Catholic associations. Although these were highly organized and centrally directed from the *Leohaus* in Munich, they were clearly in decline. The leadership experimented with various schemes to revive flagging interest, including special educational courses and a shortlived workers' furniture-making venture, but it was the launching of a film-making enterprise which led the *Leohaus* into bankruptcy and disgrace in 1933. The financial director, driven by the increased costs of producing talking pictures and by his own ambitions, diverted funds from other association sources, including the savings fund of the Catholic Housemaids' Association, to finance film production. Despite efforts to cover up and recoup the losses, the scandal broke, two directors went to prison, and the new National Socialist regime exploited the incident unmercifully. Disillusionment and Nazi harassment led to a sharp drop in enrollment, although the associations, protected by special clauses in the 1933 Concordat, continued in a kind of half-life until 1939. Krenn is sympathetic to her subject and downplays the 1933 debacle, but her account bears out the conclusion that the associations had outlived their usefulness.

The book's last two chapters discuss the Protestant workers' associations—which were smaller, much less socially active, and largely middle class in membership—and the interconfessional unions. The author explains the cursory treatment of these unions by the lack of surviving primary material on their activities in Bavaria. Krenn emphasizes throughout that the Catholic unions and the associations strongly favored the democratic republic and often disagreed with their political affiliate, the Bavarian People's Party (BVP); in 1925, for example, they refused to support Hindenburg for president. Close ties to the conservative and indeed reactionary BVP, however, made the workers' movement even less influential politically in Bavaria than it was on the national stage.

The book contains much useful and interesting material, but like most unrevised doctoral dissertations, it could have done with extensive editing and cutting.

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ROBERT CITINO. *Germany and the Union of South Africa in the Nazi Period*. (Contributions to the Study of World History, number 27.) New York: Greenwood. 1991. Pp. x, 245. \$45.00.

From the beginning, Robert Citino tells the reader that he is not trying to fool anyone about the scope of this book. "It deals," he says, "with a fairly circumscribed period, 1933–1939, and a narrow topic: German foreign policy toward the Union of South Africa" (p. ix). Based largely on the consular and ambassadorial records of German officials in South

Africa, as well as other Foreign Office papers relating to South Africa, he presents the German version of events in South Africa during these years, as seen largely through the eyes of Emil Wiehl, German consul general for South Africa, and the German ambassador to Pretoria, Leitner. (Inexplicably, no first name is given.) Keeping close to this narrow research path (but after all, we were warned), Citino succeeds in providing a glimpse at how the Nazi official mind worked as regards policy toward South Africa.

Citino's central thesis can be easily stated. German diplomacy failed to keep South Africa out of the war. Why could the Nazis not make more out of the anti-British discontent found in their kindred brothers in racism, the Afrikaners? Their diplomacy failed because they placed too much reliance on Oswald Pirow, a great Nazi supporter in J. B. M. Hertzog's prewar cabinet, and who during the war headed a profascist splinter group, the New Order. Involvement with political cranks such as Stuart Helps, who had plans for a federation of separate Afrikaans and English-speaking provinces, also did not help the situation. In order to get German financial backing for his scheme, Helps promised to return Southwest Africa to Germany. Rather than quietly supporting someone like Daniel Malan of the National Party, the Germans wasted their time trying to convert Germans in South Africa, something which succeeded only in whipping up anti-German feelings among English-speaking South Africans, South African Jews, and even a sizable minority of Afrikaners. Citino quite correctly stresses the obsession with the *Judenproblem* in South Africa. Wiehl thought it would tear South African society apart, and Nazi anti-Semitism did play well to the Afrikaner audience. Jan Smuts also effectively played the Southwest Africa card as Europe drifted toward war, stressing that the danger from Germany was real, direct, and immediate, calling the former German colony a "second Sudetenland" (p. 6).

Citino knows his diplomatic documents and tells that story well, if somewhat mechanically, but his failure to consult South African and Afrikaans documents makes him minimize the impact of Nazism on South Africa, seeing only the failure of Nazi diplomacy to keep South Africa out of the war. That German National Socialism attracted Afrikaners in the 1930s should hardly be surprising. But Patrick J. Furlong in *Between Crown and Swastika: The Impact of the Radical Right on the Afrikaner Nationalist Movement in the Fascist Era* (1991) argued that the ideology of the radical Right actually led to a type of Afrikaner authoritarian nationalism that meant to assert its dominance through the system of apartheid. Some members of the National Party did enter into alliance with the virulently anti-Semitic "shirt" movements such as Lewis Weichardt's Greyshirts. Malan and other Nationalists certainly bought their anti-Semitism. And Nazi notions about the *Volk* and *Blut* and

Boden (blood and soil) reenforced similar notions in Afrikaner political mythology. While it is true that the Germans resented the lack of enthusiasm shown by Malan for a German-run South Africa, as opposed to his Afrikaner first sentiment, they never ceased trying to find a potential *Führer*. During the war itself, J. F. J. van Rensburg, head of the militantly pro-axis *Stormjaers* of the nationalistic *Volkisch Ossewabrandwag* (Ox-Wagon Guard), looked like their man.

Although the Germans might have failed diplomatically, the ideology of fascism as reflected in the extreme right wing internally in South Africa had a profound effect on the National Party that would finally assume power in 1948 and institute the system of apartheid. For a complete understanding of the relationship between Nazism and the Union of South Africa, Citino's narrow diplomatic study needs to be supplemented by Furlong's more comprehensive work.

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KLAUS-MICHAEL MALLMANN and GERHARD PAUL. *Herrschaft und Alltag: Ein Industrieviertel im Dritten Reich*. Assisted by HANS-HENNING KRÄMER. (Widerstand und Verweigerung im Saarland 1935–1945, number 2.) Bonn: J. H. W. Dietz. 1991. Pp. 504. DM 58.

The history of everyday life (*Alltagsgeschichte*) in the Third Reich has been an exciting area of recent scholarly and popular research on the German past. Films, exhibitions, school and neighborhood projects, academic history—the offerings have been diverse and controversial. Klaus-Michael Mallmann and Gerhard Paul's book, the second in a series on the Saarland from 1935 to 1945, is undoubtedly one of the best academic examples of such memory-work.

A heavily Catholic and industrial region on the left bank of the Rhine, the Saarland was unusual not only for confessional, socioeconomic, and geopolitical reasons but also for the fact that it became part of the National Socialist dictatorship on March 1, 1935, more than two years after Hitler came to power, and shortly after a League of Nations plebiscite returned the territory to Germany. A mass Nazi movement thus emerged late in the Saarland, and when it did it was shaped by the *Gauleiter* Josef Bürckel, who developed a more "socialist" National Socialism: worker oriented, anti-elite, and populist.

To their credit, the authors do not allow such specificities to lead to a sterile discussion of representativeness. Although they recognize the need for comparative regional research, they use the Saarland to make a more ambitious statement about the relationship between Nazi rule, opposition, and noncompliance. They begin with the Göttingen historian Alf Lüdtke's concept of how various groups "appropriated" Nazi dominance for their own use, arguing that

categories such as domination and resistance, or coercion and consensus, no longer suffice to write the history of daily life in the Nazi regime. Instead, they offer the concept of a "terrain of opposition," a historically and spatially specific set of structural and conjunctural relationships in which acts of "dissent" and "refusal to comply"—rather than direct, organized "resistance"—took place in an overall context of political loyalty (pp. 13–14).

The book examines the social and confessional makeup of the region, the "silent coercion" (pp. 417–18) of socioeconomic improvement, regional party organization, the use of propaganda and social policy to build a "staged folk community" (*inszenierte Volksgemeinschaft*), regional institutions of terror and repression, and the "loyal unwillingness" of the population. It includes substantial historiographical discussion, drawing on but never uncritically accepting recent research on everyday life, dissent, the Gestapo, and political repression in the National Socialist dictatorship. It adds to our knowledge of regional histories of this period by showing that Nazism's "folk community" built a social consensus that was incomplete but also more substantial than something relying only on propaganda. They give us a detailed picture of the massive popular complicity underlying the mythology of an all-powerful Gestapo and show that "dissent" had little impact on a regime whose major obstacle to complete control "was National Socialism itself" (p. 416). In these and many other cases, the authors attack arguments of an omnipresent Nazi state or of widespread popular opposition to the regime.

One would have liked to see more discussion of gender issues, particularly in light of widespread contemporary metaphors of the Saarland's return to the "nurturing mother" of Nazi Germany. And although Nazi persecution of the Saarland's Jews has been studied before, one feels uneasy about the almost complete absence of the subject in this volume. Nonetheless, the book is valuable because of its willingness to attack many historiographical monuments, implicitly creating a narrative in which most Saarländer have no single or uniform identity—villain, hero, victim, perpetrator, innocent bystander—but instead have a multiplicity of identities that interact on the terrain of opposition in ways that most academic studies as well as the more celebrative versions of *Alltagsgeschichte* have failed to consider.

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JAMES HANKINS. *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*. In two volumes. (Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition, number 17.) New York: E. J. Brill. 1990. Pp. xxxi, 366; x, 847. \$171.43.

Plato influenced much medieval and Renaissance theology, philosophy, and science. So pervasive, indeed, was his influence that nineteenth and twentieth-century scholars have found difficulty in delineating it accurately. Only during the past fifty or so years have Paul Oskar Kristeller, Raymond Klibansky, Eugenio Garin, and others established firm foundations for the study of Plato's place in medieval and Renaissance thought.

James Hankins's study lies in this tradition of scholarship. It examines how during the fifteenth century Italians and Greeks working in Italy rediscovered, interpreted, and presented the complete Platonic corpus. Hankins charts this in two related ways. First, he examines the techniques that Renaissance authors developed for translating Plato into Latin. In this respect Renaissance scholars went far beyond their medieval predecessors, who, with few and unimportant exceptions, made do with the *Timaëus* in Calcidius's Latin translation. Some Renaissance translations, notably Marsilio Ficino's, proved extraordinarily successful and were still published and read in the seventeenth century and later. Like all translators, however, Renaissance authors inevitably interpreted their original according to their own purposes and preconceptions. Their interpretation, together with those implied or elaborated in Renaissance works concerning Plato, is the second and dominant theme of Hankins's book.

The central problem for Renaissance scholars was to determine to what extent Plato's thought was compatible with Christian doctrine. When confronted with ideas ill-becoming a great, if not the greatest, philosopher of antiquity, Leonardo Bruni, Pier and Paolo Decembrio, and other humanists of the first half of the fifteenth century often interpreted them in the most favorable sense possible or suppressed them altogether. This sterilized Plato did not last long. Plato's doctrines of the transmigration of souls, communism, denigration of rhetoric, and condonation of Socrates's homosexuality, to mention only a few of Plato's most obvious indiscretions, invited criticism. By the mid-fifteenth century the debate had become more sharply focused and fiercely argued. It centered on the intellectually and institutionally highly charged problem of whether Plato's thought was a better "philosophical handmaid of Christian philosophy" (p. 217) than Aristotle and Aristotelianism. The Greek émigré George of Trebizond, an original but unsound mind, came to see Plato as the archenemy of Christianity. Others, like George's fellow émigré Bessarion, an ecclesiastical diplomat both by profession and in his reading of Plato, were more accommodating. Those who read Plato carefully would understand that his ideas harmonized with Christianity. Here Bessarion's familiarity with late antique and Byzantine Neoplatonists proved decisive, both for his immediate purposes and for later diffusion of Proclus, Plotinus, and other Neoplatonists. More insidious, and probably heretical, were philoso-

phers like the Byzantine Platonist Plethon and the Medici protégé Marsilio Ficino, both of whom tended to adapt Christian doctrine to Platonic or Neoplatonic thought rather than vice versa. To this end they also fully developed, by and large independently according to Hankins, the idea of an "ancient theology" shared by thinkers, both within and without the Greco-Roman and Judeo-Christian traditions, to show that Plato's ideas were indispensable for a Christian philosophy.

In its treatment of these and subsidiary themes Hankins's book has achieved its ambitions admirably. It is founded on the author's extensive knowledge of the Platonic tradition and Renaissance humanism. Of this the second of the two volumes is ample testimony. It will become in its own right a standard reference work. It includes texts (most of them previously unpublished); appendices covering important points of scholarly detail; catalogues of manuscripts, printed editions, translators, and translations; and other pertinent matter. Even when Hankins's work draws on previous studies—notably those of Ludwig Mohler on Bessarion, John Monfasani on Trapezuntius, and Kristeller and Michael Allen on Ficino—its broad sweep places familiar material in an original setting. Moreover, although some may find the introduction redundant, it carries its high enterprise with grace. It is perceptive in the manner in which it fuses Renaissance interpretations of Plato with broader intellectual, ecclesiastical, and political concerns of the period, vivid in its characterization of the leading figures in the plot. These are qualities that will recommend this work not only to specialists of the Platonic tradition but also to those concerned with other aspects of the Renaissance.

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JOHN K. BRACKETT. *Criminal Justice and Crime in Late Renaissance Florence, 1537–1609*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. ix, 160. \$39.95.

This book's scope is not as broad as its title might indicate. John K. Brackett has written a descriptive study of one criminal magistracy, the *Otto di Guardia e Balìa* (Eight on Public Safety). On the basis of painstaking archival research, Brackett recounts the *Otto*'s organization, personnel, finances, procedures, and administration of the Florentine prison (the *Stinche*), and gives an overview of the categories of crimes handled by that body—all with an eye to the *Otto*'s role in the "program of centralization in the Tuscan state" (p. 140).

Established in 1378, the *Otto* during the Florentine republic acted primarily to defend the patrician regimes. The Medici dukes absorbed it into their administration, carefully selecting members of the *Otto* from among loyal patricians. The dukes kept watch over the *Otto* through a secretary, and in 1547 the

ducal *auditore fiscale*, who had the power to review all decisions by the *Otto* and other magistracies, took over that body's finances. In 1558 the *Otto* lost the power to review criminal cases from the Tuscan dominion; after all eight magistrates were replaced as a result of reports that their laxity in setting penalties cost the ducal treasury. Indeed, Brackett finds that criminal justice did not render profits to the regime.

Brackett devotes some of his most interesting passages to the *Otto*'s procedures, noting that the method of torture most often employed to coax confessions, the *strappato*, was something "many Tuscans evidently did not find particularly taxing" (p. 64). Lacking witness testimony and confession from the accused, the *Otto* frequently acquitted defendants. Those found guilty could resort to written *suppliche* to the duke to have their penalties mitigated and the dukes encouraged this practice to forestall lengthy judicial appeals. In effect, says Brackett, the *suppliche* "amounted to a kind of negotiation between the violator and the grand dukes" (p. 74) leading to a compromise settlement.

In his final chapter Brackett surveys the crimes treated by the *Otto*, beginning with a brief discussion of poverty and the ideology of personal and familial honor as the engines driving criminal activity. Those interested in the social history of this period will surely find fascinating the details Brackett brings forth in relation to crimes such as rape, insult, theft, fraud, forgery, and official corruption.

As for the role of the *Otto* in Medicean government, Brackett determines that the latitude available to local courts and the evident flexibility of the *Otto* indicate that criminal justice "was actually less centralized than it had been during the republic," with the *Otto* figuring "as an instrument to create loyalty to the state among local elites" (p. 95). He concludes that the term "absolutism" has to be abandoned in discussing an early modern state like Tuscany. This is a facile conclusion, reflective of Brackett's failure to look behind his documents in a conceptually sophisticated fashion. The thin bibliography displays a limited reading. This is a solid first book, but it could have stood further gestation and as a result been so much more important. Studies of criminal law and justice, in Italy and elsewhere, ranging from the well-known works of Michel Foucault to more erudite studies, would have given a different, wider, and more current cast to this work. Tuscan *suppliche* could have provided further perspective on the issues raised in Natalie Zemon Davis's *Fiction in the Archives* (1987). Studies of the Venetian Ten could have been used to give a comparative perspective. But Brackett does not come to grips either with the law or the Florentine statutes. No attempt is mounted to compare the *Otto* to any of the other twenty-seven agencies (in 1560) issuing criminal condemnations in ducal Tuscany. He cannot explain how administrative adjustments involving the *Otto* were not just part of supposed Medicean centralization but were also responses to

widespread complaints by jurists and others about the administration of justice. These missing dimensions remain salient and available for future investigation by him and others.

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VINCENZO G. PACIFICI. *Angelo Annaratone (1844–1922): La condizione dei Prefetti nell'Italia liberale*. (Risorgimento, Idee e Realtà, eleventh series.) Rome: Ateneo for the Istituto per la storia del Risorgimento Italiano. 1990. Pp. 247.

Modern Italy's liberal regime (1860–1922) was a *prefettocrazia*, a corrupt elite of central government politicians dominating the nation through their appointed local officials, the "prefects," who combined the authoritarianism of French bureaucrats with the corruption of American ward heelers. So, at least, charged the enemies of Italian liberalism from right to left, including the well-known historian and radical activist Gaetano Salvemini, who wrote a passionate condemnation of Rome's election rigging in *Il ministro della malavita* (1910). The early scholarship on the liberal prefects by Robert Fried and others was insufficiently skeptical about these polemics. Later scholars such as Ernesto Ragionieri, Pierfrancesco Casula, Angelo Porro, and Alberto Caracciolo dug deeper into the relations of the prefects with the central government. Although disagreements continue about the impact of the liberal prefects on national policy, the prefects' awesome power has diminished somewhat.

Vincenzo G. Pacifici's contribution to this research is an intensive study of one prominent member of the prefectural corps, Angelo Annaratone, who, in a career spanning more than forty years of the liberal regime, managed to rise through the ranks of the "subprefects" to become the prefect of Rome and a senator before his forced retirement in 1914. Pacifici explores this career to answer questions posed by Casula and Porro about the actual role of the prefect. Could Annaratone maintain any degree of independence from the politicians who appointed him? Did he do his sworn duty to "uphold the rights and the impartiality of the law" (p. 12)?

Pacifici's answer is a cautious "sometimes," but only if such "impartiality" would not jeopardize Annaratone's relentless, and notably successful, drive to the top of his profession. Annaratone was a "champion of the old world" (p. 226) of nineteenth-century Italian liberal elitism. As a subprefect and, later, a prefect, he reported to the minister of the Interior who was also, almost invariably, the prime minister. Annaratone was expected to represent the policies of the current administration and to use his office to support government candidates at election time. He did not disappoint. Sometimes his actions contradicted central government directives, but often this occurred

because of a conflict between his *padroni*. "In obvious and crucial cases, Angelo Annaratone thought of himself, rightly, as the representative of a bloc rather than the guarantor and representative of the state" (p. 232).

Pacifici arrives at these conclusions through an exhaustive study of the available sources that makes few concessions to readers lacking an extensive knowledge of nineteenth-century Italian history. Yet the author seems reluctant to use these massive data to answer the hard questions about the extent of Annaratone's political "involvement." Did Annaratone improperly influence elections for his bosses in Rome, as Salvemini accused him and other prefects of doing? Did he grant other questionable favors to those who had the power to demand them? Pacifici leans toward an affirmative answer but avoids a definitive response to this crucial question.

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GIULIANO PANCALDI. *Darwin in Italy: Science across Cultural Frontiers*. Translated by RUEY BRODINE MORELLI. Reprint. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1991. Pp. xv, 222.

Giuliano Pancaldi's newly translated book provides American readers with a fresh look at Darwinian evolution from the perspective of the Italian scientific community. That community was, as Pancaldi notes, at the periphery of European science, populated by men who might well be considered minor figures in comparison to the leaders of British, French, or German science. Yet Pancaldi argues persuasively that Italian naturalists influenced their more illustrious colleagues abroad and formulated some of the great scientific issues of the day in unique and revealing ways.

Despite its title, the book is really a series of distinct essays on the Italian role in the species debate of the nineteenth century. It opens not with the arrival of Darwinism in Italy, but rather earlier, with an analysis of the extinction problem as reflected in the work of the conchologist Giambattista Brocchi. His *Conchiologia* (1814) maintained that whole species, like individuals, had an internal organic clock. They aged and then died; there was no need to invoke external nonorganic forces. Via Charles Lyell, these ideas influenced the young Darwin, who was pondering the "birth" of species and seeking "an antidote to the vague environmentalism of the previous century and to the concept of perfect adaptation typical of natural theology" (p. 38).

However tenuous the connection between Brocchi and Darwin, Pancaldi is surely right to remind us that the species debate was diffuse and eclectic, nowhere more so than in Italy. Brocchi himself remained a fixist, as did many Italian naturalists, but rarely was

fixity defined in sharp contrast to transformism. Moreover, as Pancaldi points out, one could attack Georges Cuvier's classifications, as did Carlo Luciano Bonaparte (nephew of the emperor) in 1830, without committing oneself to transformism. Cuvier's Italian reputation did decline while Lamarck's rose, but the implications of such a change were unclear. Pancaldi speculates that the absence of powerful centralized institutions inhibited a more focused debate. A comparison to the German situation would have been illuminating here.

Against this background, it is not surprising that the Italian translation of *The Origin of Species* in 1864 "settled untraumatically into the tradition of previous natural history studies" (p. 84). Darwin's Italian translator was Giovanni Canestrini, an ichthyologist who headed the Museum of Natural History at the University of Modena. The book was published by a small press and caused little stir. Reviewers simply missed its radical message, so most Italian scientists had only an imprecise and derivative understanding. Significantly, Canestrini himself remained above all a systematist.

Nor was it necessary to abandon a finalist position to accept Darwinism. Pancaldi devotes a whole chapter to the botanist Federico Delpino, who engaged Darwin in a spirited exchange about both pangenesis and orchid fertilization by insects. As usual, Darwin refused to be drawn into metaphysical speculations, tacitly permitting a follower to reconcile teleology and natural selection, a strategy that would both broaden and soften his impact in Italy.

Pancaldi is at his best in discussing issues within biology. The final section of his book, "Darwinism," is less satisfying. In a chapter on Cesare Lombroso, he argues that the criminologist's concept of atavism is best understood not as a form of Social Darwinism, but rather as a mixture of phrenology, recapitulation theory, teratology, and Vico's philosophy of history. The point is well taken, but it leaves the reader wondering whether there were any real Italian Social Darwinists. The final chapter, which was appended to the American edition, discusses the popular impact of Darwinism, but it is unsubstantial in comparison to the early chapters. No real conclusion brings together the book's acute, but scattered, observations.

Nonetheless, with its impressive research and careful attention to institutional structure and patterns of influence, the book makes an important contribution to our understanding of nineteenth-century science.

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MICHAEL L. BLIM. *Made in Italy: Small-Scale Industrialization and Its Consequences*. New York: Praeger. 1990. Pp. xii, 288. \$42.95.

Drawing on economic and sociological theory, historical primary sources, and ethnographic method,

Michael L. Blim has written a truly interdisciplinary study of the shoe industry in the Italian Marche (in the central northeastern region), its workers, and employers. His target is "neo-liberal development theory" (p. 3) as exemplified by Michael Piore and Charles Sabel's *The Second Industrial Divide* (1984). Piore and Sabel praised Italian small-scale industries (inserted into the social fabric of local practices and relatively independent of government involvement) that produced specialties destined for export, holding them up as a model for other late-developing European regions. Blim's conclusion rejects this rosy view and insists that the Marche shoe industry is "endemically embedded in what earlier Marxist critics considered 'old-fashioned labor exploitation'" (p. 11).

Blim began a community study of San Lorenzo Marche in 1981–83, followed by two briefer studies in 1984 and 1987. His initial method for examining the effects of the new industrialization on local class structure and social relations was ethnographic; he interviewed workers about their jobs and social connections, employers about how they began in business and pursued profits, and families about their strategies in a changing economic environment, and he observed all these groups as a participant in their activities. He realized that, in order to capture changing class structure and relations, he needed to establish the "before" picture, so he turned to historical sources: the census schedules of 1881, 1901, and 1921, and those for 1951, 1961, 1971, and 1981; worksheets of industrial censuses (1937–40 and 1951); and local government documents, including minutes of the town council.

The theoretical framework in which these sources were examined include Immanuel Wallerstein's capitalist world-system theory; labor control systems as transitions to large-scale capitalist industrialism or as transient strategies; and class analysis combined with attention to social status variables. Blim sees the latter as more important in analyzing social relations at any moment in time, and the former for long-term developments.

Blim concludes that, although there was a period of shoemaking protoindustrialization early in the twentieth century (in which successful entrepreneurs sought status by buying land), there was a break in the 1920s and 1930s as that economy collapsed. The next period saw a resurgence of agriculture, in particular the *mezzadria* (sharecropping) that had long been typical of the region. In the post–World War II period, former landowning peasants seized opportunities to establish small shoemaking businesses, using both former artisanal shoemakers and former sharecroppers as a work force. By sweating their workers and utilizing their own families as supplementary workers, these petty businessmen built a thriving export industry with little capital or technological innovation. Historians will be delighted with Blim's long view, which historicizes the argument for the transience and fragility of the local shoe industry. But

I was sometimes dismayed by his apparently uncritical confidence in his informants and the frequent thinness of his documentary evidence. This book is highly recommended for those interested in industrialization, past and present.

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New School for Social Research

CINZIA ROGNONI VERCELLI. *Mario Alberto Rollier: Un valdese federalista*. Foreword by GIORGIO SPINI. (Edizione Universitarie, number 83.) Milan: Jaca. 1991. Pp. xv, 206. L. 24,000.

This carefully researched political biography by Cinzia Rognoni Vercelli makes an important contribution to the literature on the origins of the European federalist movement in Italy. It sheds much light on one of its lesser-known leaders, Mario Alberto Rollier (1909–80), a Protestant and staunch antifascist from the Waldensian "Valli valdesi" of western Piedmont who became a professor of chemistry in various northern Italian universities.

The most prominent founders of Italy's European federalist movement were Altiero Spinelli, Ernesto Rossi, and Eugenio Colorni—all three of whom were antifascist political prisoners on the island of Ventotene. Their federalist *Manifesto di Ventotene* of 1941 was circulated clandestinely in Italy. After the coup d'état of 1943, the liberated prisoners quickly made their way to Milan. There, on August 27, 1943, they met in the home of Mario Alberto Rollier, who had become a fervent convert to the cause.

On that occasion they founded the Movimento Federalista Europeo (MFE) and approved a six-point declaration that called, first of all, for armed resistance against the Nazi-fascists, to be followed at the moment of liberation by establishment of a European political federation with the help of like-minded democratic groups in other countries. They launched an underground newspaper in Milan, *L'unità europea*, eight issues of which were to appear between 1943 and 1945. Rollier, who remained in Milan, edited several of these issues and had them printed secretly in Torre Pellice in his native valley. He also wrote and published clandestinely in 1944 a pamphlet, *Stati Uniti d'Europa*, which he signed under the pseudonym "Edgardo Monroe." It reflected the strong influence of American and Swiss federalism on him.

Meanwhile, Rossi, Spinelli, and Spinelli's wife, Ursula Hirschman, decided to go to neutral Switzerland, hoping to establish contact with sympathetic federalists in other countries. In Geneva, the secretary-general of the World Council of Churches, Rev. Dr. Willem Visser't Hooft, gave them much help. Spinelli succeeded in organizing an international conference of federalists in liberated Paris in March 1945. He spent the rest of his life in the cause, and during the 1970s became a commissioner in the European Community in Brussels. His memoirs, *Come ho tentato di*

diventare saggio (1984–87), are a fascinating historical document.

Vercelli's book supplements Spinelli's account and provides much insight not only about Rollier but also on the evolution of many younger Waldenses toward ecumenism under the theological influence of Karl Barth and Giuseppe Gangale in the 1920s and 1930s. Her book is based on many interviews with key individuals and a careful examination of available printed works. Scores of footnotes provide much information about other participants in the federalist movement. Giorgio Spini, who has written widely on Italian Protestantism and who was personally acquainted with Rollier, has contributed an informative preface.

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GALE STOKES. *Politics as Development: The Emergence of Political Parties in Nineteenth-Century Serbia*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1990. Pp. xiv, 400. \$49.50.

This important volume examines the interplay of politics and personalities during the reign of Prince (later King) Milan Obrenović (1868–89), principally from 1868, the year of his accession to the throne, to 1883, the year of the famed Timok insurrection, the last peasant uprising against central government rule. For Gale Stokes, this period, "besides being the era when Serbian independence achieved *de jure* recognition by the Great Powers, was also an era when the implications of the idea of popular sovereignty were thrashed out in Serbian politics, a period of struggle for control of the discourse of nation" (p. 3).

At the core of the book is the argument that "in nineteenth-century Serbia the fundamental sphere of modernizing development was not social or economic, but political" (p. 306). The author contends that Serbia offers an exception to "our tendency to understand political structures as reflections of social and economic ones"—that "this almost completely peasant nation, without the complex socioeconomic structure that we associate with functioning democracies . . . built a relatively sophisticated political structure based on the best models of the nineteenth-century liberal state" (p. 2).

While recounting Serbia's rough-and-tumble political life under Milan, Stokes focuses on the evolution from earlier protean "groupings, tendencies, and shifting alliances" (p. xi), of the Progressive, National Liberal, and National Radical parties that came to dominate Serbian political life in the second half of the nineteenth century. The first two formed governments at Milan's behest during the period, while the third grew rapidly in strength. Stokes assays the careers and contributions of a host of actors on Serbia's political stage, including such Young Conservatives-turned-Progressives as Jovan Marinović,

Danilo Stefanović, Milutin Garašanin [son of Ilija], and Milan Piroćanac; Liberals Jovan Ristić, Vladimir Jovanović, Ljubomir Kaljević, and Čedomil Mijatović; and Radicals like Nikola Pašić, Pera Todorović, and Ranko Tajšić. Among the many colorful personalities in Stokes's lengthy cast of characters, several stand out, including Aćim Čumić, "the old bugbear of Serbian politics" (p. 228); Adam Bogosavljević, "homegrown populist" (p. 66) and "peasant philosopher" (p. 68); Mita Cenić, "angry young man and unreconstructed revolutionary socialist" (p. 223); the Ninković sisters, Milica and Anka, participants in an avant-garde Radical commune in Kragujevac; and, inevitably, Svetozar Marković, "the father of Serb radicalism" (p. 42).

Stokes painstakingly explains the interaction of these individuals and the political groupings they represented with each other; with their temperamental, insecure, and extravagant prince; with Serbia's emerging mercantile class; and, last but not least, with the peasants, who made up the vast majority of the population. Discussed in varying degrees of detail are questions of peace and war (particularly with the Ottoman empire and Bulgaria); territorial expansion (including the issue of "Velika Srbija" or Greater Serbia); formal recognition of Serbian independence by the great powers; Milan's elevation to the status of king; foreign relations with Austria, Russia, and the Ottoman empire (the three powers especially concerned with Serbian affairs); chronic wrangling over press laws; agrarian reform bills (like the Law on Six Days Plowing); constitutional theory, parliamentary maneuvering, and electoral chicanery; trade and loan policies and the related issue of railroad construction (including the Bontoux scandal of 1882); tax policy (such as the notorious *patentarina*); local and regional administration; various uprisings (including the Red Banner Affair of 1876, the Topola Mutiny of 1877, and the Timok revolt); alleged Karadjordjevist conspiracies; Serbia's relations with Montenegro; and socialism à la Marx and Lassalle.

With an eye to subsequent political developments, Stokes gives special consideration to the development of Serbia's Radical Party. "Under the intellectual leadership of Pera Todorović and the practical leadership of Nikola Pašić," he writes, "the Radicals pushed the level of nationalist rhetoric to a new level, created a strong party organization throughout the country, and mobilized peasant support in an unprecedented measure" (p. 4). For Stokes, "many peasants learned their sense of what it meant to be a Serb from the Radicals. This association of nationalism and radicalism in the minds of many peasants gave the Radical Party a primacy in Serbian politics it never relinquished" (p. 257).

Stokes's study is based on an impressive array of source materials from depositories in several countries. Serbian-language primary sources include various collections of Serbian state papers; newspapers and journals sponsored by or affiliated with the

various political groups (including the Young Conservatives' *Videlo*, the Liberals' *Istok*, and the Radicals' *Samouprava* and *Rad*); and the diaries and memoirs of some of Serbia's most important political personages. Stokes occasionally quotes at length from his sources, a stratagem that allows the reader to gain a greater feel for the tenor of the time and temperament of the individual writers. Especially noteworthy and memorable are quotes from the Radical leaders Pašić and Todorović. In the course of his study, Stokes frequently compares his findings with those of the eminent Serbian historian Slobodan Jovanović, several of whose writings are cited in a very useful seventeen-page bibliography. Sixty-four pages of exceptionally rich endnotes provide textual elaboration of important (as well as incidental) issues, interesting vignettes, and the means with which to clarify occasional questions of chronology.

A kind of sequel to David MacKenzie's *Ilija Garašanin: Balkan Bismarck* (1985) and Stokes's own earlier study, *Legitimacy through Liberalism: Vladimir Jovanović and the Transformation of Serbian Politics* (1975), this book is required reading for anyone hoping to grasp the complexities of Serbian political life in the second half of the nineteenth century.

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JOHN P. LEDONNE. *Absolutism and Ruling Class: The Formation of the Russian Political Order 1700–1825*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1991. Pp. xvii, 376. \$49.95.

I found this book by turns stimulating and exasperating, intriguing and enervating, incisive and sloppy. John P. LeDonne's monograph appears to be a massive expansion and reiteration of his first book, *Ruling Russia* (1984). It shares the strengths and the weaknesses of the earlier volume: detailed research in published sources (above all in the Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire), wide reading in the scholarly literature in several languages, clear presentation of innumerable administrative reshufflings, and an attempt to relate family groupings to politics and policy making. These merits are offset by an uneasy mix of sweeping theoretical contentions, accusatory assertions, historiographical pot shots, relentless repetition, questionable judgments, and poor proofreading. It was not an easy read.

Part of the problem may stem from confusion about the audience addressed. LeDonne seems to be speaking mainly to specialists in early modern Russian history. If so, he certainly assumes their disagreement with his main contentions. But then it is puzzling why he presents much standard information as if it were a great revelation and why he sprinkles his discussion with untranslated Russian terms. Those versed in Russian history will wonder why they need to be told (sometimes more than once) which Russian

term is meant—even common items like “food products” (p. 31)—not to mention the irritatingly inconsistent transliteration and spelling of Russian terms and names (for example, soviet and sovet, Klyuchevskii and Kliuchevskii, and many others), mistranslations such as “historical districts” for *slobody* (p. 34), the use of awkward hybrids such as “*Prikaz* of Indentured Servants” (p. 184) and “Burgermasters' Chamber” (p. 245), and mistaken formulations such as “garrisoned troops” (pp. 134–35). No source is given for the statistical data presented in several tables. The book has no maps and makes a couple of geographical errors in calling Rogervik in Estonia a “warm-water” port (p. 214) and muddling the location of Bashkiria and Poland (p. 262). Many awkward phrases and misspellings, some grammatical errors, and an inept index all add to an unfortunate impression.

Even so, it may still be worthwhile to have such a detailed account of Russian administrative history covering the span of more than a century. And some may be inspired by the treatment of the era through broad topics: society, institutions, police, justice, and finance. The formulations that I found insightful include the 1762 “emancipation” of the Russian nobility from compulsory state service: “not an act of emancipation but one of final demobilization of the ruling class” (p. 53). Yet he later notes the ubiquity of warfare over the next several decades, so how much of a final demobilization was it? The discussion of civil and criminal law and the outline of financial administration are also interesting, as are the comparisons of Petrine reforms with those of Catherine II, Paul I, and Alexander I.

Most troubling, by contrast, are LeDonne's contention that the Russian ruling class in this period was synonymous with the nobility and that it was motivated above all by greed and its own selfish interests in extracting the maximum resources from the “dependent population” and sharing the spoils through cynical political manipulation, sheer force, and bribery. This is the kind of jeremiad that we used to expect from Soviet Marxist scholarship. It is ironic that LeDonne should be mounting what looks like a historiographical rear-guard action just when Russian scholars have begun to disavow such dogmatism. For example, Evgenii Anisimov's treatment of the nobility in the Petrine era in his *Vremia Petrovskikh reform* (1989) saw the nobles as victims of the “totalitarian” Petrine state along with the rest of the population, whereas LeDonne presents them as the sole beneficiaries of state policies largely formulated by and for them. In fact, he provides little direct data about the nobility except for their involvement in administration; this is not a grass-roots kind of study. Although the genealogical connections presented in the text are thought-provoking, charts like those in his previous book might have made them clearer, and he scarcely explicates the significance of the genealogies. Some ties seem too remote to have been meaningful. Any-

way, are genealogical ties necessarily evidence of social solidarity? Don't we all know families or clans whose members cannot agree on anything?

Equally peculiar is LeDonne's failure to probe the concept of absolutism in Russia. He does not consider the meaning of autocracy in this period, although he is sarcastic in noting the discrepancy between simplistic notions of efficient arbitrary central rule and the realities of exerting authority over a vast and thinly populated expanse. The "constitutional crisis" of 1730 and the Decembrist Revolt are dismissed as inconsequential.

I was not persuaded, either, by his insistence that the Russian Orthodox church was completely subordinated to the secular authorities and that Russia's "self-righteous" and "intolerant" culture "also facilitated the transformation of the church hierarchy into obedient tools of the ruling class in estates and villages and into its political commissars in the army" (p. 143)—an example of his penchant for archaic Soviet jargon. His picture of the Russian economy, particularly urban development, strikes me as poorly informed, with no mention of the works of Boris Mironov, George Munro, Janet Hartley, and Ian Blanchard, for example. And while LeDonne does cite Arcadius Kahan repeatedly, I think he misses the thrust of Kahan's focus on market forces and economic growth; LeDonne finds Kahan's calling the state peasants "state serfs" to be "a refreshingly new approach" (p. 320, n. 52). Much as I respect his work, in this instance I think Kahan's terminology mistaken. Despite LeDonne's impressive research in certain respects, I cannot fathom why he thinks the journals *Russkii Arkhiv* and *Russhaia Starina* have been underutilized or understand his failure to cite Hugh Ragsdale's and Natan Eidel'man's studies of Paul or any of the three collections of articles from the international conferences of the Study Group on Eighteenth-Century Russia and, in particular, James Duran's insightful piece on Catherine II and the state debt. Also glaring by their absence are the superb edition of Ivan Pososhkov by L. R. Lewitter and A. P. Vlasto (1987), which includes a long synthesizing essay by Lewitter on the Petrine period, and N. I. Pavlenko's several biographical works. Yet the bibliography includes worthless works by Robert Coughlan and Tamara Talbot Rice, and refers to the late novelist Valentin Pikul' as a historian (p. 352, n. 8). Such oversights undercut the value of LeDonne's industrious research.

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EMANUEL HALICZ. *Russia and Denmark, 1856–1864: A Chapter of Russian Policy towards the Scandinavian Countries*. Translated by ROGER A. CLARKE. (University of Copenhagen Institute of Slavonic and East European Studies, number 14.) Copenhagen: C. A. Reitzel's. 1990. Pp. 614.

Arguing that historians have "underestimated the importance of Scandinavia in Russian policy and strategy" (p. 9), Emanuel Halicz has set out "to portray both Russia's position and the attitude of Russian public opinion to the central problems of Scandinavia, and particularly Denmark," from 1856 to 1864 (pp. 9–10). Inevitably, the bulk of the book is devoted to Russian policy concerning the status and fate of Schleswig and Holstein when the Danish monarchy was faced with new challenges from Holstein and the German Confederation between 1859 and 1864. The treatment of Russian public opinion is rather limited, but the chapter on "Russian Public Opinion and the Danish-German Conflict" is an enlightening reflection of press debates over foreign policy that recognizes their lack of influence on policy making.

Halicz argues that Russia's overriding interest in Denmark at mid-century was to deny control over the approaches to the Baltic to a single state at a time when liberal Scandinavianists were calling for a union of Denmark with Sweden and Norway. Complicating the successful pursuit of this goal was the new vigor of German nationalism in Holstein and parts of Schleswig aroused by the events of 1848. Prior to 1856, Halicz concludes, "Russia was interested in maintenance of the *status quo* in the Baltic, and particularly in maintaining the integrity of Denmark, mainly because of the risk that Denmark, if deprived of the Elbe duchies, might throw in its lot with the Scandinavian Union." For St. Petersburg, however, "after 1856 Russo-German, and above all Russo-Prussian, relations were of much greater importance than maintenance of the integrity of Denmark" (p. 549). In short, Russia was weakened to such an extent by the Crimean War and by its reliance on Prussia to hold the rebellious Poles in check that Russian policy makers found themselves unable to counter Prussian policy vis-à-vis the duchies and compelled to curry Bismarck's favor despite his unwelcome disruption of the balance of power in the north in 1864.

This study is based on prodigious archival research and a thorough review of the literature, but it is overly long and poorly edited. Too much culling and spadework is left undone, too much raw data presented without letting the reader quite know what point Halicz is trying to make (see, for example, pp. 110–21). Not atypical is Halicz's handling of his otherwise laudable point that reading *Le Nord-Journal International*, a Russian-supported newspaper edited and published in Brussels, "is a valuable additional source for a fuller understanding of Russian policy during these years" (p. 475). While this point could have been hammered home effectively with a few well-chosen examples, we are instead subjected to a full chapter (twenty-eight pages) of evidence. Similar lack of discipline is evident in the author's three-page presentation of a memorandum on the Danish-German conflict written by Ivan Petrovich Ozerov in 1863 that was immediately consigned to the archives

and thus had no impact on Russian policy making (pp. 331–33).

Halicz's methodology is sometimes questionable, as when he states without elaboration or qualification that the correspondence of the Prussian minister at St. Petersburg to Russian foreign minister Gorchakov "shows that Bismarck's blackmail made an impression on both the Tsar and Gorchakov" (p. 339). Questionable too is the reliability of the translations, or at least the translations from Danish, since at least three Danish quotations in the text (pp. 378, 429, 430) are incorrectly rendered into English in the footnotes. Nor is confidence inspired by the persistent misspellings in all the languages used in the text and footnotes (for example, "Holly Alliance," p. 395), by the nearly universal use of "œ" (not used in Danish) in place of the common "æ" in Danish words and titles, or by the use of both the German place name "Düppel" (for example, p. 363) and its Danish counterpart "Dybbøl" (for example, p. 36) in the English text. Finally, the absence of an index makes using the book extremely difficult.

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LOUISE McREYNOLDS. *The News under Russia's Old Regime: The Development of a Mass-Circulation Press*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1991. Pp. xii, 313. \$45.00.

Broadly defining the "news under the Old Regime" as the reportage of privately owned Russian language dailies in St. Petersburg and Moscow from the mid-nineteenth century to the Russian Revolution of 1917, Louise McReynolds argues that Russian journalism of this period, like its counterpart in the West, helped to shape a new social order freed from the domination of the traditional autocratic state. Through this assessment, she justifies including Russia's prerevolution commercial press within the larger world of Western journalism.

McReynolds uses the long-term perspective of the scholar to discern the emerging outlines of democratic institutions in ephemeral, throwaway newspapers. Through citations and quantitative analysis, she clarifies the larger design in the collective journalism of newsmen driven by deadlines and the daily need to grab reader attention.

To show the diverse informational impact of the late-regime Russian daily, McReynolds sorts by categories the contents of six major papers in St. Petersburg and two in Moscow. She shows how much space these papers devoted to thirteen categories of coverage, among them national politics, crime, public welfare, accidents, inventions, and entertainment. Her profile of the quantity of these various kinds of content in a given daily in turn points to a steadiness of "purpose" in that newspaper.

Presumably by conscious editorial design, then, each paper attracted a stable audience and conveyed to it both information and values. In arresting detail, McReynolds explains how Russian journalists kept pace with their peers in the West in conveying facts and ideas useful to citizens enmeshed in burgeoning industrialization, urbanization, consumerization, and democratization.

Walter Lippmann is the modern theorist whom McReynolds acknowledges as her source for her arguments about the interconnectedness of the mass-circulation daily and modern political and economic systems. It was he, she points out, who first showed that the widely read newspaper, although published for commercial reasons, played an ideological role in preparing a citizenry for participation in a democratic society.

Jürgen Habermas and the Frankfurt School are cited by McReynolds, however, for what she considers their even more important view that mass-circulation dailies widen and deepen a metaphorical space: the arena of public discourse in modern society. By opening such space, the argument goes, the mass press makes possible the political discussions that lay the groundwork for social change.

As Marxists, this same group held that the mass press inevitably raised "class consciousness" and tended to abandon a positive role as it fell increasingly under the domination of commercial values and special interests. In turn, the readers of the privately owned mass-circulation daily eventually became largely passive consumers. To McReynolds, the Russian "liberal" press had in 1917 shown a measurable loss of principle by unrealistically backing the continuation of war against Germany and Austria long after defeat was certain. A large share of its audience—especially those who were workers, peasants, and soldiers—did not passively accept this optimistic, "middle-class" position and the revolution followed.

With respect to earlier years, the perspectives of both Lippmann and Habermas help to explain the gradual loosening of statist controls over privately owned newspapers in Russia. Publishers, editors, and journalists steadily chipped away at controls in order to enlarge discussion and, thereby, forged an independent public opinion. To use McReynolds term, "authority" was gradually transferred from the tsar to a new politically aware population.

The main focus of McReynolds's book is on eight newspapers, beginning with *Golos* (The Voice), edited by A. A. Kraevsky. Published in St. Petersburg from 1863, this was the first paper to achieve commercial success and to begin to establish a mass readership. But *Golos* appealed to a fairly sober audience and the so-called "boulevard" papers quickly surpassed it in numbers of readers in the second half of the 1860s and in the 1870s. First among these was *Peterburgskii listok* (The Petersburg Newssheet), which emphasized happenings in St. Petersburg, often in sensationalist

fashion. Gruesome detail from court trials typically provided the grist for this journalism.

Newspapers had begun to reflect the complexities of Russian society. *Birzhevye vedomosti* (Stock Market Bulletin), founded in 1880, covered business and economic developments and supported the industrialization program of Count S. Iu. Witte. N. I. Pastukhov, who had learned about popular tastes by running a tavern, founded the widely popular *Moskovskii listok* (Moscow Newssheet) in 1881. *Gazeta kopeika* (The Kopeck Gazette), which cost only one kopeck, covered St. Petersburg street life from 1908 onward and built an enormous readership. The giant of them all was *Russkoe slovo* (The Russian Word) of Moscow, which successfully combined nationalistic themes with world coverage. It came the closest to being a truly national paper, and its 1917 press runs provided one million papers every day.

A summary cannot do justice to the rich texture of McReynolds's study. She surveys several enterprising publishers whose ideas on newspapers were like those of their counterparts in the West. She describes a brilliant pleiad of journalists who were public figures. McReynolds's study ends in November 1917, when the victorious Bolsheviks reversed the course of decades of Russian development and demolished the privately owned, mass-circulation press.

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IU. B. SOLOV'EV. *Samoderzhavie i dvorianstvo v 1907–1914 gg.* [The Autocracy and the Nobility in the Years 1907–1914]. Leningrad: Nauka. 1990. Pp. 267. 3 r. 10 k.

Iu. B. Solov'ev's book continues his study, begun in 1973 with *Samoderzhavie i dvorianstvo v kontse XIX veka* and followed in 1981 with *Samoderzhavie i dvorianstvo v 1902–1907 gg.*, of the relations between the state and the nobility in the reigns of Alexander III and Nicholas II. Like the earlier volumes, the latest is thoroughly grounded in research in primary sources, both unpublished and published. Therein lies the greater part of the book's usefulness for the Western student of the subject, who under the best of circumstances lacks the opportunities for prolonged work in the archives that are available to Russian colleagues.

Over the past two decades Solov'ev's thesis has remained unaltered. In contrast to more doctrinaire Marxist historians like A. M. Davidovich, who saw the autocratic state simply as "the instrument of the dictatorship of a single class, namely the class of reactionary noble landowners" (*Samoderzhavie v epokhu imperializma* [1975], 228), Solov'ev recognizes that neither the autocracy nor the nobility was the passive tool of the other, and even that they frequently had their differences over such important issues as state support for industrialization. Even so, he characterizes both the autocracy and the nobility

equally as "forces of the past" (p. 4), unwilling and unable to break with that past, pursuing parallel courses of ultimately futile opposition to Russia's inevitable progress from feudalism to capitalism.

Solov'ev's foreword takes note of half a dozen pertinent recent Western studies, including those by Robert Edelman, Roberta Manning, Terence Emmons, and myself. Of these, however, the author subsequently cites only Edelman (nineteen times) and Emmons (once), and passes up the opportunity to comment on the rather different approach taken in my *Nobility and Privilege in Late Imperial Russia* (1985). There I argued that the nobility was far from the monolithic, reactionary, and economically helpless entity that it is usually depicted as.

Solov'ev's book focuses largely on the Congress of Representatives of Noble Societies (popularly known as the United Nobility) and its permanent council. He recognizes "the inclination that had appeared among the nobility to adapt to the situation that was taking shape, to find a common language and to conclude an effective alliance with the bourgeois elements that were everywhere consolidating their power and establishing their own methods." But he insists that such tendencies were squelched by the "attachment to the old and the outdated" among the greater part of the nobility (p. 239). All attempts to meet the demands of the developing capitalist order, to put Russia squarely on the road to being transformed "into a country of the mature bourgeois type," were doomed because the old dying order still held the commanding heights and the new bourgeois elements were still too weak; reactionary forces within the nobility and the autocracy prevailed in the short run, only to be swept away by the irresistible course of history (pp. 260–61).

There are unresolved contradictions in Solov'ev's book. On the one hand, he offers evidence for the existence of progressive as well as reactionary forces among the nobility; on the other hand, he consistently refers to the nobility as though it were a monolithic entity. He views the "bourgeoisification" of both the autocracy and the nobility as a necessary accommodation to Russia's economic and social development, yet he views both as inherently incapable of such accommodation. In the end, Solov'ev sticks with the Marxist maxim that both autocracy and nobility were doomed by the inexorable logic of history. There is no room here for the possibility that Russia might have followed a different course in the early twentieth century, given different personalities in leadership positions. Such historical determinism, it is to be hoped, will soon be a thing of the past in Russian historiography. The history of not only the Soviet era but the imperial era as well is in need of the best efforts of talented native scholars such as Solov'ev.

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GEORGIY BAIDUKOV. *Russian Lindbergh: The Life of Valery Chkalov*. Translated by PETER BELOV. Edited by VON HARDESTY. (Smithsonian History of Aviation Series, Classics of Aviation History.) Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution. 1991. Pp. xii, 330. \$19.95.

In the mid-1930s, Stalin consciously set out to identify himself and his regime with the achievements of Soviet aviation. The equation could not have been simpler, nor better adapted to the sensibility of a period that thrilled to the exploits of pilots: primacy in aviation equaled progress in the construction of socialism. Soviet leadership in aviation could most visibly and dramatically be proven by means of record-breaking flights. Thus, Stalin instructed his aviators to fly higher, faster, and farther than their rivals in other countries; those who succeeded were celebrated as heroes by the Soviet press, showered with honors by the Communist Party, and provided with amenities and perquisites beyond the imagination, not to mention the reach, of most Soviet citizens.

Valery Chkalov was one of Stalin's most favored "falcons." Born in 1904 of working-class parents, he entered the Soviet air force as a mechanic. By dint of his superior flying skills and fearlessness in the face of danger, he rose through the ranks to become a test pilot for the Air Force Scientific Research Institute. In 1933, for reasons that remain obscure, Chkalov was discharged from the air force and assigned to the Menzhinsky factory. There he met the designer Nikolai Polikarpov and worked with him on the development of the I-15 and I-16 fighters, later supplied to the Republican forces during the Spanish Civil War. His big breakthrough came in 1937, when Stalin authorized him and two other Soviet aviators to undertake a flight across the Arctic Ocean from Moscow to the Kamchatka peninsula. The following year the same crew, with Chkalov as pilot in command, flew from Moscow across the North Pole to Vancouver, Washington, where they were greeted, lodged, and clothed by an obscure army brigadier general, George C. Marshall, who basked in the Soviet aviators' reflected glory. Named a Hero of the Soviet Union, awarded 60,000 rubles, given a dark blue Packard for his personal use, and selected for election to the Supreme Soviet, Chkalov became so famous that the town in which he had been born was renamed Chkalovsk while he was still alive. He died in 1938 while testing Polikarpov's new fighter, the I-180. Stalin and Molotov were among the principal pallbearers at his funeral.

Georgiy Baidukov was copilot on Chkalov's two most famous flights. The book he has written is not so much a biography as a memoir, first published in the Soviet Union in 1975. Baidukov's narrative of the flight from Moscow to Vancouver is gripping; few aviators have been so successful at evoking the emotions of a long-distance flight. Von Hardesty's informative introduction and notes answer many of the

questions raised by Baidukov's uncritical account of Chkalov's career and put his flights in the larger context of Soviet exploration of the polar region by air. Both he and the Smithsonian Institution Press deserve much credit for making this translation available to the English-reading public. One only wonders who will make the movie.

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JAMES RIORDAN. *Sport, Politics, and Communism*. (International Studies in the History of Sport.) New York: Manchester University Press; distributed by St. Martin's. 1991. Pp. vi, 169. \$59.95.

For more than a decade, James Riordan has led discussions of the Soviet sports scene as a regular at conferences and symposia, and in anthologies of the history and politics of sport. The volume in hand, part of a series on "International Studies in the History of Sport" edited by J. A. Mangan, attempts to characterize and explain the sports world of the crumbling socialist camp.

There can be no doubt of Riordan's political and sporting preferences. The Soviet Union "won socialism" (pp. 14-15) in 1917, as did Cuba in 1959 and Vietnam in 1975-76; Czechoslovakia enjoyed a "semi-democratic transition to socialism" (p. 15) in 1948; and Eastern Europe and Afghanistan "had socialism thrust upon them by the presence of the Soviet Army . . . just as France, Greece and Italy had pro-Western governments thrust upon them in the wake of the Second World War" (p. 15).

Riordan's first love would seem to be mass workers' sport funded by a centralized administration; he extols the "inspiring socialist experiments" of the Soviet system of the 1920s (p. 48). He idealizes workers' sport and welcomes a constructive role for the military in organizing training and competition, while finding faults in the later practice of the Soviet system and faulting Western media for not paying adequate attention to workers' sport. Characterizing the process of change in the late 1980s, he suggests: "The mood of glasnost appears more to favour sport for all than special privileges for the gifted" (p. 157).

Riordan criticizes elite sport, but he praises the Olympic accomplishments of the Soviet system, and he skewers the foibles and abuses of "capitalist" sport. Despite his optimism about workers' sport, he worries that "Soviet and communist sport" might become "a hybrid of the worst of both worlds" (p. 163).

The book abounds in inconsistencies. I found it hard to pin down any distinction between "socialist" and "communist"; Riordan's idea of "nation" is elusive; he disapproves of the relationship between gambling and sport in the West but ignores the role of lotteries in financing Soviet sport. He praises East European sports medicine but ignores the dangers of

inadequate equipment; and he passes rather lightly over revelations about the use of performance-enhancing drugs (p. 122).

Riordan's Olympic history is confusing. Mt. Olympus, for one, has nothing to do with the Olympics (p. 41), neither in ancient times nor in modern. Leni Riefenstahl's film of the Berlin Olympics shows clearly that most participating athletes in the Games did not give the Nazi salute (p. 42). In 1960 the United States refused visas to some officials accompanying the East German delegation to Squaw Valley but gave visas to athletes as agreed (p. 142). He also mistakenly indicates that Avery Brundage was president of the International Olympic Committee before the Helsinki Games of 1952 (p. 141).

As we stand among the ruins of the Soviet Union, and for that matter of Sovietology, books written about the Gorbachev era sometimes seem more out of date than those dealing with the Brezhnev era. Riordan's book *Sport in Soviet Society* (1977) stands as a classic; this work, written in the midst of wrenching change and disintegration in the Soviet order, has interesting detail but only limited lasting value.

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NEAR EAST

MADAWI AL RASHEED. *Politics in an Arabian Oasis: The Rashidi Tribal Dynasty*. (Society and Culture in the Modern Middle East.) New York: I. B. Tauris; distributed by St. Martin's. 1991. Pp. ix, 300. \$70.00.

The alliance between Wahhabi Islam and the princely family of Saud has dominated central Arabia since the middle of the eighteenth century. In its most recent form—Saudi Arabia, the third Saudi state, that began in 1902—it became enormously wealthy from oil and central to Muslims throughout the world as the location of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. Because of the attention given to the successes of the Saudi dynasty, little scholarly work has been directed toward the opponents of the Saudis, with the exception of the Hashimite dynasty of the Hijaz. Critical analysis of Saudi history has also been sparse. Madawi Al Rasheed performs a signal service by addressing both omissions in one book.

From 1836 to 1921, the Rashidi dynasty, based in the town of Ha'il, led the Shammar tribe in the establishment of a state that posed a major challenge to the Saudis. The Rashidis dominated central Arabia as they promoted commerce, created armed forces, used marriage as a means of accruing power, and sponsored a flourishing oral poetry that helped give them legitimacy.

Al Rasheed sketches the physical geography, social structure, and political history of the Shammar in central Arabia. The author pays careful attention to the actions of the Rashidi dynasty, including the

bloody struggles for succession to the emirate, and also provides fascinating information and analysis on the economy, status groups, culture, and religion of the Rashidi state. When external relations with the Saudis, the Ottoman empire, and Egypt are discussed, the Rashidi side is the focus of analysis, but usually without prejudice against others.

This work is informed by its origin as a doctoral dissertation in social anthropology at Cambridge University in 1988. Al Rasheed usefully combines the insights of anthropology with history in talking about the nature of a tribe, the close linkages between nomads and settled groups, and the social power of poetry. The book is filled with informative comparisons with other Middle Eastern societies.

As a member of the Rashidi family, the author, who was born in Saudi Arabia but has not lived there since the age of twelve, had access to family stories and documents but did not do research in Saudi Arabia. The British and French archives were consulted, but only printed Egyptian records were used. According to Al Rasheed, an application to use the Ottoman archives, so important and potentially useful for the topic of the book, was rejected by Turkish authorities.

This incisive and useful book draws together the scattered bits and pieces of the story of the Rashidi dynasty, links it with the larger political context, and provides new insights deriving from a careful mixture of anthropology and history. Only at the end, when we read of the collapse of the Rashidi state and the family's life under the control of the victorious Saudis, does the bitterness of captivity and defeat determine the nature of the historical account.

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JOSEPH B. GLASS and RUTH KARK. *Sephardi Entrepreneurs in Eretz Israel: The Amzalak Family 1816–1918*. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University. 1991. Pp. 202.

Most of the historical studies dealing with the phenomenon of modernization in the Middle East and the transformations associated with it have emphasized the primary catalytic role of external, Westernizing forces. More recently, scholars have begun examining the importance of indigenous, internal forces for change within traditional societies, sometimes even arguing—not very convincingly—for their paramouncy in the modernizing process. Joseph B. Glass and Ruth Kark have written a study that belongs to the latter category, but without the excesses. Their book traces the history of a single family, the Amzalaks, from its establishment in Ottoman Palestine in 1816 to the end of World War I. The Amzalaks, of Moroccan extraction, had come to the Levant from Gibraltar. They therefore enjoyed the benefits of being British subjects under the Capitulations in the late Ottoman empire. They were part of the

Sephardi modernizing elite that acted not only as middlemen between an expanding Europe and a Middle East being drawn ineluctably into the world economic system but also as initiating agents for change and development within their own communities.

Glass and Kark set the Amzalak saga against the backdrop of events in the Ottoman empire during the nineteenth century. The introduction and chapter 1 provide a good general overview of both the Tanzimat period in the eastern Mediterranean and to the historical problematics. The remaining five chapters detail aspects of the Amzalak family's personal lives and public activities through three generations, beginning with the patriarch of the clan, Joseph, who made the first family fortune and was Jerusalem's leading Jewish citizen throughout the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Many visiting European personalities—Jewish and Gentile—were entertained in his spacious home (now the Petra hotel just inside the Jaffa Gate). Amzalak seems to have been a thoroughly traditional man, but one who enjoyed hearing about and discussing new and different ideas, even with missionaries.

The second and third generation of Amzalaks were the real modernizers. Joseph's son Haim, who established himself in the developing coastal town of Jaffa, became a leading merchant and land developer and aided and encouraged the early stages of Jewish agricultural settlement. As British Vice Consul in Jaffa and representative of Lloyds of London, Haim enjoyed tremendous prestige within the Jewish and general community. His son Joseph and his orphaned nephew Ben-Zion, whom he had raised in his own home, continued and expanded his development projects as well as engaging in entrepreneurial activities of their own. Another nephew, Joseph Navon Bey, played a significant role in the founding of the Jerusalem-Jaffa railroad. The family's multifaceted activities in Palestine came to an abrupt end during World War I, when as British subjects they chose exile to Egypt rather than Ottomanization or internment. Several fourth-generation Amzalaks served in the British forces, including the Zion Mule Corps founded by Joseph Trumpeldor and Ze'ev Jabotinsky. At war's end, most members of the family returned to Palestine, while some took up residence in England and the United States.

This book provides a valuable glimpse into the lives of a classic comprador family. It helps to shift the imbalance of attention given to Europeans and the New Yishuv in the development of late Ottoman Palestine. It is generously illustrated with figures, maps, plates, and family trees. It is marred only by a somewhat infelicitous style that at times reads like a student seminar paper, but the intrinsic richness of the contents offers adequate compensation for this.

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DEREK J. PENSLAR. *Zionism and Technocracy: The Engineering of Jewish Settlement in Palestine, 1870–1918*. (The Modern Jewish Experience.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1991. Pp. xiii, 210. \$25.00.

The social history of the Jewish settlement in Palestine (the Yishuv) has received growing attention in recent years. Derek J. Penslar's study, which focuses on what he terms the "engineering" of settlement from 1870 to 1918, adds a new dimension to our understanding of this process. Unfortunately, its very narrow scope makes this a limited contribution to an interesting and important field. Penslar succeeds in establishing the significance of the contribution of technocrats and their expertise to the evolution of the Yishuv. On the whole, however, he fails to explore the economic and political implications of his research, either to broaden our understanding of Palestinian development or to connect it to Zionist and Israeli structural development.

The goal of this work, according to the author, is "to throw light on the settlement engineers' contribution to Zionism, and to place Zionism's technical and administrative element into the broader context of the world in which the Zionist movement took form" (p. 6). More specifically, Penslar seeks to document the ways in which first French Jewish philanthropists and then German-trained experts contributed to the transfer of agricultural technology to Palestine. He thus establishes the link between Zionist activity and the world of European colonization activity (particularly German), both internal and external. While carefully distinguishing the Zionist movement from colonial models, Penslar points out the impact of European technological progress and state power on the thinking of its technical experts. In this regard the book is a useful addition to studies that focus on the utopian and ideological aspects of Zionist development. It points out that technical expertise was very important both in providing "guidance of the great social restructuring that was to accompany mass immigration to Palestine" and in epitomizing "the secular knowledge that many Zionists felt would existentially transform the Jews into a people like the nations of the world" (p. 7).

This study is particularly interesting in its discussion of individual Zionist administrators, such as Otto Warburg and Arthur Ruppin. Penslar's carefully documented analysis traces the emergence of a settlement policy that ultimately contributed to the strengthening of ties between official and Labor Zionism. He does this by following the ways in which German-trained agricultural experts and administrators contributed to the evolution of a public sector that was ultimately linked to the social reformism and nation-building projects associated with Labor Zionists.

Integral to Penslar's discussion of Zionist settlement policy is the consideration of the various ways in which the early settlers sought to pursue their goal of

agricultural development. In the course of this discussion, he addresses the emergence of cooperative and communal forms as well as the technical conflicts attached to this process. In this way, he seeks to explain the growing strength of Labor Zionism while preserving the reality of historical diversity in the settlement enterprise.

By 1918, the Yishuv had gained a measure of political legitimacy and protection unavailable prior to World War I. This study contributes to the growing body of literature that documents the degree to which prewar aspects of the Yishuv's technical, political, and organizational structure helped to shape its development toward statehood. Penslar's conclusion is suggestive of implications that, however, he does not fully develop in this study. He writes that, "in the Zionist case, the technician was not only a weapon in the struggle for national independence but also a symbol of national existential change . . . The technician, alongside the farmer and the warrior, became a Zionist ideal type, the embodiment of the relentlessly pragmatic spirit that Zionists toiled to instill into what would become the Jewish state" (p. 154).

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AFRICA

ROLAND OLIVER. *The African Experience*. (Icon Editions.) Reprint. New York: HarperCollins. 1992. Pp. xii, 284. \$23.00.

Roland Oliver is one of the founders of the academic discipline of African history; over several decades at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) in London, he has built up a network of contributors, by preference British or Commonwealth. His own chosen role has been one of synthesis, by which the findings of his school are periodically made available in single-volume format. The book reviewed here is the latest in this sequence.

From its inception Oliver's school has been deeply committed to a nineteenth-century liberal vision of historical progress, where success is measured by the evolution of large states, hierarchical societies, uniformity of culture, private property, free trade, sentimental nationalism, and religion with written scripture and universal pretensions. The school is militantly empiricist and denies all determination other than individual free will; no African society had any "necessary pattern of social and political organization" (p. 252). Change is normally to be understood in diffusionist terms. People sought to escape from "the sheer boredom of rural Africa" (p. 247) by allowing themselves to be "opened up" (p. 136) by foreigners, but apparently with little success, for in "1990 . . . the majority . . . still followed a pattern of life not very different from that of their precolonial ancestors" (p. 254). While small-scale societies "were left to stagnate" (p. 197), even large precolonial states

had "the fragility of card-houses" (p. 158); their "home industries were feeble and lacked any tradition of excellence" (p. 136) while their politics "were scarcely dynamic" (p. 154) and even the best "failed to develop into cohesive nationhood" (p. 156). Today, military tyrannies are to be preferred because in Africa "democracy . . . could have little real meaning" (p. 237).

Not all African historiography originates at SOAS, nor do all historians uncritically endorse the liberal paradigm. Here Oliver's role is that of censor; for example, the uncredited scholar who laid the evidential basis on which the hypothesis of an independent African invention of ironworking presently rests (p. 65) is scolded for having dug up a "small but obstinate minority of BC dates . . . which, despite re-testing, refuse to go away" (p. 72). Oliver is deaf to debates of the last few decades that have forced historians to acquire a much more sophisticated understanding of productive systems and a vastly refined conceptualization of institutions of exchange. Similarly absent is any appreciation of the significance of changes in gender relations, or even the slightest recognition that small cultures might conceivably have possessed qualities of value, beauty, or even complexity (pp. 88, 93).

One subversive new idea has forced its way uncomfortably into this book: Oliver toys with a Malthusian vision of demography. The pressure of a growing population against scarce resources is variously seen as the cause of the replacement of hunting and gathering by agriculture (pp. 28–29), of the rise of chiefdoms ("miniscule states") at the expense of politically decentralized societies (pp. 105–07), of monarchies such as that of dynastic Egypt (p. 51) or the Zulu (pp. 114, 152), and of recent South African reforms (p. 250). This line of reasoning is antithetical to the paradigm of progress in which bigger, more hierarchical societies are always assumed to be better. A book which teaches that ancient hunters "enjoyed better health, a more balanced diet and more leisure than most agricultural populations do today" (p. 12) should not have to find the "persistence of [small-scale] communities through centuries . . . [to be] one of the unsolved problems of African history" (p. 145). If indeed there "is no need, even for civilized people, to regard the hunting life *de haut en bas*" (p. 12), then one should not be surprised when African people, among others, stubbornly resist each compulsory transformation "up" the liberal paradigm's ladder of civilization.

The treatment of northeastern Africa is primitive and incompetent. Mythical medieval invasions should hardly be blamed for the current Sudanese civil war (p. 232). Much is made of an imaginary "long distance river traffic on the Nubian Nile" (p. 131), while overland routes that did exist are ignored (p. 134). An allegedly "stagnant" eighteenth-century regional economy (p. 154) produced an aggressive new merchant class (p. 136). Kitchener did not invade the

Mahdist state from the Red Sea, and certainly not from Port Sudan, which did not yet exist (p. 182).

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LAMIN SANNEH. *The Jakhanke Muslim Clerics: A Religious and Historical Study of Islam in Senegambia*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America. 1989. Pp. xi, 339. \$36.75.

This new version of Lamin Sanneh's book is a stronger work on Islam in West Africa than the earlier one published in 1979, which challenged scholars with the paradigm of clerical pacifism. An additional decade of research has culminated not in a markedly new interpretation but rather in a more elegant, more mature, and more up-to-date book. A lively and eloquent prose makes the subject of the research fascinating. Sanneh covers the saga of the Jakhanke with conviction and empathy, although he is not a Jakhanke nor perhaps a Muslim (the question of his own religious affiliation is open [p. 217]).

The notion of an African version of Islam distinct from and "less pure and sophisticated" than its counterpart in the Middle East has been a common assumption in Islamic scholarship. Although not primarily engaged in this debate, Sanneh shows that qualitative differences in religious practice can be attributed to educational background rather than race or ethnicity. His study of the Jakhanke (who, like the Serakhule, represent a subgroup of the large Manding family, contrary to his assertion [p. 16]) effectively reinforces this argument.

Because of their long and active commitment to learning and the life of the mind, the Jakhanke teachers are unique in West Africa and would compare favorably with other 'ulamā in Islam. They constitute a small community known for both its peripatetic and sedentary traditions. Its members, who served as teachers in many precolonial states, have contributed to the growth of Sunni Islam in the Senegambia and Upper Guinea from the thirteenth century to the present. To freely practice their scholarly activities, they relied in part on slave labor. Given this relative freedom, they could carry Islam back and forth from village to town. In highlighting this process, Sanneh challenges the validity of yet another assumption long held in the study of Islamization in Africa, that is, the dichotomy between rural and urban Islam. The strength of this implicit argument adds to the quality of his study.

The Jakhanke diffusion began with the travels of their revered founding father, al-Hājj Sālim Suware, in about 1200 (p. 17). They moved from Dia on the Niger in present-day Mali to Touba in Guinea and elsewhere in Senegambia. The Jabis, the Kabbas, the Sillas, and other clans played an important role in this tradition of migration and education from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. Sanneh has over-

looked, however, the contribution of the Sisses, the Sakhos, and the Jannehs. From about 1750 to 1928, the Jakhanke experienced a renaissance under the leadership of Karamokho-ba (this spelling is more appropriate than the one adopted by Sanneh, "Karamokho Ba," which wrongly denotes a Fulah origin) and Karamokho Sankung. The French conquest put an end to Jakhanke independence. By 1955, their leaders had lost all their autonomy and Touba, their capital, its vitality.

This ambitious work covers all aspects of the Jakhanke experience, including their environment and their social system. The question is, can one book deal satisfactorily with so many complex issues over such a *longue durée*?

Sanneh reaffirms the paradigm of clerical pacifism and its long-term success in promoting Islam in West Africa (p. 3). He also holds to his conviction about the autonomous character of clerical Islam within West African societies. He admires religious pacifism for blending local culture and language with Quranic orthodoxy associated with Arabic, and scorns *jihād* militancy (p. 244). Clerical pacifism was indeed the preferred form of Islamic expansion in sub-saharan Africa, despite the success of some nineteenth-century *jihāds*. Consistent with their tradition, the Jakhanke deserted the *jihād* efforts by one of their own, al-Hājj Momodou Lamin Daramey, against the French in 1886, and later repudiated Fode Kabba Dumbuya's military operations. Yet what about their role as advisors to such warriors as Alfa Yahya, the king of Labe in Futa Jallon? Sanneh's silence on large-scale institutionalized slavery and other Jakhanke "inconsistencies" raises some doubts about his objectivity. For example, Karamokho Qutubo's involvement with both the French and Alfa Yahya deserves greater attention, to say the least (p. 117). Finally, it would seem that religious pacifism among the Jakhanke could be explained historically not only by al-Hājj Sālim's legacy, which has been undeniably strong, but also by the military strength of their neighboring centralized states.

This is a sound book, but with a number of misinterpretations and factual errors. The history of this vast Senegambian region is too broad to be adequately analyzed by one author in one monograph. Sanneh has overlooked some important roles that the Jakhanke played in the settlement and Islamization of Futa Jallon. And many of the references to the Muslim metropolis of Kankan in Guinea (pp. 38–41) and to the Kabbas are inconsistent with the sources that served as the basis for the classic study of Kankan by Pierre Humblot in 1921. Kankan could not have been Kondé Buraima's center of power, but it was a victim of his short-lived conquest (p. 92). Likewise, Sanneh's assertion that Samory was initiated into the Tijāniyāh sufi order is questionable (p. 194). According to Yves Person and oral tradition, Samory used his alliance with the Kankan Sharifu family (known for their adherence to the Qādiriyyāh order) to fight

against Karamokho Mori Kabba, the Tijānī king of the city. As a consequence, Sanneh's other assertion that the Sharif of Kankan, who died in 1955, was a Kabba is wrong (p. 198). It is an overstatement, too, if not another inaccuracy, to lump Muslim school pupils with domestic slaves (p. 227). The status of students depended on that of their parents, despite their long stay in the school. Properly speaking, their involvement in farm work for their teachers was, in the strictest sense, an exchange of labor for an intangible spiritual reward (*baraka*), which has operated as a cornerstone of the Jakhanke value system.

Despite these errors, Sanneh's book represents a significant contribution to the study of Islam in Africa. In addition to a valuable index and glossary, it contains an excellent bibliography that testifies to the wide reading of the author but that, surprisingly, does not include some pertinent works on Upper Guinea by Humblot and Commandant Péroz. The book fills many lacunae and demonstrates the depth of Islamic orthodoxy as well as the centrality of African languages in the transmission of this universal creed.

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JONATHAN CRUSH *et al.* *South Africa's Labor Empire: A History of Black Migrancy to the Gold Mines.* (African Modernization and Development Series.) Boulder, Colo.: Westview or David Philip, Cape Town. 1991. Pp. xvi, 266. \$39.95.

Understanding the recent past is particularly difficult when discontinuities abound. As South Africa's white power elites jettison apartheid and attempt to accommodate or transfer power to influential black groups, several longstanding practices are being transformed. The mobilization of black migratory labor, essential to mining, a fundamental engine of the economy, originated with the industry's foundations in the late nineteenth century. Superbly researched and well laced with relevant tables, maps, and photographs, this book by Jonathan Crush and others traces the system's development, explains recent alterations, but concludes certain continuities will persist. Migrants will continue to be utilized although their source and functions will alter. For the black workers the mines, with their harsh working conditions, were "an employer of last resort" (p. 82). The mine managers' elaborate recruitment system pushed or pulled in migrants from all over southern Africa where locals had no other option to earn wages. The mines also pressed the South African state to use taxes and other devices to force the country's own peasant producers into the pits. Contrary to previous assertions, however, these authors find that by the 1950s the Chamber of Mines was sufficiently concerned by the collapse of agriculture on the overcrowded reserves that

they had "rejected the notion that rural poverty served their interests" (p. 69).

The authors also qualify their argument that mine managers needed the color bar, which reserved skilled jobs for whites, when they conclude that the mines' "efforts to modify its application were important" (p. 80). The Anglo-American Corporation, the dominant holding company and the subject of contrasting interpretations, has been "by no means as liberal and moderate in labor matters as the public relations people made it appear" (p. 185). The symbiotic relationship between the mines and the state, evident in earlier decades, continues to persist.

In the 1970s and 1980s the mines employed on average 403,000 black workers. Overwhelmingly they were "labor migrants, long-distance, allottable, contract labor from mainly foreign, but some local sources" (p. 209). That work force, the authors conclude, is becoming more stabilized with an increasing skilled component as the color bar has been abolished. But migrants, especially "commuters" from nearby resettlement areas and rural reserves in the republic and from neighboring states like Lesotho, will persist. So will long-distance "career miners." This labor force has also become less malleable with the emergence of the National Union of Miners in 1982. Despite the setbacks it suffered in the 1987 strike and the problems inherent in representing both stabilized and migrant workers, the union is likely to assume a key role in black politics and industrial relations.

There are some discontinuities in the organization of the book itself, the result no doubt of problems inherent in creating a jointly developed work. More analysis of the workers' experience in the mines and on the farm might have been provided. Nevertheless, this is a timely, authoritative, and insightful book.

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ASIA

VALERIE HANSEN. *Changing Gods in Medieval China, 1127–1276.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1990. Pp. xii, 256. \$37.50.

The argument in Valerie Hansen's book is simple and elegant: the social and economic changes in the Sung dynasty were accompanied by changes in the religious realm. In the course of documenting her argument, Hansen provides a rich description of twelfth and thirteenth-century popular religion. It is a closely argued book, written with insight and wit.

Hansen suggests that changes in commercial transactions in south China "caused the geography of the heavens to contract at much the same time and in much the same way as that of earth" (p. 10). While at the beginning of the twelfth century popular deities were strongly localized, by 1275 there were a number of deities who performed miracles and attracted worshippers in a much larger area. Local deities

became regional deities. But this transformation was not uncontested: there was a substantial body of opinion that held that only the gods of a licentious cult would want to spread their geographical base. Hansen also correlates the opposition to larger trends: she suggests that it corresponds to a resurgence of local interests on the part of southern Sung elite families, a resurgence noted by other social historians.

This change in the geographic scope of deities was accompanied by changes in what the gods demanded from their devotees. In the late eleventh century, deities began to demand official titles, and the human bureaucracy obliged. (Earlier gods had demanded many things from their human devotees, but official titles did not number among their requests.) When bureaucrats granted a deity an official title, they were doing several things: in addition to "trying to harness the deities' power on behalf of the government" (p. 59), they were also removing the deity from a purely local context. The late eleventh century was a time of activist policies in many realms. That the bureaucracy should extend itself to celestial realms is not surprising.

Hansen's concern is with local religion: she does not consider the canonical religions of Buddhism or Taoism, not because she dismisses the importance of those religions but because she rightly asserts that changes in the canonical religion are a subject for another book. She uses two kinds of sources to arrive at her rich picture of local religion: about sixty temple inscriptions and the *Records of the Listener* (*Yijian zhi*) of Hung Mai (1123–1202). *Records of the Listener* contains a vast amount of information on local cults as well as on a wide variety of other topics. Hansen's use of her sources is careful and her methodology is self-consciously and clearly articulated. Her discussion of *Records of the Listener* and how one can use such a text to gain information about popular cults is something that should be read by all students of Chinese popular culture. The book is easily accessible to nonspecialists and should be read by all persons with a serious interest in comparative religions.

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DERK BODDE. *Chinese Thought, Society, and Science: The Intellectual and Social Background of Science and Technology in Pre-modern China*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. 1991. Pp. xiv, 441.

This volume by Derk Bodde, a self-described humanist who has been writing about China and Chinese history for sixty years, represents his considered views on "what may have been the factors in Chinese civilization that either favored or hindered scientific and technological progress" (p. 4). Bodde does not focus on technology, science, or scientific knowledge

as such. His mission is six-fold: to review the characteristics of Chinese written language (*wen-yen*) to show that it was an inefficient medium for communicating "scientific" ideas; to delineate long-standing biases toward categorizing, polarizing, and correlating at the expense of formulating "more realistic concepts of nature" (p. 133); to remind us that the role of religion was not at all what it was in the West, where there was "some kind of relationship . . . between its Judeo-Christian tradition (especially in its Protestant form) and the rise of modern capitalism and science" (p. 161); to claim that after the twelfth century, but with its roots stretching to an earlier period, the authoritarian imperial government together with the Confucianized bureaucratic elite impeded scientific pursuits by colluding in "the freezing of officially sanctioned thought" (p. 186); to suggest that the philosophical tradition's excessive concern with morals produced a pervasive "anti-scientific" sentiment (p. 308); and, finally, to argue that underdeveloped concepts of "laws of Nature" and overemphasis on "organistic thinking" (p. 355) about the cosmos kept China from the path to modern science. Much of Bodde's survey elaborates on generally well-known interpretations about what was "wrong" with China that precluded its progress and led to its stagnation (p. 366). Their relevance for the development of science can of course be contested, as Bodde acknowledges repeatedly.

Bodde's discussion moves back and forth over more than 2,000 years of Chinese history, and in passing he selects from a wide range of primary sources in Chinese and secondary works, mostly in English. His main argument is with Joseph Needham and his monumental *Science and Civilisation in China* (1954–), now totaling more than 10,000 pages and still going. Like Needham, Bodde tends to treat China in the imperial period and before as a unit; by juxtaposing data from widely separated centuries, they leave the impression they are being ahistorical. The main difference is that Needham found "science" spread throughout the same 2,000 years and argued that Chinese science flowed into "oecumenical science," which is not peculiarly "Western." In Bodde's judgment, "Chinese pre-modern science not only did not, but could not, evolve by itself into anything comparable to what is today called modern science" (p. 368). There is an assumption here of deterministic progress that Bodde shares with Needham.

On his side, Bodde has what looks like a fact: "modern science," narrowly construed as a particular post-sixteenth-century Europe-based intellectual and cultural phenomenon, almost an entity, did not sprout in China. He also has what looks like a tautology: China could not have developed modern science because it did not develop modern science. The problem is whether the factors that Bodde elucidates for us as important aspects of Chinese history constitute an explanation for something that did not happen (and that we need not assume should have

happened). Imagine a scholar surveying 2,000 years of European history down to about 1550, citing the dominant "inhibitory" factors that (up to then) precluded the appearance of "modern science," and concluding that therefore it could not evolve.

We might see Bodde's book as posing a large metaphorical question: what are the ingredients without which an "authentic modern science" could not be brewed or which would, if present, prevent fermentation? Bodde's book seeks to identify the latter type of ingredients. Needham, however, may only have been showing that a necessary ingredient was as widely available as water. The effect of Bodde's book is to caution readers against uncritical acceptance of the assumptions built into Needham's influential account.

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JAMES REARDON-ANDERSON. *The Study of Change: Chemistry in China, 1840-1949*. (Studies of the East Asian Institute, Columbia University.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1991. Pp. xix, 444. \$59.50.

With few reservations, one can say that James Reardon-Anderson has produced an exhaustive and thoroughly professional study of the introduction of Western chemical science to China from the 1840s through the creation of the People's Republic. Not surprisingly, Reardon-Anderson describes a scientific enterprise that rose and fell with the larger rhythms of Chinese political life. According to the author, China's well-known evolution from a society dominated by Confucian generalists through the more diversified professionals of the nationalist era and again to the domination of Communist political generalists was paralleled in the Chinese scientific community.

Reardon-Anderson writes that until its defeat in the Sino-Japanese War, few in China took a serious interest in Western science. In the era between the first Opium War and the struggle over Korea no more than a handful of Chinese concerned themselves with Western chemical studies or worked with those foreigners, such as John Fryer, who endeavored to promote scientific study. Happily, the period from 1895 through 1927, which saw the unraveling of traditional social and political forms, allowed scientific progress to advance unimpeded.

By the late 1920s, however, with the coming to power of the Nationalists, a stronger level of political authority prevailed. Nevertheless, the Nationalists, unlike earlier Confucian governments, were especially supportive of scientific efforts. Thus, the Nationalist decade was the most productive of the years under study. Unfortunately, the later demands of the second Japanese war and the growing power of the Communists eventually reestablished a stifling state

control. If the author is correct that Chinese science has progressed best when there has been "balance between constructive political authority and a free flow of autonomous social forces" (p. 12), it is hard not to remain skeptical about the future of China's scientific establishment.

As indicated above, Reardon-Anderson has produced an important contribution. Yet the book is not without its flaws. The author's emphasis on the efforts of missionaries to arouse Chinese scientific interests strongly overstates their role. To believe Reardon-Anderson, one might conclude that secular westerners played little role in the introduction of Western science to China. Quite the contrary was the reality. One of the most influential organizations in the early introduction of science and technology to China was the Foochow dockyard. And that dockyard, the result of the organizing efforts of French officers like Prosper Giguel, could not have been more secular in orientation. Even Reardon-Anderson, when he writes of the enormous contributions of the writer Jen Fu and the chemist Wu Hsien (both of whom had strong ties to the dockyard), seems unconsciously aware of this.

On a more technical level the book curiously lacks a conclusion. What passes for one is actually an epilogue that outlines relevant events in the first decade of Communist rule.

STEVEN A. LEIBO
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JOANNA WALEY-COHEN. *Exile in Mid-Qing China: Banishment to Xinjiang, 1758-1820*. (Yale Historical Publications.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1991. Pp. xv, 267. \$32.50.

Banishment to Xinjiang during the mid-Qing period was a severe penalty, second only to capital punishment. Xinjiang (literally, "New Territories") was so far removed from China proper that it was barely within the pale of Chinese civilization; thus, for the Qing government as well as the educated scholar-official class, to be sent to this region was tantamount to being stripped of Chinese culture, a fate that was perhaps even worse than death. But, as Joanna Waley-Cohen shows in this fascinating and well-researched study, exile to Xinjiang was full of paradoxes, not the least of which was the role that disgraced officials were to play in the processes of colonization and sinicization of this Central Asian frontier.

According to Waley-Cohen, a significant number of the disgraced officials were sent to Xinjiang as a result of their political affiliations. Indeed, the late eighteenth century was a particularly precarious time for Chinese officials. While the notorious Heshen was in power, many of his enemies were banished to Xinjiang; later, after his disgrace and death, a number of his former associates found themselves in the same

predicament, having become the butt of retaliation and score-settling. The growing commercialization of Chinese society, along with rapid population growth, also contributed to circumstances that led to financial malfeasance and corruption on the part of many officials. Because large-scale corruption threatened the fiscal well-being of the state, it was considered a grievous crime, and as a result corrupt officials, too, were sent to Xinjiang for punishment.

The chapters that detail life in exile for disgraced officials are especially successful in lending a human face to Qing policies regarding Xinjiang. Waley-Cohen paints a compelling portrait of men down but not out. Since it was Qing policy to make Xinjiang self-sufficient, exiles were put to work. Former bureaucrats were once again assigned to work in the frontier administration, but this time an effort was made to match job with expertise. Although the author does not fully make the case, it is tempting to imagine that perhaps for many of them there was in a sense greater job satisfaction because they were now able to focus on narrower areas of competence (and interest?), rather than spreading themselves thin to cover all aspects of administration, as many officials were required to do in regular civil service.

Disgraced officials also kept themselves intellectually active; indeed, their scholarly output fostered the growth of frontier studies that ultimately led to the formal integration of Xinjiang into China proper in the nineteenth century. Waley-Cohen also makes the convincing argument that while many exiles shared with the imperial government the same ideal that banishment be made a vehicle for self-renewal, they subverted the government's program by devoting themselves to self-directed literary pursuits and not, as the authorities had hoped, state-directed, repentant service. Thus, although disgraced officials contributed to the colonization process in Xinjiang by their participation in the region's civil administration and by assuming teaching responsibilities in state-sponsored schools, the more private aspect of self-renewal ironically had a distinct Wang Yangming flavor. In view of the official disfavor accorded Wang Yangming's school of Confucianism, such development could not have been welcomed.

As significant as the contributions of exiled officials had been to the development of Xinjiang, they were not sufficient to render the region economically self-sufficient. Much of the crucial labor force was recruited from "ordinary" exiles—convicts banished to Xinjiang for various offenses, including involvement in rebellions and sectarian uprisings. Unlike the disgraced officials, who retained their free status, these convicts were forced into slavery. In exile, as in China proper, there existed a definite two-tiered social system, with the educated former officials retaining their dominance over their less-educated compatriots.

Waley-Cohen's study of banishment in Xinjiang is a welcome contribution to the dynamic field of Qing

studies, particularly its sociolegal aspects. By weaving strands from legal documents and literary works, she has created a rich tapestry that enlivens our understanding of life in Xinjiang as well as the dynamic interplay between the behemoth state and individuals in Qing China.

VIVIEN W. NG
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ZHU WEIZHENG. *Coming Out of the Middle Ages: Comparative Reflections on China and the West*. Translated and edited by RUTH HAYHOE. (Chinese Studies on China.) Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe. 1990. Pp. xii, 239. \$37.50.

Described by Zhu Weizheng as "just a collection of rather capricious essays and notes on cultural and intellectual history from the late Ming to the late Qing" (p. 215), which he calls the Middle Ages, this eight-chapter work includes a discussion of the possible influence of Western scholarship on Chinese thought during the period as well as on aspects of Chinese attitudes that paved the way for the May Fourth era in 1919. The latter half of the Middle Ages was characterized by a "long stagnation" (p. 25) of political institutions despite changes in the social structure. Thinking was a criminal activity, and harboring thoughts not supportive of the Manchu emperors was an even more serious crime. The Kangxi and Yongzheng emperors found in Neo-Confucianism "a dike restraining all thought" (p. 55).

The lengthy narrative of the struggle between Yang Guangxian against Johann Adam Schall, based heavily on the Chinese version of Alfons Văth's biography of Schall (*Johann Adam Schall von Bell, S.J.: Missionar in China, Kaiserlicher Astronom und Ratgeber am Hofe von Peking, 1592–1666* [1933; rpt., 1991]), highlights how little historians in the People's Republic of China have been able to rely on Western and Japanese research over the past few decades. To cast doubt on the date of the first meeting of Cardinal Charles Maillard de Tournon with the Kangxi emperor, for example, because it is recorded in Western sources rather than Chinese court materials, is questionable, since other events dealing with Christianity in China were omitted from Chinese records in this era. Moreover, the Kangxi emperor never enforced the anti-Christian edicts written at the end of his reign. The *Cambridge History of China* is thus not "inaccurate," as Zhu states (p. 223), in its claim that persecution of Christianity began in the reign of the Yongzheng emperor.

The chapter on Han and Western learning in the eighteenth century is a tantalizing account of the importance of Wang Yang-ming's scholarship over that of Zhu Xi, and on the role that Western thought, introduced by the Chinese writings of the Jesuits, was beginning to have beyond mathematics and astron-

omy. Han scholars sought a revival of antiquity and rejected the medieval tradition of Neo-Confucianism. Zhu's suggestions for structural and methodological approaches to this topic assuredly will require vast reading of Chinese authors (some of them covered in the appendix) as well as Western writers.

Marx's historical materialism—which, Zhu notes, China groped after “in a hazy form” (p. 187)—had sources in China's history. Marxism was just one of many schools of thought in early twentieth-century China, but Zhu is still “surprised” (p. 186) that, on its first dissemination, progressive Chinese were sympathetic to it and revolutionaries embraced it. In the chapter “China's Lost Renaissance,” he indicates that well before the May Fourth movement, students at Peking University supported the new-culture movement and compared it to the Renaissance in Europe. Zhu recognizes Zhang Taiyan as the leader of this earlier movement and displaces Chow Tse-tsung's understanding of the Renaissance compared to the May Fourth era.

These essays offer broad brushstrokes, some more finished than others. Their merit is in the questions that they raise for future research. A few awkward phrases occur in the translation of the Chinese text published in Shanghai in 1987, but Ruth Hayhoe's efforts are quite commendable in offering an English reader insights into the mind of a contemporary Chinese historian.

JOHN W. WITEK
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NICHOLAS R. CLIFFORD. *Spoilt Children of Empire: Westerners in Shanghai and the Chinese Revolution of the 1920s*. Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, for Middlebury College Press. 1991. Pp. xvi, 361. \$45.00.

Nicholas R. Clifford's representation of Shanghai shows it to have been by 1920 an imperialist enclave of commerce and culture run by a foreign minority enjoying a little world of privilege that would have been unattainable for most of them in their home countries. Events of the ensuing decade changed Shanghai from a world unto itself dominated by resident Europeans, primarily British, and Americans to a powerfully charged political arena featuring a new Chinese nationalism, the new imperialism of Japan, and the decline and eventual demise of Euro-American domination of the city and its international port. Clifford deftly recounts, analyzes, and links significant moments that undermined Shanghai's independence from national governments, China's and others: the warlords' threat to the city in 1924–25, which brought some Shanghailanders to call for sustained foreign military protection; the tragedy of the May Thirtieth incident in 1925, which revealed foreign Shanghai's insensitivity to Chinese revolutionary efforts to end warlordism and establish new national

institutions; and the “fall” of Shanghai in 1927 to the Northern Expedition led by Chiang Kai-shek.

In the search for entrée to Shanghai as the embodiment of imperialism and the target of Chinese nationalism, Clifford has combed diplomatic, business, and private records and used an impressive array of sources, including materials in Chinese. His book is an effective narrative that takes foreign Shanghai (non-Chinese who occupied the International Settlement and the French Concession) from arrogance to vulnerability, the “Shanghai mind” all the while doubting the ability of the Chinese people to govern either the city or China.

This book brings together nicely the previous work of its author and others, and it allows us to know the institutions of a colonial outpost that failed to see its end in sight. The mid-decade May Thirtieth incident was pivotal; when an ill-prepared, foreign-run police unit opened fire on student demonstrators on that fateful Saturday, the opportunity to sustain local resolution of Shanghai's problems passed. May Thirtieth heralded and fueled China's new nationalism of the late 1920s and assured Shanghai's involvement.

Clifford's account is plausible, instructive, and often compelling. In general the author succeeds in his stated effort to write the history of a foreign community in China, rather than Chinese history; but the book offers a narrative as well of the Northern Expedition and the new Nationalist regime. One might wish for Chinese characters in the bibliography, but this may be a luxury confined to the past along with the old Shanghailanders' daily repartee at the Long Bar. One also might wish for fewer typographical errors (including one misuse of the word “principle,” p. 68) and omissions from the bibliography of some items in the notes (for example, the work by Zou Yiren cited in note 9 on page 288). One also is wary of assertions about Chinese attitudes apparently based on English-language sources (for example, the claims on behalf of “many Chinese” on pp. 92–93).

Students and specialists alike will find in this book a model of narrative writing, a superb evocation of place and architectural surroundings (the Bund as “a confident foreign ascendancy” [p. 37] is among the eloquent representations). They also may find some imbalance between the lyrical, sometimes redundant, early chapters and the dense, information-packed chapters on the May Thirtieth incident and the revolution of 1925–27. They may find Clifford's speculations of comparison between Shanghai and Hong Kong a bit forced. But surely they will see the value of this quite successful book as a means of access to Shanghai and to China in the critical decade of the 1920s and can draw judgments about the pitfalls lying in wait for communities of privilege in an era of change.

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EDWARD FRIEDMAN *et al.* *Chinese Village, Socialist State*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1991. Pp. xxiv, 336. \$35.00.

Three basic premises tacitly structure the account Edward Friedman and the other authors of this book offer of the agrarian revolution in China. First is a repudiation of the socialist revolution in China to the extent that, taking its Marxist socialism seriously, it embodied the ideological urge to abolish private property and the use of class struggle to that end. This diverted the revolution from a more productive and democratic course of pragmatic and rational adjustment to the world as it was. Second is a repudiation of theory as an unjustified attack on everyday practice in the name of an abstraction; this entails, on the one hand, a quasi-populist affirmation of the people as they are and, on the other hand, it renders theory into a foreign intrusion in the lives of the people (implicitly suggested in the title, juxtaposing Chinese and socialist, village and state). Third, and somewhat contradictorily, is a repudiation of Chinese socialism as a socialism because of its distortions by cultural residues that infused it ("nasty strains" in Chinese culture, as the authors put it [p. xxiii]) and imprisoned the present in the past.

The study traces the revolution in its various phases in Wugong village, located in Raoyang County in central Hebei, from the late 1930s to the immediate aftermath of the Great Leap Forward, sometime around 1960. While it uses some written documentation, it relies heavily on (and derives its most original contributions from) personal interviews the authors conducted with the villagers during numerous visits to the village over the last decade. The authors offer an alternative to past accounts of the revolution, based primarily on evidence acquired through access to local records and interviews with "losers in local policy and power struggles who were delighted to recount their side of stories" (p. xv). In the end it is "their side of stories" that shapes this interpretation and evaluation of the revolution.

Substantially an account of the effects of land reform and collectivization on Wugong villagers, the book tells the revolution as a story of stupidity induced by ideology, cruelty born of "fundamentalist irrationality" (p. xxiii), and the creation of a power structure that took care of its own but cared little for others. The dividing line was collectivization. The revolution was on course so long as the Communist Party restricted its policies to the redistribution of land to achieve greater equality and support for household ownership and enterprise. During the years of World War II, the party effected a "silent revolution" through fiscal policies, encouraging those holding surplus land to get rid of it to avoid heavy taxes.

Already after the war the party began to experiment with collectivization and to interfere with the sideline productions and marketing activities that

were crucial to peasant welfare. But relatively rational policies prevailed through the land reform in the immediate aftermath of Communist victory, a time the authors describe as a "honeymoon period," when, after years of dislocation and disorientation due to war and the immediate effects of modernization, some economic and cultural coherence was restored to village life. Thereafter, with the beginning of collectivization, and culminating in the disastrous Great Leap Forward of the late 1950s, peasant life and production got progressively worse as "ideological fundamentalism" took over and the party turned to the emulation of Soviet socialism, rendered more debilitating in China as "socialism . . . was infused with much that was worst in the [Chinese] tradition" (p. 270). Ironically, however, Wugong village escaped the worst ravages of collectivist irrationality. As it had played something of a vanguard role in collectivization, it was designated a model village. This gave it a favored place in the new network of power created under communism and, therefore, unlike less favored locations, it could count on receiving aid from the top when it ran into difficulty. Hence, the authors tell us, when the party abandoned past policies after 1978, "many local leaders in post-Mao Raoyang continued to defend the Cultural Revolution and the Great Leap and to resist post-Mao reforms" (p. xvi).

This is a story that needs to be told, and it is told here with a poignancy that derives from the authors' attention to individual experiences. It is also told, however, with unreflective, if not biased, use and interpretation of data, a rhetorical tendentiousness, and inattention to analytical clarity. We must welcome the "losers'" side of the story for a more comprehensive understanding of the Chinese Revolution, but that does not call for cavalier dismissal of the winners' side. To suggest, in passing, that local leaders continued to support past policies against the changes of the 1980s, without inquiring into what they meant beyond hinting that they did so because they were part of a new network of power, is to substitute an inanity for serious explanation; revolutions are supposed to create new structures of power. If the goal is to criticize power or the state in general for distortions of people's lives, of which there is some suggestion in the quasi-populism of the authors, the discussion would have benefited from a comparative context instead of a presentation of the problem as if it were unique to socialist or revolutionary societies.

The rhetorical tendentiousness is visible both in the structuring of the narrative and in the choice of vocabulary. So long as socialism and revolution were positive concepts, at least in some quarters, their histories in political practice were written as romances, and even ugly deeds committed in their name could be forgiven. Now that the "new world order" (including the new order in China) has relegated them to the past as aberrations, their history is rewritten as tragedy, if not satire, and the ugly deeds move to the foreground, while any good deeds that

may have been inspired by socialist revolutions need to be discredited. In its structure, this study accords very much with this narrative shift. And so does its vocabulary, where socialists are "socialist kings," efforts at socialization are "meddling," and the poor and illiterate peasants whom the revolution glorified appear now as "young, uprooted, virtually illiterate toughs." Contrarily, an imperialist world-system that once was employed as an explanation for the Chinese Revolution is represented with a benign face: "Although the politics of world market penetration strengthened competing warlords and legitimated conquest, thereby wreaking plunder and devastation on rural China, that world market, to the extent it can be treated as a pure economic phenomenon, also helped some villagers to survive" (p. 280). The question is: can it be treated as a "pure economic phenomenon," after all that was said previously?

This, finally, is an example of the lack of analytical clarity to which I referred above. Others abound. The authors, in their relentless condemnation of socialism, make no effort to distinguish socialism, nationalism, and state power (although a suggestion of such a distinction appears in the concluding chapter) in their evaluation of the course of Chinese socialism. It is almost a matter of faith in the China field (one that I do not share) that socialism in China was a handmaiden of nationalism and a concern with national power in response to the threat to China's national integrity in the twentieth century. Is it possible that it is a nationalism gone out of control that is responsible for the distortions of socialism, rather than the other way around? Largely due to the authors' failure to articulate their analytical premises, such questions do not find their way into the analysis. The one significant question they do address is the relationship between socialism and past culture. Here, too, it is not clear whether socialism brought out the worst in Chinese culture, or "nasty strains" in the culture distorted socialism—possibly because they cannot make up their minds whether to blame the culture for its distortions of socialism, or to condemn socialism for its attack on the people's culture.

These problems ultimately are problems of a crisis of interpretation, rooted in the disorientation of the China field by policy shifts in China, that have understandably affected scholars as much as they have affected the Chinese people. The authors of this volume, earlier defenders of the socialist revolution in China, could have done the whole field much service had they addressed explicitly alternative views of the revolution, past and present, and reflected more closely on the changes that brought about the radical shift in their own attitudes. (A good example of such a work is to be found in John Gittings's recent *China Changes Face* [1989]). For all its contributions in this broader perspective this book impresses me as a missed opportunity.

ARIF DIRLIK
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STEIN TØNNESSEN. *The Vietnamese Revolution of 1945: Roosevelt, Ho Chi Minh and de Gaulle in a World at War*. Newbury Park, Calif.: SAGE or PRIO, Oslo. 1991. Pp. xiv, 458. \$60.00.

Those readers fortunate enough to be familiar with Stein Tønnesson's previous work are well aware of his ability to combine meticulous scholarship with a penchant to question accepted wisdom. In this book, Tønnesson maintains these high standards, shedding important new light on one of the less well-known periods of modern Vietnamese history: the years leading up to the August Revolution of 1945.

The author's primary purpose is to trace the events of the war years through the trajectory of what he labels two "causal chains": first, the Indochina policy of Allied leaders during World War II, and second, the emergence of the Indochinese Communist Party (ICP) as the motive force in the Vietnamese revolution. It is his contention that Allied policy, combined with the chaotic situation in Indochina created by wartime Japanese occupation, created the political vacuum through which a small but dedicated indigenous political force—Ho Chi Minh's ICP-dominated Vietminh Front—could launch a serious bid for power at the moment of Japanese surrender.

As many students of the phenomenon have observed, one of the prerequisites for modern revolution is a decline in the stability of the ruling order. Few would deny the contention that a century of French rule, combined with Japanese military occupation in the Pacific war, had created such a situation in Indochina. The Japanese compounded the problem in March 1945 when they replaced the French colonial administration with a puppet Vietnamese government under the titular leadership of Emperor Bao Dai, thus leaving the countryside open to exploitation by the resourceful operatives of the Vietminh Front.

But Tønnesson carries the argument a step further, arguing that Allied policy in World War II contributed directly to the creation of that vacuum, and thus ultimately to the Vietminh victory in North Vietnam at the end of the war. The primary culprit, paradoxically, was President Franklin D. Roosevelt, whose attempt to prevent the return of the French to Indochina was to operate to Ho Chi Minh's advantage and thus set the stage for a confrontation between Ho and several of FDR's successors in the postwar era.

Tønnesson's portrayal of Roosevelt's Indochina policy will be perhaps the most debated aspect of his book. It has been believed by many contemporary scholars that by the time of his death, Roosevelt had abandoned his wartime plan to establish a trusteeship in Indochina that would freeze the French out of the area and lay the groundwork for the future emergence of independent states. Tønnesson takes issue with this assumption and attempts to show that despite the resistance of his military advisers, FDR gave active consideration to an Allied landing in Tonkin

and the Chinese island of Hainan at the close of the war. Had that plan been implemented, Roosevelt might have been able to carry through on his plan to prevent the return of the French. The threat of such a possibility provoked the Japanese to launch their coup in March.

Tønnesson's evidence for this contention is not conclusive, regarding either the nature of the invasion project itself or Roosevelt's actual purpose in putting it forward. As he concedes, it is possible that it was an elaborate ruse to distract Tokyo from focusing on other possible objects of Allied attack. Still, at a minimum he has raised the suggestion that despite FDR's well-known acceptance of the principle of voluntary trusteeship at Yalta, the president had not necessarily played his last card in the complex gamble over the future of Indochina.

In the meantime, Ho Chi Minh and his lieutenants were laying their own claim to influence the future of the region. In communist historiography, the August Revolution takes on the aura of a brilliant maneuver meticulously planned by the grand strategist Ho Chi Minh to combine elements of the Maoist People's War and the October Revolution in Russia. In Tønnesson's interpretation, the August uprising was much more spontaneous than historians in Hanoi suggest. Whether or not the insurrection was as improvised as he suggests (party operatives had been training for some sort of joint urban-rural uprising since early in the war), Tønnesson is certainly correct in pointing out that, for all his prescience, Ho Chi Minh did not anticipate that the war would come to an end without an Allied invasion of Indochina.

As it turned out, the August Revolution was at least partially successful anyway, and set the ICP on a course that would lead to the departure of the French in 1954. In Tønnesson's view, Roosevelt's actions had been decisive in bringing about that triumph. Had the Free French, with U.S. assistance, been able to establish their presence in Indochina prior to the end of the war, they might have been in a position to put down the August uprising, and thus to alter the future course of the Vietnamese revolution. It is a striking scenario, one worthy of further debate.

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J. S. GREWAL. *The New Cambridge History of India*. Volume 2, part 3, *The Sikhs of the Punjab*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1991. Pp. xxv, 264. \$34.50.

J. S. Grewal's book is an extremely valuable reference work for Sikh and Punjabi history from Guru Nanak's day down to the present. Grewal devotes close attention to political, social, and economic factors affecting the development of the Sikh *Panth* (religion). He makes extensive use of research subsequent to the publication of the last general history of the

Sikhs, Khushwant Singh's *History of the Sikhs* (1963–66).

The sections on the precolonial period (1469–1849) are excellent. Particularly illuminating is the treatment of dissent in early Sikhism. At times the "secessionists" appeared to be as strong as—or stronger than—the "legitimate" Gurus. Perhaps it is only with the benefit of hindsight that the mainstream of Sikh evolution appears to flow through the ten Gurus to the militant *Khalsa* founded by Guru Gobind Singh. The collapse of Mughal authority in the mid-eighteenth century opened the way for the *Khalsa's* rise to mastery in Punjab. Were it not for this turn of events, the pacific sects might have come to typify Sikhism and the *Khalsa* relegated to a historical footnote.

Grewal's handling of the colonial era (1849–1947) is a bit uneven. He offers a penetrating analysis of the solvent effect of imperial rule on Punjabi society. Stimulated by a wide spectrum of innovations (including Western learning and technology), Sikh, Hindu, and Muslim communities sought to redefine themselves and to compete for the favor of the administration. Reformist, often combative bodies—such as the Arya Samaj, Ahmadiyas, and Singh Sabhas—sprang up. Inter and intracommunal conflict grew apace. In dealing with the Indian struggle for independence, the study becomes somewhat tendentious. Sikhs are allotted a major role in the Freedom Movement, although it is evident even from the text that Sikh concerns were primarily parochial. Meager attention is given to the Unionist Party, a pro-British coalition of rural Muslims, Sikhs, and Hindus that dominated Punjab from 1920 to 1946.

Grewal furnishes a detailed account of East Punjabi politics since 1947. The course of events is eerily reminiscent of the fragmentation of the Unionists in pre-partition Punjab. During roughly the first half of the postindependence era the Congress Party, with substantial Sikh support, dominated the political scene.

The second half of that era has witnessed a steady drift of Sikhs—especially rural ones—into particularism, with the Congress becoming more and more a preserve of urban Hindus. Although the what and how of this process are amply covered, a sense of the why is lacking. On the face of it, the growth of Sikh separatism is perplexing in a context of increasing material prosperity and rampant disunity among separatist groups.

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STEPHEN P. BLAKE. *Shahjahanabad: The Sovereign City in Mughal India, 1639–1739*. (South Asian Studies, number 49.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1991. Pp. xvi, 226.

In this long-awaited study, Stephen P. Blake provides at once a useful addition to the limited number of

Indian urban histories and a fresh way of conceiving of the Mughal empire and Shahjahanabad, its capital after 1648. At the heart of Blake's argument is the assertion that the Mughal empire was a type of what Max Weber called the "patrimonial" state, in which the ruler sought to assimilate the state to the household. As such a mode of governance was not possible in the larger Asian empires, such as that of the Mughals, a "patrimonial" organization remained only as a utopian ideal. Nevertheless, Blake argues, in the microcosm of the "sovereign" city, the emperor could realize this ideal in stone. The city became the kingdom in miniature, while the emperor's palace-fortress became the city in miniature. The emperor was thus "the pivot of a hierarchical, nested series of realms" from household, to city, to empire, in which each encompassed and embodied those beyond it (pp. 70, 183, 210).

Focusing on the 100 years when the new capital at Delhi was the seat of Mughal power, Blake discusses the city's morphology, society, economy, and culture. His two concluding chapters assess the years of decline after Nadir Shah's sack of 1739 and place Delhi alongside what he conceives of as comparable Asian cities from Istanbul to Beijing. The book contains much fascinating detail about this great imperial capital. Blake's discussion of the layout of the imperial palace and the rituals that took place within it illuminates vividly the working of the Mughal court. Of exceptional interest too is the account of the great nobles, whose mansions were centers of patronage, and who organized not only the social but also the economic life of the city. The productive process, Blake insists, was "oriented toward the great households not the marketplace." The ideal was that of running both city and empire as "one big household workshop" (pp. 114, 121).

Inevitably Blake is led to disparage the enduring power of the bureaucratic structures of the Mughal empire, such as the graded mansabdari system, and with it the assessment and collection of taxes by precisely defined regulations. Indeed, one wonders whether a Western model, such as Weber's "patrimonialism," can do justice to the richness and variety of Mughal political practice or the Islamic forms that shape it. In the end it may not matter, for much of what Blake provides, especially in the chapter on culture, is general information—on amirs and emperors, sufis and poets—that enriches his picture of life in Delhi but has little relationship to his larger theoretical argument. Blake's account of popular culture, for instance, is a ten-page summary, with no analysis, of a Deccani nobleman's account of his stay in the city. With this book Blake has nevertheless presented for us a long-departed imperial court and given a past to the streets and buildings of what is now merely "old" Delhi.

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B. B. MISRA. *The Unification and Division of India*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1990. Pp. xxxiv, 422. \$29.95.

For more than thirty years, in several important books, B. B. Misra has been concerned with the administrative and institutional history of British India. At the same time, the continuities and discontinuities of British official policy that molded post-independence South Asia have run as a subsidiary, but perhaps no less important, theme in much of his work. In this book, Misra has given us the benefit of his considerable reading and experience to produce a useful overview of how the British both created and then partially destroyed a modern, national concept of India.

Misra begins with the proposition that the British created something unique in South Asia: a concept of an integrated nation. This new concept was based primarily on a political authority that had, as its foundation, the establishment of integrated administrative and territorial structures in the Indian subcontinent. Such a political authority, based not primarily on military might, was in sharp contradistinction to "pre-British days, when even the minimum condition of a single all-India political authority did not exist" (p. vii). Using a judicious mix of published works and unpublished material from the India Office and the Indian National Archives, Misra explores the nature of the structures of integration in his first four chapters.

Chapter 1 concentrates on British administrative and institutional innovations from the late eighteenth century to generally the mid-nineteenth century. Misra surveys the establishment of the systematic constitutional, legal, and bureaucratic structures that formed the foundation of the late-nineteenth-century British raj. Here he presents the basis for the next portion of the book, concerning the territorial integration of British India, which follows in the next two chapters.

In Chapter 2, Misra is concerned with delimiting India's geographic frontiers. Starting from Afghanistan and the northwest frontier, and then proceeding to the Tibetan frontiers (Himalayan and the northeast), Misra narrates how the British forced their political authority to the geographic and cultural boundaries of the subcontinent. The general basis of British policy was quite consciously political, mostly through the support of buffer states. In chapter 3 he moves on to consider how political stability was established in the problematic border areas of the northwest and the northeast. The creation of this necessary political stability first had a military dimension for broader security. At the same time, Misra considers general social and economic development as key to the territorial integrity of British India. Although not covering much that is new, these two chapters are fascinating reading.

Having established the territorial superstructure of

British India, Misra then examines in chapter 4 the mature late-nineteenth and twentieth-century operation of British constitutional, administrative, military, and socioeconomic policies. In the last two chapters Misra moves generally to the twentieth century to show the forces that transformed the integrated polity of British India. Misra sees the "dichotomy between law and politics" (p. 269), between British official structures and the politics of a plural society, as the cause of the divisive affliction of communalism that ended in the partition of British India.

Overall this is a worthwhile book in that it skillfully surveys many important facets of British rule in India. Perhaps the working concept of "integration" in the early chapters is used too freely, without sufficient and explicit theoretical definition. Often integration (and its opposite in the latter portion of the book) becomes anything the British did in India. Because of Misra's institutional and administrative perspective, much that was integrating in British India that had little to do with the British—indigenous cultural, social, and conceptual unities—is left unmentioned. Nevertheless, the book serves as a useful reference source for the history of "official" British India.

LAURENCE W. PRESTON
Red Deer College

PAMELA KANWAR. *Imperial Simla: The Political Culture of the Raj*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1990. Pp. xiv, 316. \$24.00.

Pamela Kanwar's book is a history of the founding and development of the town of Simla, the summer capital of British rulers of India, that focuses especially on less well-known aspects of the town's late-nineteenth and twentieth-century past. Readers interested in a chronological survey of Simla's construction, its infrastructure, and the various Indian communities that lived and worked in it will find this a reasonably well-organized and well-written account. Readers interested in the life and social relations of the British in Simla may be disappointed by the book's somewhat cursory treatment of that community.

In her introduction the author suggests that the town of Simla can serve as "a microcosm of the vast mosaic of forces that were shaping modern India" during the Raj (p. 12). In its growth from hill sanitarium into official summer capital, Simla embodied the values of the divided society of British India that produced it and illustrated the fundamental dependence of the British elite on the Indian masses. The British were attracted to the hill town not only because it offered an escape from the hot summers of the plains but also because they believed they could create in Simla a "little England" isolated from the pressures of the Indian populations of the plains. Yet while Simla did become for many the epitome of an

"English village," this creation depended on the cooperation and labor of many different Indian communities. The 15 percent of Simla's population that lived in the European enclave, Station Ward, relied for the continuation of its life style on the other 85 percent of Simla's population, the Indian communities of Bazaar Ward.

Kanwar's early chapters focus on the British government's choice of Simla for a "summer" capital and the various devices by which government officials attempted to maintain control over the organization and population of the town. Although Calcutta and later Delhi were the "permanent" capitals of the Raj, at its peak Simla was the official residence of the British government for a full seven months of the year. British officials in India contrived to convince their London superiors that it was economical and efficient to move staff and files "1,200 miles from Calcutta, across the length of the Indo-Gangetic plain" to Simla every year (p. 34). Kanwar discusses the growth of the town and the construction of its buildings and infrastructure. These chapters suffer, however, from the lack of even one map of the town or its surrounding region.

Three chapters describe the Indian communities of Simla: the commission agents, wholesalers, and merchants who supplied the city with goods, the Indian clerks who occupied the lower echelons of government service, and the laborers who pulled rickshaws, carried loads, and removed night soil. Here the author's research offers us a new and interesting perspective on Simla's past. Additional chapters address the somewhat limited impact on Simla of the nationalist movement during the years between world wars I and II.

Perhaps because the author considers this material to be available elsewhere, her discussion of British society in Simla and the individuals who, over the years, made up this society is somewhat cursory. This is unfortunate, for surely a study of the imperial past of Simla deserves a detailed analysis of the community whose values, ideology, and social relations were at its core. Kanwar's decision here has resulted in a somewhat unfocused book, one with a number of interesting peripheral discussions but lacking a strong center.

JUDITH WALSH
State University College of New York,
Old Westbury

B. R. NANDA. *Gandhi, Pan-Islamism, Imperialism, and Nationalism in India*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1989. Pp. ix, 438. \$19.95.

The emergence of Gandhi as the supreme leader of the Indian nationalist movement in 1920 was made possible in large part by the support he secured from Indian Muslims deeply concerned about the fate of the Khilafat in Turkey. Gandhi's rise to power within

the Indian National Congress and the links between nonviolent noncooperation and the Khilafat movements of 1920 and 1922 have been studied by several fine historians, including Shahid Amin, Judith Brown, Mushirul Hasan, and Gail Minault. B. R. Nanda's clearly written account of Indian politics during the decade after Gandhi's return from South Africa to India in 1915 is a useful addition to the literature and is likely to appeal to the interested nonspecialist.

Nanda mixes a style of anecdotal history with character sketches of Gandhi and important Muslim political figures such as Mohamed Ali, Shaukat Ali, M. A. Ansari, and Abul Kalam Azad. One of the strengths of the book is the use of memoirs by direct participants in the political events of the time. Nanda suggests that the Khilafatists may have gotten more out of Gandhi's association with their cause than Gandhi and the Congress did as a result of their temporary alliance with pro-Khilafat Muslims. While he is able to unravel some of the motives underlying Gandhi's political choices, he fails to provide any insight into the mind of Indian Muslims who were swayed by Pan-Islamism.

What the book lacks in historical analysis, it seeks to compensate for in highly opinionated remarks. Gandhi and his lieutenants are invariably portrayed as embodiments of sweet reasonableness; not only the Ali brothers but also M. A. Jinnah are cast in a negative light and their patriotism called into question. Nanda has no difficulty in squaring his liberal dogma, which privileges rationality, modernity, and a singular version of nationalism, with his personal admiration for the antimodern Gandhi. But he does not even try to understand, far less interpret, the Indian Muslims' multiple identities and loyalties. For instance, he simply dismisses as vague Mohamed Ali's critique of the singular nation-state and his vision of "a federation of faiths in India" and "a cultural federalism" (p. 390).

Nanda is well versed in the rigid orthodoxies of the central leadership of the Indian nationalist movement. He has produced a readable book but one that shows scant respect for cultural difference and diversity.

SUGATA BOSE
Tufts University

UNITED STATES

JAMES MACGREGOR BURNS and STEWART BURNS. *A People's Charter: The Pursuit of Rights in America*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1991. Pp. xi, 577. \$30.00.

James MacGregor Burns is one of the most distinguished historians of the American political system. His son, Stewart Burns, is an accomplished historian of modern American social movements. They have collaborated to produce a volume that is as hard to evaluate as it is to describe.

Readers who come to this book, as I did, expecting a historical commentary on the Bill of Rights will be badly disappointed. The authors begin their book with a traditional account of the origins of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights; they later chronicle the enactment of the Reconstruction amendments and examine the Supreme Court's interpretations of the First Amendment early in the twentieth century. They do not discuss most of the content of the Bill of Rights, however, and their narrative does not develop our understanding of the historical growth of traditional individual rights against the power of government.

It turns out that the Burns have tried to write a much more ambitious and difficult book. They have rejected constitutional rights, narrowly and historically construed, and focused instead on the broader concept of human rights. In their prologue they proclaim the model of the exodus of the Jews from Egypt "the long march [that] set the agenda of questions for those who would continue the struggle for human rights. What rights? Whose rights? Measured by what values? . . . And with what impact on the wants and needs, the hopes and expectations, and ultimately the daily lives of humankind" (p. 7)? They are committed to the notions that the rights that count are those that affect the lives of the majority, of ordinary people, and that those rights can only be achieved through social struggle.

Thus, they focus on the antebellum movements for the rights of slaves, women, and workers, which they see as heroic struggles: "In their freedom struggles, in ways distinctive to their own social situations, African-Americans, women, and wage workers . . . transcended the purely individualistic character of 'natural' rights and, through action, defined and exercised entitlements as jointly individual and collective. They discovered that for historically oppressed castes, the rights of the individual could not be realized on an individual basis but had to be secured through the collective or communal assertion of rights" (p. 192).

Yet while such social struggles have produced new legal and constitutional rights, reformers have in the end always failed because they remained committed to narrowly constitutional rather than political objectives. And the government generally refused to enforce the new rights adequately: "Creating or reforming laws was only half the battle. Given larger social forces and constraints, the additional responsibility of enforcement had to be shared by grass-roots activists in creative tension with the state, particularly to ensure that rights laws were implemented as intended by those who fought for them" (p. 325). The Burns, however, are not content with this populist view of the history of rights in America, for in the end they reject the individualistic ideal on which the American legal system has always operated.

Their book concludes with a long, flowery, diffuse, and unconvincing plea for "the actualization of com-

munal rights" (p. 368), "structural reforms that both hinged upon a major redistribution of social power and resources and propelled such redistribution—reform that was thus 'non-reformist'" (p. 369), and a feminization of political leadership. They issue a call for a "Great Majority" for the pursuit of "nurturing rights," and for a conception of "Society as a caring, trusting extended household" (pp. 454–56). "For the third century," they argue, "the right to pursue happiness lies in real opportunity for individual self-fulfillment, the conditions for which can be created, paradoxically, only through collective leadership and action" (p. 471).

The problem with their conclusion, aside from its cognitive dissonance during the arid presidential contest of 1992, is that it bears no logical connection to the narrative that precedes it. The Burnses have produced a passionate, though turgid, over-written and over-long tract, which fails to persuade as historical argument.

STANLEY N. KATZ
American Council of Learned Societies

PATRICIA MORTON. *Disfigured Images: The Historical Assault on Afro-American Women*. New York: Praeger. 1991. Pp. xviii, 173. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$15.95.

Patricia Morton argues that historians writing about African-American women have, from the nineteenth century until the present, offered their readers little more than a "story of damaged and damaging womanhood" (p. ix). Although historians in the past tended to ignore white women's place in "his story," they did not, unfortunately, ignore African-American women. Instead they viewed black women through a racist and sexist lens, dealt in stereotypes, and created and manipulated caricatures of those women based on half-truths and simple prejudice. Black women were not invisible; rather, they were the major source of the problems, the "pathology" of most African Americans.

Morton claims that white women and black men, as well as white men, perpetuated distorted and damaging images of black women. Self-styled "scientific" historians were as guilty of racist and sexist prejudices as were "gentleman scholars." With the partial exception of W. E. B. Du Bois, who at least admired African-American women and made an effort to empower them and to dignify their struggles, few historians escape Morton's criticism.

She analyzes a number of the more obvious stereotypical images that historians created. The "black matriarch," who was responsible for the "demasculinization" of black men and for the destruction of the African-American family, existed in historical accounts long before she appeared on the pages of the Moynihan report. The "Jezebel," the sensuous seductress, together with the matriarch was "assigned responsibility for the downfall of the manhood of both

racess" (p. 30). The "mammy," a female equivalent of "Sambo," was the desexualized, loyal house slave who cared more about her master's children than her own. Like the Jezebel, she was an example of black collaboration with the enemy and was a traitor to her race. The tragic mulatto, who tried without success to reject her own racial heritage, and the inept domestic servant both represent a "composite picture of defeminized female failure" (p. 7).

Morton's effort to analyze historians' treatment of African-American women is useful. It does, however, have problems of its own. The book, although quite short, tends to be extremely repetitive and is badly in need of an editor. It could easily be turned into a long review article.

More importantly, one wonders if Morton's own views, however justified they may be, are not just as much a product of her presentist concerns as were the views of the historians she attacks. Morton, too, seems to want to use history, not merely to write it. Moreover, she may be attributing too much power to historians when she implies that their work shaped popular perceptions of African-American women. It seems fair to ask which came first, the popular myths of black women or the historical distortion? Did historians create the myths, or did they merely accept them, unthinkingly, and thus help to perpetuate them? And did novels and movies do more than historians to promulgate the distorted images of African-American women?

SHEILA L. SKEMP
University of Mississippi

PHILIP L. BARLOW. *Mormons and the Bible: The Place of the Latter-day Saints in American Religion*. (Religion in America Series.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1991. Pp. xxix, 251. \$32.50.

This volume has a somewhat dreary title for one of the most interesting books I have read on Mormonism in recent years. In his relentlessly polite way, Philip L. Barlow suggests that while many historians have been drawn to the more dramatic aspects of Mormon history—the church's conflict with its neighbors and the state, its millenarian beliefs, its communitarianism, its practice of polygamy, its early members' involvement in folk magic—they will never understand Mormonism as a religion, or its relationship to other expressions of American religion, until they come to grips with the Mormon understanding of the Bible.

Barlow makes a start in this direction by studying a handful of representative figures dating from the founding of the church to its most recent past. The first of these, Mormon founder Joseph Smith (1805–44), grew up in an America in which the Bible was not only the cornerstone of the church but also of culture itself. While Smith was fully versed in its use, he found the Bible an inadequate guide for religious life,

believing that its purity had become corrupted through the ages, and that this had led to the sowing of error and confusion. Accordingly, Smith, armed with divine authority, reworked the biblical traditions he had inherited, giving rise to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Smith's legacy to his church in regard to the Bible (as in so many other things) was diverse and often ambiguous. Not surprisingly, different church members have picked up on these various strands, or some combination of them, over the years. Within the church, for example, there is a conservative, if selective, biblical literalism that has often allied the saints with Protestant fundamentalists. Yet Smith, like many religious liberals, also stressed the insufficiency of human language in approaching the sacred and radically insisted on an open, receptive theology whose canon awaited the pronouncement of God's living oracles. Thus, the Mormons have proved hard for historians to map religiously because their biblical views, and the practices that those views gave rise to, aligned the saints, at different times, with evangelical Protestants, Catholics, Jews, and a number of unorthodox sects. Despite the church's tradition of theological diversity, Barlow argues, during the course of the twentieth century religious conservatives gradually triumphed over more liberal opponents, and in the 1960s successfully began institutionalizing their views.

This is a persuasive and well-written book that offers a fresh approach to understanding the saints within the larger context of American religion. A self-designated Mormon liberal, Barlow is remarkably generous to those with whom he disagrees. Where Barlow errs, such as he does, is in claiming more significance for his admittedly important theme than it merits and in exaggerating the influence of liberals within the church. Surely these are forgivable sins.

KENNETH H. WINN
Missouri State Archives

JOYCE D. GOODFRIEND. *Before the Melting Pot: Society and Culture in Colonial New York City, 1664–1730*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1992. Pp. xvi, 304. \$35.00.

New York City has always been polyglot. Every writer describing the Dutch origins of the city mentions the diverse ethnic and religious groups cohabiting the city by the Hudson before 1664. English conquest, with its veneer of Anglicization, only muddled the diverse ethnic waters further. Joyce D. Goodfriend picks up the story of New York's heterogeneity with the surrender of the Dutch burghers to the Duke of York's fleet in 1664 and provides a detailed analysis of the interaction between the distinct national groups until the 1730s. Her aim is to wed social history to political history as she asks how the change

of sovereignty from Holland to England affected the people who lived through this transition.

Using careful demographic analysis of each of the subsequent three generations—pulling on census, church, and marriage records, as well as wills and a wealth of other sources that reveal both a skilled and intrepid researcher—Goodfriend argues that a “pluralistic social order structured around Dutch, English, and French ethnoreligious communities emerged” (p. 7) that lasted well into the eighteenth century. The Dutch in New York sustained their own ethnic identity the longest. That identity revolved around the use of the Dutch language and the organization of the Dutch Reformed church. Even in the third generation after conquest, most Dutch males preferred marrying Dutch females. This marriage pattern was important because, as Goodfriend argues, it was the women who remained the bastions of Dutch culture and language not only through their attachment to the church but also in their role as housekeepers. After 1730, however, Dutch culture began to recede before the juggernaut of an English world largely because it became increasingly difficult for Dutch children to obtain education in the Dutch language. As New Yorkers moved toward the middle of the eighteenth century even the outlines of Dutch architecture and furniture gave way to English designs.

Goodfriend's study is more than a chronicle of the lingering Batavianization of New York City. She also traces the other ethnic groups in the city, providing compelling portraits of the city's French Huguenots, Germans, Jews, Scots, and Irish. This book contains a valuable chapter on African Americans in this period, discussing their ethnic diversity, efforts to educate slaves, and the confines placed around the slave's world that made it difficult for African Americans to develop the same sense of community association enjoyed by others.

Although the book occasionally bogs down in a welter of statistics—on marriage patterns, wealth cohorts, and occupational structures based on ethnicity—this information is central to the development of the argument. Moreover, Goodfriend strives to bring her numbers to life by highlighting the specific stories of some individuals. In the end, we have here a major contribution to our understanding of colonial America and an interesting case study of the variety in the history of American assimilation.

PAUL A. GILJE
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DAVID G. HACKETT. *The Rude Hand of Innovation: Religion and Social Order in Albany, New York, 1652–1836*. (Religion in America Series.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1991. Pp. xv, 240. \$29.95.

David G. Hackett chronicles the transformation of Albany, New York, from an outpost of the Dutch

empire into a bustling American city. The story is complex because "there never was a simple and straightforward movement from a traditional to a modern way of life in Albany" (p. 5). The people of Albany, unlike most colonists, "maintained their communal way of life until the eve of the Revolution" (p. 10).

Albany's social order, dominated by the Dutch Reformed church and the town's mercantile elite, faced two major challenges. First, the British tried to impose their law and customs on the Dutch inhabitants of Albany after conquering New Netherland in 1664. Then Jacob Leisler, who had led a Dutch popular rebellion against the British and New York City's anglicized Dutch elite, sent 100 armed men to Albany in November 1689 to foment a similar revolt. Both efforts failed. Albany's leaders preserved time-honored Dutch practices such as partible inheritance and severe franchise restrictions by manipulating British law. They monopolized the fur trade on the northern frontier and thus kept Albany closed to outsiders. And they frustrated Leisler's attempt to start a rebellion against Albany's anglicized merchants and clerics by bringing citizens from all classes together to fight the Iroquois, who had launched a devastating attack against nearby Schenectady in February 1690. Albany remained a united and thoroughly Dutch community through the 1740s.

Albany's real transformation began in 1755, when the British sent an army to Albany to defend New York against invasion from French Canada. A host of soldiers and settlers (mostly Scotch-Irish and English) descended on the town. The new inhabitants challenged the dominance of Albany's Dutch merchants by trading directly with British merchants, by investing in manufacturing, and by importing and exporting a wide range of goods. They also introduced the town's youths to British beliefs and customs. All of Albany's inhabitants, both old and new, rallied to the revolutionary cause in 1776 and found unity in their devotion to the new nation and to Protestantism. Ethnic strife was thus averted. But tensions remained and the town was now open to the outside world.

After 1790, Albany developed much like other boom towns on the northern frontier. Its economy and social order changed with the rise of a national market economy, and immigrants from New England brought an aggressive entrepreneurial style and a new democratic ethos, which were propagated through such organizations as the Methodist church and the Workingmen's Party. The Great Revival of the 1830s marked the triumph of entrepreneurship and egalitarianism, as the city's capitalists and workers alike embraced non-Calvinist evangelical faiths and threw their support to the Whig Party. Religion no longer shaped the social order, as it had in colonial Albany; instead, it spread the gospel of economic productivity and democratic politics that the residents of Albany had already embraced.

This is an excellent book, distinguished for its use

of a wide range of sources, from letters and woodcuts to tax lists and architectural plans. It qualifies Randall Balmer's pathbreaking synthesis, *A Perfect Babel of Confusion: Dutch Religion and English Culture in the Middle Colonies* (1989), by reminding us of the power of the frontier to shape culture and society. In more established areas, the Dutch common people supported Leisler's rebellion. After the rebellion was defeated, they embraced evangelical religion and migrated en masse to New Jersey and Pennsylvania, where they hoped to preserve their pietistic culture without interference from British authorities or anglicized Dutch elites. In the frontier city of Albany, however, the Dutch remained united and orthodox, until the Seven Years' War brought new settlers to the northern frontier and set Albany on an inexorable path toward Americanization.

RANDOLPH ROTH
Ohio State University,
Columbus

RICHARD WHITE. *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815*. (Cambridge Studies in North American Indian History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1991. Pp. xvi, 544. Cloth \$69.50, paper \$19.95.

Richard White has written a remarkable book that will change the way historians view the Great Lakes region during the colonial and early national periods. Elegantly written, thoroughly researched, and powerfully argued, the book describes in the clearest possible terms a world in the midst of profound historic change. In particular, White explicates the history of the "middle ground," which was both a geographic region and a process, a meeting place in both senses of the term. White succeeds so brilliantly that his approach should shape the way historians conceive of relations between American Indians and Europeans in other times and places as well.

To understand the meeting of diverse peoples in the Great Lakes region, White argues, it is necessary to probe events on the village—not the national, tribal, or imperial—level. He begins with a description of aspects of the middle ground—termed the *pays d'en haut* by French colonizers who traveled west of Huronia—that emerge from a historical landscape consisting of "dim shadows" (p. 2). This region became home, in the mid-seventeenth century, to a wide range of peoples, many of them Indian refugees who inhabited multiethnic villages in an area dominated by Algonquian-speakers, including Ottawas, Fox, Miami, Potawatomi, Sauks, and Illinois. Indians in the middle ground, like Indians throughout eastern North America, suffered as a result of epidemic disease, periodic famines, and wars against other Indians and European colonizers. Yet these catastrophic forces, already familiar to Algonquians before the mid-seventeenth century, were also, as White

notes, "the gruesome midwives attending the birth of the new world of the *pays d'en haut*" (p. 16). Rather than floating about cast adrift from traditional moorings, the Indians of the middle ground sought mediation with other peoples in the region, notably European colonizers who were themselves struggling to maintain their presence in the area. Significantly, Europeans and Indians alike acted in terms of village sensibilities and village needs with far greater frequency than they acted to serve the interests of an empire.

The book unfolds in a series of chapters that form a historical narrative, beginning with the establishment of the village world in the mid-seventeenth century, through the period of French-Algonquian exchange and diplomacy, the period of British-Algonquian dealings, the threats to that world in the wake of the American Revolution, and the eventual defeat of Indians in the Ohio country—and the middle ground itself—in the early nineteenth century. But this is not a one-dimensional political history of Indian-white relations in early America. Rather, in subtly argued chapters White skillfully describes the rich texture of life in the Great Lakes region, with thoughtful evocations of matters such as the shifting meaning of commodities moving between peoples, the significance of gift giving, and the rise of syncretic religious movements. Time and again White shows how the shared meeting ground of Indians and Europeans formed and eroded only to form again. Even those openly inimical to the idea of mediation, especially British leaders, could not conduct affairs in the region without accommodating themselves to the social customs of Indians. Although the middle ground weathered the rise and fall of French and British colonizers, it succumbed in the contest with the new American republic.

White's book succeeds so well because he fills its pages with stories of the different peoples of the middle ground. He expands our understanding of famous leaders, such as Daniel Boone and Pontiac, but, just as important, he also traces the actions of people heretofore unknown. White's stories often tell of the violence that seemingly lurked everywhere in the middle ground and that emerged with horrifying intensity in cycles of murder and revenge between villages. Yet violence, for all of its horrors, also defined the middle ground as surely as trade: "Sparkling similar deep emotions but different social responses in Algonquians and Europeans, murders forced the two groups either to kill again or to reach a mutually agreeable accommodation" (p. 343).

Underlying White's evocation of the middle ground lie two lessons about American history. First, we can best grasp the forces shaping past events by being sensitive to life at its most intimate level. Politics in the middle ground emerged most clearly at the village level, not the imperial; republics and confederacies, Algonquian and European alike, survived or perished according to what individuals in villages

chose to do. In this world of constant mediation, outsiders had little power; we need to ferret out the developments in the middle ground where, as White notes at one point, "the politics of the village and of the empire met" (pp. 142–43).

Second, and perhaps more important, White's lengthy narrative is itself a meditation on the nature of contingency in history. The ties that held Algonquians and Europeans together were cultural fictions created to solve pressing, immediate problems. That these solutions then shaped the way people conceived of relations between each other suggests the deep power and emotional force that they attached to their meeting. In this world the peoples of the middle ground invented traditions; this was especially obvious in the efforts of Indian prophets, such as the Delaware Neolin and the Shawnee Tenskwatawa, to forge new identities for their peoples, but it was evident as well in the ways that people believed they should treat with each other in their daily lives.

This is undoubtedly one of the best works on Indian-European relations in early America and an auspicious start to the Cambridge Studies in North American Indian History series. As such, while its length might regrettably dissuade some from assigning it to their students, it should be read by all historians who have an interest in early American history, American Indian history, and the nature of history itself.

PETER C. MANCALL
University of Kansas

LOUIS LEONARD TUCKER. *Clio's Consort: Jeremy Belknap and the Founding of the Massachusetts Historical Society*. Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society; distributed by Northeastern University Press. 1990. Pp. xii, 149. \$20.00.

Louis Leonard Tucker, the director of the Massachusetts Historical Society, has given us in this book a fine account of Jeremy Belknap, historian and founder of the society, and the early years of the institution. Tucker's book is a labor of love—the Massachusetts Historical Society means a good deal to him (as it should), and he clearly admires Belknap. The book is also the product of much research and thought about its subjects.

Belknap resembles in several ways a number of Massachusetts clergymen of the late eighteenth century. Born in Boston in 1744, he attended Boston Latin and Harvard College and then kept school in small towns in Massachusetts and New Hampshire while he studied for the Congregational ministry. The First Parish of Dover, New Hampshire, called him to its pulpit in 1767 where he preached and nourished his flock until 1786. His tenure may have been long in Dover, but it was not happy. The town was small and isolated from the intellectual world that attracted Belknap. Its people did not share his love of

books and history. Over the years, although he married and fathered children, he grew increasingly frustrated in his situation.

What set Belknap apart was his love of the past and his desire to write about it. Later this interest broadened to include a wish to form a collection of materials that might be used by historians of the United States. Even while he was immured in Dover, Belknap found ways to study and write. His major production was the *History of New Hampshire*, a work of three volumes published over an eight-year period between 1784 and 1792. Tucker gives a thoughtful account of this study, pointing out its departures from conventional practice. It is not subservient to theology, he says, and it is especially impressive for its scholarship, which Tucker calls "impeccably accurate." Belknap followed the *History with American Biography* (1794, 1798), the second volume of which appeared shortly after his death. Tucker treats this work with respect, but he suggests that it was a lesser effort than the *History of New Hampshire*, which can still be read with profit.

Belknap's greatest work, which has endured to the great benefit of scholars and the people of the United States, was the creation of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Others played a part in establishing the society, most notably John Eliot, Peter Thacher (both Boston ministers), William Tudor (a lawyer), and James Winthrop (who had been librarian of Harvard College). Belknap's motives probably did not differ greatly from those of others in the group: he loved historical knowledge and wanted to preserve it for the American people. He surely worked harder than the others for the founding of the society; he was indeed the major force in giving it life.

Tucker tells this story with extraordinary care and thoroughness. His book is not long, but it is meaty. In a sense it is a tribute to Belknap, but it is more than that. It is a valuable piece of history of one of the important centers of scholarship and culture in the United States.

ROBERT MIDDLEKAUFF
University of California,
Berkeley

JENNIFER NEDELSKY. *Private Property and the Limits of American Constitutionalism: The Madisonian Framework and Its Legacy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1990. Pp. xiii, 343. \$29.95.

This monograph by Jennifer Nedelsky is an ambitious attempt to analyze the relationship of private property rights on the one hand, and the American constitutional tradition on the other. Comparing the political thought of James Madison, Gouverneur Morris, and James Wilson, Nedelsky shows that all who supported the Constitution of 1787 did not share the view that property rights were preeminent and that limited republican government was impossible

unless property was protected from seizure by jealous majorities. This segment of the book is an excellent summary of early American political thought. The "Madisonian conception" linking constitutionalism and property, however, was shared by virtually all of the Philadelphia convention delegates. It arose well before the time of James Harrington, the seventeenth-century English philosopher who, with John Locke, articulated the next century's tacit acceptance of the place of economic power in political institutions. Without representation of landed (and later commercial) wealth the state could not survive. Indeed, almost all early American state constitutions included property qualifications for voting and holding office, and many gave double representation to absentee landowners, educational institutions, and municipal areas.

Nedelsky argues that, having agreed on the primacy of property rights, the Founding Fathers institutionalized inequality and frustrated democratic participation, which formed the focus of James Wilson's political thought. The process was further entrenched with Chief Justice John Marshall's establishment of judicial review and his distinction between politics and law, which left the critical defense of property rights in the hands of judges. Again, the author's assertions are not far from the mark. Those who sat at Independence Hall would have agreed that economic inequality and political disenfranchisement were acceptable costs for security of property rights and certainty in commercial transactions. These were practical men who firmly believed that the survival and economic prosperity of their new nation depended on economic stability and restored credit in international markets. Rhode Island's protection of local debtors and Virginia's defiance of debt collection provisions of the peace treaty of 1783 left them with few illusions concerning America's commercial reputation. Daniel Shays's rebellion alerted them to the civil disorder that might erupt from economic grievances fanned by democratic rhetoric. They were neither egalitarian nor democratic, and made no pretense about it.

From this historical foundation Nedelsky asserts that a bias toward property rights has inhibited the development of equality in American constitutional law; more recently the "myth" of property rights has befuddled the jurisprudence of the Warren Burger and William Rehnquist Supreme Courts. She suggests that having virtually abandoned the defense of private property in 1937, the Supreme Court persists in paying occasional lip service to early doctrine. Admittedly the now popular practice of "balancing" rights against governmental power is quite inadequate either in terms of political theory or in the need for legal predictability. The Founding Fathers would not have liked what happened in 1937, but they would have been even more dismayed at the state of property rights today, which, as Nedelsky suggests, are based on a shifting public consensus rather than any

fixed standard. Essentially Nedelsky looks toward a revision in American views concerning individual rights with greater reliance on collective, state-directed regulation or seizure. She also suggests that disparity in wealth should be reduced and that property redistribution might be considered not only as a means toward political and economic egalitarianism but also as a necessary antecedent to a restructured system of political and civil rights.

This is a well-crafted study that deserves attention despite its tendency to prefer regulatory democracy of the modern welfare state to property-based inequality. It raises thoughtful questions and provides perceptive and challenging suggestions concerning the possible future path of American constitutional thought. Liberals and libertarians alike will profit from giving it a close reading.

HERBERT A. JOHNSON
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STEPHEN B. PRESSER. *The Original Misunderstanding: The English, the Americans, and the Dialectic of Federalist Jurisprudence*. Durham, N.C.: Carolina Academic. 1991. Pp. xii, 272. \$34.95.

Readers who wish to appreciate just what is misunderstood here ought to read this book's conclusion first. According to Stephen B. Presser, the culprit is John Marshall, referred to sarcastically as the "Great Chief" and hero of "liberal" scholars seeking to "legitimize" the post-1937 Supreme Court (pp. 171-72). Marshall, argues Presser in this idiosyncratic book, abandoned the "original understanding" of the framers, who had formulated a "conservative" and "republican" jurisprudence based on religious morality and interpreted for an organic community by a deferentially treated magistracy. Two hundred years ago, he writes, Samuel Chase understood the true meaning of the framers' purpose; today, he maintains, Robert Bork does.

It will come as no surprise to readers familiar with Presser's previous work, much of which reappears in this book, that Chase is cast as the great hero of the early republic. Presser takes aim at the widely accepted description of Chase as a rabid partisan; instead, the justice's vehement attacks on his opponents were actually "an attempt at a creative and objective form of jurisprudence, based solidly in Anglo-American traditions" (p. 174). These traditions (which Presser argues were widely shared by the "framers") included broad judicial discretion and a civic humanist legacy involving "a greater measure of aristocracy and deference than is usually presumed" (p. 8). More remarkably, he asserts, they embodied Hobbesian "supraconstitutional principles" of the *Leviathan* state, which Presser claims were "a staple of common conservative English and American political theory and jurisprudence" (p. 99). Marshall abandoned these principles and "the conception that the

Constitution of 1787 was a document with fixed historical conservative meaning" (p. 162). In their place, the apostate chief justice introduced a long line of errors that has culminated in the modern "notion that it was the job of the law to liberate the individual from the moral dictates of the community" (pp. 175-76). Chase, we are told, more properly understood the moral and religious underpinnings of law and was driven to wage a vain struggle to maintain the "profoundly religious, almost late medieval, character of his jurisprudence" (p. 179) in the face of Marshall's "original misunderstanding." So powerful was Chase's religious conviction, suggests Presser, that it can even explain away Chase's egregious financial improprieties: the justification for his cornering the Baltimore flour futures market in 1778 "may well have been his deep and abiding religious conviction that whatever he did sprung from the wishes of a benevolent and omnipotent God" (p. 181).

To reveal the true meaning of the "original understanding," Presser draws broadly, indiscriminately, and reductionistically on numerous elements of eighteenth-century thought. He reiterates his insistence on the "prevailing judicial opinion . . . that there was a federal common law of crimes" (p. 120) and his dubious argument that Americans understood no distinction between the law of nations and such a federal common law. New England religious belief is extrapolated to explain the legal culture of Maryland. Republicanism and liberalism appear in their stereotyped and overdrawn forms. Contemporaries (and not just a few), we are told, truly believed that the Fries and Whiskey rebellions "represented very real threats to the continued existence of an independent and complete United States" (p. 31). By what must be an editorial oversight, the *Parson's Cause* of the mid-eighteenth century is situated in the immediate "post-revolutionary period" (p. 139).

A book whose conclusions admittedly derive from "some kind of Santayanan epiphany," this volume must be read with great caution and an awareness of its intended "relevance for the present" (p. 187).

DAVID THOMAS KONIG
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St. Louis, Missouri

G. EDWARD WHITE. *History of the Supreme Court of the United States*. Volumes 3 and 4, *The Marshall Court and Cultural Change, 1815-35*. (The Oliver Wendell Holmes Devise.) New York: Macmillan. 1988. Pp. xxi, 1009.

This volume by G. Edward White completes the series' coverage of the Marshall Court by tracing the last two decades of John Marshall's term as chief justice. As with the preceding volumes in the Oliver Wendell Holmes Devise History of the Supreme Court, this volume bears the stamp of the individual approach and preferences of its author. White

stresses the intellectual, ideological, and cultural context of the Court's familiar constitutional and important nonconstitutional decisions.

The first two chapters lay the groundwork for the subsequent legal and historical analysis by describing in detail the intellectual climate of the Marshall Court's work. White traces the early nineteenth-century cultural setting through the perceptive eyes of the novelist James Fenimore Cooper. Then, like so many historians of the period, he invokes the simple yet varied heritage of the republican tradition and insists that the Marshall Court was heavily influenced by an Americanized fusion of classical republican ideology and trans-Atlantic liberalism, tempered by Americans' self-image as a uniquely favored nation. White further sketches the jurisprudential background of the Court by analyzing the American legal treatise writers of the first decades of the nineteenth century. In this rich and thoughtful chapter White intersperses consideration of a few federal decisions while discussing the attempts by commentators and justices alike to create a uniform scientific, apolitical, American legal doctrine, less susceptible to judicial discretion and woven from such disparate sources as the English common law and equity, the civil law, the law of nations, and the law merchant. But, in fact, the commentators colored their version of this supposedly apolitical American scientific law with their own political vision of the country and its Constitution.

Before turning directly to the Court's decisions, White vividly details the boardinghouse conclave routine of the Marshall Court by which, until the late years of his term, Marshall sought to achieve broad consensus with his colleagues and at least the appearance of unanimity. White describes the diverse personalities associated with the Court, its practicing bar, its reporters, and, most importantly, its justices. These brief biographical sketches bring to life the debates within and around the Court.

These background chapters, occupying the first half of the book, prepare the reader for a detailed and comprehensive analysis of the Court's decisions in the second half of the volume. White, of course, discusses with occasional new insights the familiar constitutional decisions of these years. He also devotes several substantial chapters to a detailed analysis of the admiralty, prize, marine insurance, and international law cases of the period, the slavery and Indian cases, and the many nonconstitutional commercial cases decided in these years. A few opinions written by justices sitting on the circuit courts are also discussed, but the focus never shifts away from the Supreme Court to the lower federal courts. White carefully sorts out the issues of some complex cases where the decision turned on questions of procedure. The overall impression from a reading of these chapters is a fresh view of the full work of the Marshall Court with the few enormously significant, familiar constitutional cases appearing in the broader context of numerous tedious, less-publicized but also

highly enlightening cases which the Court thought through, puzzled over, and decided.

This is surely a volume that any historian of the pre-Civil War years, especially legal and constitutional specialists, should be familiar with. The emphasis in the earlier chapters on the republican tradition does not add sufficient insight into most of the Court's work to merit such expanded treatment. The political, social, commercial, and international developments of the period, which are only hastily sketched, are at least as significant in the Court's work as the amorphous republican tradition which meant such different things to so many vastly different leaders of the period.

H. J. BOURGUIGNON
University of Toledo

PAUL K. CONKIN. *Cane Ridge: America's Pentecost*. (The Curti Lectures.) Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1990. Pp. xi, 186. Cloth \$40.00, paper \$14.95.

Cane Ridge wins a few words in virtually every textbook in American history. The first camp meeting, the spark that set off the Second Great Awakening, the characteristic expression of frontier religion: the 1801 event at the small Kentucky meetinghouse takes credit for a number of roles. Paul K. Conkin would have us shift our perspective slightly, as he indicates in this overview of the context, meaning, and influence of the Cane Ridge revival.

Conkin follows Eric Leigh Schmidt in his assertion that the most significant historical precedent for, and influence on, the Cane Ridge revival was the Scottish communion season and its attendant revitalization of Presbyterian churches. Cane Ridge becomes an echo of the drama at Cambuslang, Scotland, in 1741–42. If the communion service provided the structure at Cane Ridge, however, the communion itself was overshadowed by the preaching, exhorting, praying, and, yes, the falling of those who attended.

What of those famous exercises that lend a moment of energy—even humor—to the survey class in U.S. history? Conkin reiterates that the jerks, barks, and falls did not appear first at Cane Ridge; he notes that the falling exercise appeared most often, and that holy laughter (verging on glossolalia) may have been the only true innovation among those exercises. If most of such involuntary physical effects were common, even traditional, they were not necessarily noncontroversial. Differences over the proper extent and role of exercises went hand in hand with differences over theology and over ministerial leadership to create the divisions that Conkin presents as a major legacy of Cane Ridge. Christians/Disciples of Christ split off from Presbyterians (and sometimes other denominations); Cumberland Presbyterians emerged as an altogether separate group. Of course, Cane Ridge promoted means to unity, too: if not quite a

full-fledged camp meeting itself, it gave impetus to the growth and spread of that institution.

Conkin originally presented this material as the 1989 Curti Lectures at the University of Wisconsin, and his interpretation appears here in only 178 pages of text. Not surprisingly, he sometimes seems to jump from one subject to the next without firm connections; indeed, some of the "Aftershocks" section seems made up of disconnected meditations. Among the subjects contemplated but not quite analyzed, let alone resolved, is the sticky issue of the influence of black spirituality on white evangelicalism. First Conkin places American revivals in the context of Scottish communion seasons; next he points out that virtually all the exercises seen at Cane Ridge had already occurred in Scotland; but finally he asserts that blacks "may have had some influence on expected or sanctioned ways of giving bent to religious ecstasy at Cane Ridge" (p. 104). The potential interpretive collision here between Scottish and African definitions of ecstatic behavior begs for more direct discussion. Scholars will be disappointed that such issues receive oblique or tentative treatment. Meanwhile, undergraduates will be confused by the number of historiographical issues raised. Although it sometimes seems curiously without audience, Conkin's book remains a thought-provoking meditation on the revival of 1801 and an effort to give historical depth to an event that too often is treated as a mere curiosity.

RUTH ALDEN DOAN
Hollins College

PETER B. KNUPFER. *The Union as It Is: Constitutional Unionism and Sectional Compromise, 1787–1861*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1991. Pp. xiv, 285. \$29.95.

"Truth and justice, sound policy and wisdom," declared Henry Clay in 1844, "always abide in the middle ground" (p. 119). This statement, the epigraph to one of the chapters in Peter B. Knupfer's stimulating and important study of the role played by political moderates in the sectional controversies of the first half of the nineteenth century, might well serve to introduce the book. Historians, the author correctly observes, have been preoccupied with the more distinctive (and definable) extremes of the political spectrum and hence have tended to overlook those who occupied the "middle ground." Yet few would disagree that it was precisely that "middle ground," arrived at through mutual concession and compromise, that had held the Union together. Knupfer has more than made up for the neglect. He has brought the moderates out into the light by placing them within a "unique constitutional unionist tradition" (p. x), based on Madisonian precepts, and by linking their "idea of compromise" with "constitutional political culture" (p. xi). The result is a tight, closely argued, and authoritative examination of the

intellectual and constitutional underpinnings of sectional compromise, a seminal study that opens a new dimension to the coming of the Civil War.

The "template" (Knupfer's word) of compromise was first fashioned in the deliberations of the constitutional convention and the subsequent ratification debates, when a "constitutional union, partly federal, partly national" (p. 56), held together by a "rhetoric of conciliation" (p. 21), gradually emerged. Not only did compromise become a means for preserving the republic but it also reflected the republican ideology that defined the new nation. What are the duties of citizenship in a republic? The question was repeatedly asked throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, indeed to the very eve of the Civil War, as Americans sought a national identity. Knupfer has found answers in a thoughtful analysis of the popular civics literature of the period, school texts, political pamphlets, philosophical treatises, histories, public orations, sermons, and the like. Where the people rule, where government rests on the consent of the governed, compromise—harmonizing conflicting interests and ideas—became a civic responsibility. The importance of Scottish Common Sense philosophy in providing a definition of an American ethics and the contributions of men such as Hezekiah Niles and Francis Lieber are examined in detail. Lieber stands out as having more than any other person "outlined the political and ethical context of compromise" (p. 70). Considerable attention is properly devoted to Henry Clay, the "Great Compromiser," and his "politics of limits and moderation" (p. 157). Clay, according to Knupfer, was a "popularizer, not a philosopher" (p. 121), a spokesman for whom compromise, resting on "civility, tolerance, respect, and good citizenship" (p. 192), became the mark of statesmanship.

Knupfer carries his narrative forward with penetrating studies of the Missouri Compromise and the Compromise of 1832–33, in which compromise became ritualized, and of the Compromise of 1850, a transitional development that heralded the weakening of the compromise tradition. The story ends with the shattering of the template in the 1850s, a climactic occurrence forecast in part by the rise of mass politics and by the gradual displacement of constitutional imperatives by party loyalties and divisive sectional issues. Speeding the demise was Stephen A. Douglas's Kansas-Nebraska Act, when one compromise, popular sovereignty, was used to destroy another. The Democratic Party became the only remaining "organized expression of the old constitutional unionism" (p. 203). Douglas and such elder statesmen as John J. Crittenden were finally left to make the last futile stand in 1860–61 in defense of the old constitutional union. "In 1861," Knupfer concludes this rewarding study, "James Madison's Union was dead, and Abraham Lincoln's was being born" (p. 211).

ROBERT W. JOHANNSEN
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JOAN E. CASHIN. *A Family Venture: Men and Women on the Southern Frontier*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1991. Pp. viii, 198. \$24.95.

In the 1830s, Samuel Townes felt his world closing in around him. A restless young man of a wealthy South Carolina family, he saw few opportunities to make his mark in the world on the worn out soil or in the overpopulated professions of the eastern seaboard. Like other wealthy planters' sons, Townes headed southwest to escape the stifling bonds of oversollicitous kin and settled society.

Joan E. Cashin centers her study of westering elites like Townes in the 1820s and 1830s around their challenge to southern definitions of masculinity, virtue, and the family. She depicts a society deeply bound by kinship and yet intimately affected by a new worship of masculine individualism and independence usually associated only with the North in these decades. At the very moment when large-scale agriculturalists were cementing the archetypal southern planter culture, the faltering seaboard economy opened the door for restless sons to adopt a more individualist ethos. Like their northern cohorts who invented the term, these southerners wanted to be "self-made" men. In a society built around gradations of dependence, only planters were independent, and every young man wanted to be one. Opportunities in the east were few. Fathers were living longer; land was occupied. To the young men, the frontier was a place to test their manhood, to be independent, to make it on their own. To their fathers, they were running away from manhood, from manly obligations to kin and society that alone could ensure stable hierarchy and southern social order.

Cashin's material on women is less surprising, echoing John Mack Faragher's earlier insights on westering. On this southern frontier, men grew more wild and women grew more dependent. Dueling, gambling, drinking, and running off, living like "a fighting cock" (p. 103) became a regular part of male frontier life; the women were left to deal with the household, isolated from the kinship networks that had sustained and reassured them back East. Men benefited disproportionately from the move, and it diminished women's power within the family.

Ironically, the men rarely escaped the kinship bonds they tried to redefine and rarely paid the price of the disruption. Since the venture cost approximately \$50,000 in land, slaves, transportation, and maintenance until the first paying crop, even at the start these rebels relied on relatives to provide the money banks would not risk. Moreover, when the men's ventures failed, they could more easily restore family financial bonds through the mail than women could restore the emotional ties and shared labor. Women's resentment, although expressed in their correspondence, never resulted in a critique of the power structure or even of their planter men.

This brief, highly readable volume touches on a

number of other topics as well. Cashin's discussion of slavery probably relies too heavily on notions of paternalism at the seaboard in contrasting the frontiersmen's willingness to dehumanize their slaves. But this lively, human exploration of race, class, and gender in westering before the great leap of the 1840s provides a new look at the impact of individualism in unsuspected places.

SARAH DEUTSCH
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CAROLYN C. COOPER. *Shaping Invention: Thomas Blanchard's Machinery and Patent Management in Nineteenth-Century America*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1991. Pp. xii, 326. \$45.00.

Among his many woodworking inventions, Thomas Blanchard's irregular turning lathe (1819) contributed most to his place in America's technological pantheon. In concert with ten related machines, the lathe mechanized the precision carving of wood into such irregular wooden shapes as gunstocks and ship's pulleys. Carolyn C. Cooper follows Blanchard and his machines across four decades of remarkable inventive success. In the process she illustrates the strengths and limitations of "internalist" history of technology. Her descriptions of how the machines worked, how they differed from extant competitors, and her lush technical illustrations will delight hardware aficionados.

As her title suggests, Cooper is less concerned with how or why Blanchard invented than with his skill in making patents turn a profit. Occasionally he worked inventions himself but more commonly he parlayed his wood shaping machines into a complex array of geographically and technically defined patent licenses and assignments that applied the same key design principles in a host of diverse wood manufactories. Blanchard played the patent system masterfully, petitioning for patent extensions, gathering his scattered licensees to petition congress for protection from Canadian competition, and pursuing endless infringement lawsuits. Death in 1864 found him well-to-do and eminent.

As Cooper observes in her thoughtful summary chapter, Blanchard's story helps us to understand a common funding source for new technology in an era of parsimonious capital markets. "If the inventor was . . . good enough at patent management he didn't need to risk his own money in the shaky developing economy of the early nineteenth-century United States . . . nor did he need to seek a single large entrepreneur to support him . . . Small entrepreneurs could take on small individual risks and collectively provide a sufficient reward to the inventor through royalties" (p. 245).

Unfortunately, those seeking "contextual" history, where technologies and technologists only take on full meaning in relationship with their larger social

order, will find the book mixing its rewards with considerable frustration. I was bothered by two repeated patterns: jargon overload and floating anecdotes. Thus, and typically: "From the early eighteenth century, oval chucks, whose action is based on the ancient ellipse-generating device of the simple trammel, have also been used for oval turning in ordinary mandrel lathes as well as rose engines" (p. 73). A glossary would help. Cooper salts her story with anecdotes having no apparent connection to her argument. To cite one example from many, we are never told why we need to know that a newspaper attributed a disastrous fire at the Winooski Block Manufacturing Company in 1838 to "gudgeons in the Blockmill" (p. 155). An endnote tells us that gudgeons are "end shafts turning in bearings," but how this relates to her interpretation of Blanchard or to anything else is left unstated.

Cooper contributes to technological history with her clearly expressed and perceptive readings of the inventor-patent nexus in the mid-nineteenth century. Unfortunately, her Blanchard remains *homo economicus*, a narrowly defined inventor-entrepreneur. I should like to learn more about him, and his machines, as citizens of their host society.

JOHN M. STAUDENMAIER, S.J.
University of Detroit Mercy

JOEL H. SILBEY. *The American Political Nation, 1838–1893*. (Stanford Studies in the New Political History.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1991. Pp. xii, 348. \$35.00.

American historians have always searched for benchmarks to differentiate a seamless political system that has used the same constitution and political structures for over two centuries. Some scholars have depended on presidential regimes as their classification, using, for example, the Age of Jackson or the Roosevelt New Deal. Others have relied on cyclical theories of reform and on public policy changes such as the emergence of a bureaucratic, administrative state in the twentieth century. More recently the application of statistics to political history has encouraged the use of voting turnouts, party realignment, and party systems as ways of charting the political past.

Joel Silbey establishes a comprehensive means of dividing American history into four political eras—or, as he terms them, "political nations"—compatible with the critical realignments of party systems but not determined by them. Silbey concentrates on the second of these eras—the party period as Richard L. McCormick named it—which dates from 1838 to 1893 and is characterized by the authority and popular power of political parties as the essential agencies of national public life.

Many political historians have analyzed elements of this period, but it is Silbey's contribution to synthesize and develop its specific characteristics. These are,

according to Silbey, the organization of political parties that found an enduring place in the hearts and minds of American men; the emergence of tripartite partisan structures that, after replacing an earlier reliance on networks of family and neighborhood, soon connected local, state, and national communities; the principles and issues of parties that rose above personal views to define public discourse; the vituperative "idioms of political warfare" that not only mobilized the voters but also undergirded the competitive two-party system of this epoch. Neither the realignment of the 1850s nor the Civil War shattered the party period, which, according to Silbey, continued to be characterized by high electoral turnouts, voting choices imbedded in culture and religion, and party dissimilarity. Only in the 1890s was this political nation overturned, as parties became the casualty of a new economic system whose corporate elites found them irrelevant and haphazard.

Like many observers of this period, Silbey is implicitly nostalgic about the weakening of the partisanship that was at the heart of nineteenth-century politics. Thus, Silbey's introduction is entitled "The Lost Atlantis" (in Walter Dean Burnham's phrase), and his epilogue glumly catalogues, under the heading of "After the Fall," the nonpartisan, personalist post-alignment nature of today's politics.

There will be disagreement with Silbey about his chronology, for it has long been an article of faith among nineteenth-century historians that the party period began in 1840 with the presidential campaign of William Henry Harrison and ended in 1896 or 1900. Some will complain that Silbey's definition of politics overlooks other important public arenas and that he exaggerates elements of continuity in his reading of nineteenth-century politics. Certainly his treatment of the 1890s lacks the freshness of evidence and quotation that marks his discussion of earlier years. Yet this volume ably fulfills its author's intention to "elaborate and synthesize a generation's research, including my own, and to present a description and an interpretation of a particular half-century long moment in American political life, a moment unlike any other before it or any that has existed since it passed from the scene in the 1890s" (p. vii).

JEAN H. BAKER
Goucher College

JONATHAN A. GLICKSTEIN. *Concepts of Free Labor in Antebellum America*. (Yale Historical Publications.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1991. Pp. 514. \$50.00.

"The world has as yet," Horace Greeley wrote in 1853, "hardly known what Free Labor is—it has had few or no full and fair specimens of it." Greeley was an untypical American writer, but, along with northerners, he had strong ideas about what free labor was not: it was not slavery, and it was not compatible with

slavery. Yet when they came to consider what free labor was, antebellum Americans, North and South, had to grapple with deeper moral and political issues about both freedom and labor. Jonathan A. Glickstein's formidable book offers an archaeology of these debates and an exacting account of how Americans tried to resolve them. It is a remarkable intellectual achievement, with wide implications for the study of all of modern history.

Glickstein frames his investigation around the classical distinction between mental and manual labor and the abiding odium that Western culture attached to the latter as involuntary, menial, and therefore socially degraded. Although he discusses how Christian *caritas* and the Calvinist idea of the calling modified the distinction, Glickstein insists that it survived down to the nineteenth century. But what was its fate in the United States? One of America's founding myths was of its exceptionalism, its break with traditional Old World hierarchies. America, supposedly, was "the poor man's best country," where labor had dignity and where every man was a self-made man. In the writings of numerous middle-class publicists, famous and obscure, Glickstein discovers repeated idealizations of free labor as the fulfillment of America's world-historical great departure.

Nevertheless, Glickstein writes, the myth of American exceptionalism, even when combined with disparate free-labor, antislavery views, did little to alter what he calls "the pervasive stigmatization of manual labor." In some ways the myth actually deepened the stigma—for a person's failure to rise above menial pursuits in the New World could easily indicate some flaw in character or ability. Even radical critics of early industrialism, who were wary of exceptionalist dogma and decried the "Europeanization" of American labor, wound up replicating the association between drudge work and slavishness.

Americans did not, on that account, overpraise the more rarified intellectual occupations. For reasons that are familiar to American historians, the liberal professions remained suspect as excessively narrow, elitist, and privileged. Yet neither did middle-class American social attitudes affirm the dignity of physical labor. Through free-market mechanisms or more restrictive, coercive measures, Glickstein observes, the antebellum United States, like traditional societies, linked manual labor to those with the least power and status—women, slaves, children, and ethnic minorities. (Hence the common contrasts between "honorable work" and "nigger work" or "Paddy work" or "women's work.") The momentous attack on the slave power and the elevation of contractual free labor as a model of human affairs changed the terms of discussion in ways that eventually would help precipitate a cataclysmic Civil War. But they did not abolish the ancient discrimination between mental and manual, esteemed and abused.

This quick sketch barely conveys the ambitiousness of Glickstein's undertaking or the subtlety of his

renderings. Hardly any of the important current issues in antebellum social and intellectual history escape his analysis, either in the text itself or in his staggering footnotes (which account for about two-fifths of the book). From shifting perspectives, Glickstein considers conflicting ideas about labor-saving technology, the class and racial components of proslavery ideology, the cult of domesticity, and more. He also brings to bear a mastery of the recent writings on the history of American labor (slave and free), about which he has views of his own, presented with modulation in the notes. Although it is closer in conception to a social history of ideas than to a linguistic analysis, the book peels away the hidden historical meanings of capacious terms (above all, "free labor") that scholars too often take for granted.

Glickstein does not make life easy for his readers. He sometimes sidles up to important points, only to drop them. Occasionally he must pause to rehearse exactly what it is he is arguing. The book's topical structure and its emphasis on continuities in American thought tend to slight the development of various ideas between 1800 and 1860. Glickstein's overall concern with the dichotomy between mental and menial labor still leaves room to explore some of the political and social ambiguities that would have enormous consequences in later years—above all Americans' attempt to amalgamate, in free labor ideals, what he calls "'small producer,' republican values" of personal independence with "those more resolutely liberal capitalist values" that exalted talent, enterprise, and personal efforts to surpass mere independence.

But great subjects reward hard work. Reading Glickstein, arguing with him, and following his imaginative connections amount to an exhilarating journey to the core of mid-nineteenth-century American culture—a journey that leads to a devastating meditation on freedom, unfreedom, and the meanings of free labor.

SEAN WILENTZ
Princeton University

JEFFREY S. ADLER. *Yankee Merchants and the Making of the Urban West: The Rise and Fall of Antebellum St. Louis*. (Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Modern History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1991. Pp. vii, 274. \$42.50.

Jeffrey S. Adler has set himself the task of explaining the rapid rise of St. Louis to commercial prominence in the 1830s and 1840s, when it became the largest city west of Cincinnati and north of New Orleans, and its transformation in the 1850s, when Chicago surged to the fore as the chief commercial emporium of the great West. (Actually, of course, it was not until 1880 that the census office reported a larger population in Chicago than in St. Louis).

The answer, Adler argues, is a simple one. Begin-

ning in the 1830s and increasingly in the 1840s, "Yankees" (a term that includes New Yorkers in Alder's lexicon) flocked to St. Louis. Attracted by the intertwined eastern perceptions of an "open" city on the edge of the untamed frontier and a town of economic opportunity and social malleability, these easterners brought investment capital, easy access to much larger financial resources in the Northeast, and a vision of what St. Louis society and politics should be. The city was transformed; the infusion of capital and credit enabled it to transcend the restraints of Missouri's antibank attitudes and provincial economy and to emerge as the chief mercantile center of the West. These economic changes were accompanied by a "cultural revolution" led by the "Yankees" that made the city "the offspring of the East."

But in the 1850s all this changed. The fickle north-eastern press, demanding constant novelty, had abandoned St. Louis, as it had earlier discarded Cincinnati, and had begun to cast about for other cities of opportunity. The "Yankees," always heavily influenced by their press, ceased their trek to St. Louis (actually in the late 1840s). Then came the traumatic break in the mid-1850s when the "Yankees" associated all of Missouri with the Kansas border ruffians and, under the leadership of Eli Thayer, withdrew their capital from the city for political reasons. The "Yankees" turned their attention instead to Chicago and made it the leading city of the West. The "Yankee" giveth and the "Yankee" taketh away.

To this simple—indeed, simplistic—story one is inclined to take exception. It was natural that credit should flow into St. Louis (as into other western cities) from the area (the Northeast) where credit was most readily available, and that St. Louis, with its generation of local capital inhibited by a state constitution written in the aftermath of the 1819 panic, should be seen as an attractive area for exploitation. The "Yankee" disillusionment with St. Louis, it seems to me, was primarily the result of the increase in commercial competition that accompanied the city's growth. But it is hardly creditable that Eli Thayer had the power to control the availability of credit to St. Louis merchants, whatever he claimed in his private correspondence (p. 141). Certainly, in the 1850s, eastern connections no longer promised healthy profits and the Panic of 1857 affected most severely those St. Louis merchants closely tied to the eastern mercantile houses.

That panic, Adler says, "accelerated the exodus of Yankee merchants from St. Louis" (p. 152), and it is certainly likely that it was a major cause of whatever emigration there was. But Adler does not establish the reality of such an "exodus" by any persuasive quantitative evidence, relying rather on a few accounts of individuals. "During the late 1850s St. Louis held little for prominent Yankees," writes Adler, "by 1860 fewer than 6 percent of St. Louis residents hailed from the Northeast" (p. 152); in 1850 the figure had been 5.53 percent. Some exodus.

Nor should we accept Adler's inference that easterners were more heavily attracted to St. Louis than to other western cities in the 1840s. In 1850 New Englanders comprised a larger percentage of the out-of-state native population in Chicago, Cincinnati, Detroit, and Milwaukee than in St. Louis; the same was true for natives of the middle states. In short, the "Yankee" connection with St. Louis may well have been less important and less calculated than Adler suggests and it was certainly not peculiar to that city.

Adler has employed an impressive body of sources: contemporary newspapers and journals, manuscript collections, city government documents, the R. G. Dun credit reports, the U.S. manuscript census, travel accounts, directories, and a wide array of secondary works. The text is heavily documented by extensive end notes. He has marshaled and analyzed much useful material and advanced a number of stimulating interpretations. This book adds to our understanding of the process of the diffusion of urban life in antebellum America and thus makes valuable contributions to the fields of American urban, social, and economic history.

LEONARD P. CURRY
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ROBIN L. EINHORN. *Property Rules: Political Economy in Chicago, 1833–1872*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1991. Pp. xvii, 295. \$34.95.

City government in mid-nineteenth-century Chicago, according to Robin L. Einhorn, was remarkably non-partisan, free from corruption, and efficient. In this persuasive and meticulously researched study, Einhorn explores the workings of municipal government in Chicago between 1833 and 1872. Property owners, she concludes, not only shaped public policy but they also controlled the decision-making process. Such a "privatized" system facilitated the rapid development of the city's physical infrastructure and minimized conflict and partisan wrangling.

Using hitherto undiscovered tax records, Einhorn analyzes the process through which streets were paved and lighted, nuisances were abated, sidewalks were constructed, and other improvements were undertaken. Her examination of the operation of special tax assessments and similar devices of municipal financing reveals that three systems of city government operated between 1833 and 1872. In the first system, which lasted until the mid-1840s, boosters dominated municipal government, relying on a broad consensus and city-wide policies to stimulate urban growth.

Einhorn's principal contribution, however, is her sophisticated reconstruction of the "segmented system" that constituted the second phase of municipal government in Chicago. Decision making, she argues, was more decentralized and privately controlled than other studies of nineteenth-century city government

have suggested. During the mid-1840s Chicago's explosive growth shattered the "old consensus" on economic issues and generated increasing demands on the physical infrastructure of the city. In response, residents created a privatized system of government. Rather than financing improvements through city-wide or general taxes, municipal officials relied on a segmented, locally controlled process. If property owners wanted streets paved or lighted, they agreed to pay special taxes. Such a system funneled private capital into public works, removed improvements from the political arena, "limited urban citizenship to the owners of real estate" (p. 17), and insured that those with the greatest property interests controlled public policy. Thus, "property ruled" Chicago, and residents without property exerted scant influence.

During the 1860s changes in the social structure of the city, particularly the rise of a new class of millionaires, in combination with a series of successful legal challenges undermined the segmented system. A more pluralist and centralized system in which interest groups battled for the power to define the "public interest" evolved during the postbellum period. In the new system, millionaires attempted to spread the costs of improvements across the city and machine politicians vied for power. Class tensions and partisan competition assumed increasing roles in the operation of municipal government.

Einhorn's analysis of Chicago is persuasive and provides an important conceptual framework for scholars attempting to understand the rise of modern municipal government. As Einhorn notes, however, the extraordinary growth of antebellum Chicago forged the segmented system. But few, if any, other cities grew as rapidly as did Chicago. Thus, the segmented system may not have operated in the same manner in other urban centers, where growth was less compressed. Until other scholars undertake similar work, however, such a question cannot be fully answered. In sum, Einhorn has made a major contribution to urban and political history. This is an excellent book.

JEFFREY S. ADLER
University of Florida

WILLIAM C. DAVIS. *Jefferson Davis: The Man and His Hour*. New York: HarperCollins. 1991. Pp. xv, 784. \$35.00.

William C. Davis prefaces this lengthy biography of the Confederacy's only president with a just observation on the poor quality of past biographies of Jefferson Davis. His own attempt is, happily, much more satisfying. While other historians have done their poorest work when turning their attentions to the Confederate president, Davis (no relation) has undoubtedly done his best, exceeding in skillful writing and insightful analysis all of his not inconsiderable previous works on the Civil War.

The book follows Jefferson Davis through various schools in Mississippi and Kentucky. Some of the author's best insights into the formation of Davis's character come in these early chapters, as he weighs the influence of an aged and reserved father, a paternalistic elder brother, and early tragedies. In Davis's West Point and regular army years the author sees signs of indecisiveness, as the young man wavered repeatedly on entering and, later, abandoning a military career. The final element in the shaping of the future president's character is provided in his tragically brief marriage to Sarah Knox Taylor. Davis's eagerness to move up the date of the wedding led him to bring his new bride to the malarial Mississippi delta country at the height of the mosquito season. To deal with the guilt of her subsequent death by that disease, Davis developed the habit of insisting, in effect, that he could never err on any matter, lest the admission of his fallibility convince him that his error had caused his beloved's death.

Davis's service in Congress, in the Mexican War, and as secretary of war are dealt with adequately and, by and large, sympathetically, although the author appropriately reserves the bulk of the book for Davis's Civil War career. The Confederate president is depicted as sincere in his avowal that he had not sought the position yet was dedicated to his cause and determined to do his duty. His conduct of the war is subjected to a somewhat less-sympathetic though still thoroughly fair analysis. In this the book offers little that is startlingly new to scholars of the Confederacy. The author credits Robert E. Lee with wisdom in learning and practicing the skills necessary to work well with Davis, while Braxton Bragg is given predictably short shrift and President Davis indicted for sustaining him. On the whole, however, the work provides an excellent overview of Davis's role in the war.

Davis's postwar career is dealt with at less length and the concluding chapter is devoted to an excellent and judicious assessment of the Confederate president. The author concludes that while Davis's shortcomings made him unsuited for the job, he did at least as well, and probably better, than any other viable candidate for the position would have done, for, after all, he faced a task that was simply impossible.

Some will be disappointed at the author's decision to make little use of the large body of available secondary material on the subject. Although few could fault him for disregarding the generally sad Davis biographies, a greater use of other pertinent secondary materials might have strengthened the work. Still it cannot be denied that William Davis has put all students of the Civil War much in his debt by admirably filling a serious gap in previous scholarship. His study of the Confederate president no doubt will soon be joined by a number of others, and many historians of the Confederacy will disagree with some of his conclusions. Nevertheless, his work is, for

the present, by far the best comprehensive study available on Jefferson Davis.

STEVEN E. WOODWORTH
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CHARLES ROYSTER. *The Destructive War: William Tecumseh Sherman, Stonewall Jackson, and the Americans*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1991. Pp. xii, 523. \$30.00.

This sprawling, splendid reverie on war deserves all the praise and honors that have come to its author. Beginning with the burning of Columbia, South Carolina, in 1865, Charles Royster turns back to give us sharply etched portraits of T. J. (Stonewall) Jackson and William Tecumseh Sherman. Aggressive and relentless both, they epitomize the vengeful actions of destruction that Royster demonstrates characterized the Civil War from start to finish. From Thucydides's description of the horrible slaughter of the Peloponnesian War, we have had to be told again and again—to no avail—how terrible war is. Royster has forced us to see just how American we made the destruction wrought between 1861 and 1865. We had created a "mystical faith in the moral benefits of combat" (p. 266). War makers in the 1990s have kept that faith all too well.

Away from the burning-brush killing and men wounded in the day's battle, observers sought to create a memory of the horror: "As the war grew more terrible—as it apparently escaped control—its hold on many minds grew stronger. More important than the shock of killing, more desirable than peace, was the assurance that fighting the war would prove right. With this assurance, derived in part from finding uplifting emotion in the violence, people could confront the worst scenes" (p. 271).

Absent from Royster's telling analysis of some thirty million white Americans' Civil War is the fact that, for four million Americans who were slaves, it was a war of liberation. This was not his topic, and he must not be faulted for the book that he did not write, but the paradox nonetheless is there. Americans did not fight World War II to save the Jews, but the result of their side's victory was the ending of the Holocaust. So, with civil war, the United States, at terrible cost, addressed slavery, but, in the main, the men Royster writes about did not see their war as doing so. Only on the side were they doing the job that the politicians had failed to do peaceably. Historians have never satisfactorily squared America's two civil wars; the one that wrenched and distorted a nation with the one that set a people free.

Even-handed throughout, Royster demonstrates that a determination to fight viciously was there from the start in both the South and the North. Americans all, the will to define an enemy in absolute terms and to destroy it was a part of the national character. As Royster notes, this was to have drastic consequences

in the Plains Wars against the Indians and thereafter. And so, it was a brothers' war after all. The difference is that the brothers acted despicably and, once the war was over, dangerously, rather than, as once pictured, honorably in war and nobly later as they sought reunion in a newly powerful nation.

There is another, ironic message in Royster's powerful narrative, as there is in many of the recent studies of the Civil War. Despite a keen critical eye on the ghastly human costs and the destruction of the struggle, there remains, in the compelling telling and retelling of the nation's epic war, in these sad stories of the death of kings, an unintended yielding to the seduction of war.

WILLIAM S. McFEELY
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JAMES W. GEARY. *We Need Men: The Union Draft in the Civil War*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 1991. Pp. xvii, 264. \$32.00.

James W. Geary's work on Union conscription during the Civil War is the most comprehensive treatment we now have of the subject, covering Federal and Confederate volunteer recruitment policies before the draft, the bounty incentive system, the passage and administration of the Militia Draft of 1862 and the Enrollment Act of 1863, the complexities of the state quota system, the social characteristics of northern draftees, opposition to the draft, the debate over exemptions and the commutation system, the political fallout from the draft, its relation to the events of the war, public opinion of conscription at the end of the war, and, finally, its relation to the present-day policy of nonconscription. That is, admittedly, a mechanical listing of topics, but this is a study of a mechanism.

The book is quite valuable when it dwells on the question of how the draft worked. Of the 292,441 names first drawn in 1863, about 190,000 were excused because of physical disability or hardship, about 52,000 paid a \$300 commutation fee for exemption, and about 26,000 provided a substitute. In the end, 9,881 men, or about 3 percent of the names in that draw, became conscripts. As for illegal avoidance, there were, all totaled, 161,244 draft evaders or "skedaddlers" out of 776,829 men called. In general, says Geary, a northern man had about a 1 percent chance of being drafted. By the end of the war, conscripts had comprised about 5 percent, or 46,347, of all Union soldiers; the Confederate rate was twice as high. Not only were southerners more likely to be drafted, they were also more likely to be soldiers in any case: 80 percent of all able southern men eventually saw service, compared to about half the able northerners.

The book is especially useful when it considers the argument of whether this war was, according to a slogan of the times, "a rich man's war but a poor man's fight." If not exempted, a man, once drafted,

had ten days to pay the commutation fee or hire a substitute. About one-fourth of all Union draftees paid their commutation fee, regardless of their occupation. About 60 percent of professional men, and the same percentage of skilled laborers, hired substitutes; about 40 percent of farmers, and the same percentage of unskilled workers, hired substitutes. Geary concludes that the draft was not a burden to individuals "by any standard" (p. 168), nor was it particularly discriminatory in socioeconomic terms: "the Union army was more representative of the population than many of its counterparts in the twentieth century. If any class was underrepresented in Northern ranks, it was unskilled workers" (p. 170). This important finding is Geary's chief contribution and shows his opposition to those historians who claim the poor could not have afforded to buy their way out.

The book's weak points, for me, are its lack of analysis of the philosophical debate surrounding conscription (arguments are referred to but never examined or quoted), the absence of any description of how actual conscripts made their choices and lived their lives (were there not some Bill Clintons back then striving to explain themselves?), and its laborious rendering of the languid details of a bureaucracy's operations, which might make it a book that a draft board clerk or a military personnel specialist would love.

MICHAEL BARTON
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 Harrisburg*

C. ROBERT HAYWOOD. *Cowtown Lawyers: Dodge City and Its Attorneys, 1876-1886*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1988. Pp. xiv, 289. \$24.95.

In this book, C. Robert Haywood studies the men who collectively constituted the legal life of Dodge City during its heyday as the nation's premier cattle town. Through a close examination of the profession most immediately associated with the institutions of law and order, Haywood proposes to fill in a crucial yet missing piece in the history of the "Beautiful, Bibulous, Babylon of the Frontier."

The work is based on a biographical treatment of Dodge City's first generation of lawyers. Central are two men, Harry E. Gryden and Michael W. Sutton, who represented, respectively, the accommodation of the town's first attorneys to the "old free ways" of the wide-open cattle center, and the concurrent efforts to transform Dodge into a more sedate and, in Victorian terms, moral town. Adversaries around whom other lawyers rallied, Gryden and his "gang" and Sutton and his "boys" stood at the center of divisions (paralleled in party politics and conflicts over prohibition) that defined the town's beginnings and shaped its eventual transformation.

Haywood begins with an overview of Dodge City, its local courts, and its legal talent between 1876 and

1886 (chaps. 1-3). Particularly noteworthy are chapters 2 and 3, in which Haywood describes the day-to-day business of the courts and examines the background, training, and tenure of the town's legal illuminati. In these chapters Haywood emphasizes how the legal system constrained lawyers and civilians alike, belying the "stereotype of frontier or cattletown justice as being 'make-shift as the towns that sprang up along the frontier's far edges'" (p. 20).

In chapters 4-7, Haywood treats the careers of Gryden and Sutton and their allies through a series of informative and often entertaining biographies. He closes the book with three chapters that examine how men associated with Gryden's "gang" made their peace with the new domestic order in Dodge City, the role of lawyers peripheral to the legal life of the town (because of careers spent in journalism and real estate), and, finally, how after 1886 a new generation of lawyers came to the fore, finalizing the end of the contentious years 1876-86.

In his final chapter Haywood reiterates his central proposition: the legal history of Dodge City from 1876 to 1886 was indivisible from the larger sociopolitical conflicts inherent in the town's career as a cattle town. The town's lawyers stood on both sides of Dodge City's "real-life morality play" (p. 241), including in their ranks partisans of the "male dominated center of the highly mobile cattle men" (p. xii), as well as adherents of a more placid, more modern, social order that would bring Dodge into the "mainstream of American moral and social concepts" (p. 242). Finally, and above all, he reiterates his view of how the lawyers of Dodge played a crucial role in the town's history. Committed to the canons of the legal profession, even if contrary to their personal and partisan desires (as in the case of Gryden and his "gang"), Dodge's lawyers inevitably hastened the embrace of an efficient and rational rule of law at odds with the social disorder of the early cattle town.

DAVID A. JOHNSON
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THOMAS A. WOODS. *Knights of the Plow: Oliver H. Kelley and the Origins of the Grange in Republican Ideology*. (The Henry A. Wallace Series on Agricultural History and Rural Studies.) Ames: Iowa State University Press. 1991. Pp. xxii, 254. \$26.95.

During the past fifteen years, historians of eighteenth and nineteenth-century America have expended a great deal of time and energy exploring the evolving relationship between republicanism and capitalism. Inspired by J. G. A. Pocock's *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (1975), American historians have left few stones unturned in their collective exploration of the republican diaspora. Now, thanks to Thomas A. Woods, this exploration has even reached into the Grange hall. A former site manager of the Oliver H.

Kelley farm at Elk River, Minnesota, Woods has written a highly imaginative and thought-provoking study of Oliver H. Kelley and the ideological origins of the Patrons of Husbandry, better known as the Grange. Originally an American studies dissertation written at the University of Minnesota, this book is a carefully crafted blend of biography, intellectual history, and institutional analysis.

Most studies of the Grange, including Solon J. Buck's *The Granger Movement* (1913) and D. Sven Nordin's *Rich Harvest: A History of the Grange, 1867–1900* (1974), stress the social, educational, and ritualistic aspects of the organization. Far more conservative than the Farmers' Alliance or the People's Party, the Grange allegedly had only a tangential connection to the agrarian radical tradition. Woods takes issue with this standard interpretation, which, he argues, stems from a misplaced emphasis on the post-1875 period, when the Grange was in sharp decline. A careful analysis of the early years of the Grange, according to Woods, reveals that the founders of the organization offered a radical "critique of monopoly capitalism" (p. xxi). The Grangers were neither atavistic reactionaries nor moderate proto-progressives; instead, "the early organizers of the Grange were a radical group who believed American farmers were eager to participate in the promise of the new industrial republic. They did not want to return to an idyllic self-sufficient past. These organizers felt that farmers were being denied equal opportunity in the new commercial society, partly because many farmers did not know how to participate and partly because a new capitalist elite was using the farmers' labor to enrich themselves at the farmers' expense" (p. xx). Much like the Alliancemen described in Lawrence Goodwyn's *Democratic Promise* (1976), the early Grangers placed their trust in economic cooperatives while developing a movement culture that invoked the ideals of republican virtue and the cooperative commonwealth.

To prove his point, Woods focuses on the intellectual and political odyssey of Kelley, the primary founder of the Grange. A Bostonian who migrated to the central Minnesota frontier in 1849 at the age of twenty-three, Kelley became a moderately successful farmer and land speculator in the years prior to the Civil War. A devotee of scientific farming and agricultural experimentation, he also dabbled in local and state politics. In 1864, the Lincoln administration appointed him to a clerkship in the Department of Agriculture, and three years later he and several associates founded the Patrons of Husbandry. For a decade Kelley spearheaded the organization's rise to national prominence, but a series of internal disputes and the organization's declining fortunes led to his resignation in 1878. Relocating in Florida, he devoted his final years to town building and a semi-secret agrarian society known as the Golden Sheaf.

The author's intellectual portrait of Kelley is carefully drawn and persuasive, and his challenge to the

traditional interpretation of the Grange's early leadership is almost certainly warranted. His suggestion, however, that these findings necessitate a broad reinterpretation of the Grange is debatable. Despite its strengths, Woods's monograph is a narrowly focused study that all but ignores the history of the Grange as a mass movement. Thus, the extent to which Kelley's rhetoric and activities reflected the ideas and aspirations of the hundreds of thousands of farmers who joined the Grange remains an open question. This volume is a welcome addition to agrarian and republican historiography, but an authoritative reinterpretation of the Grange can only come from a scholar who pays careful attention to the social history of the organization and its context, someone who recognizes that in the Grange hall, as elsewhere, there were always more pawns than knights.

RAYMOND ARSENAULT

University of South Florida

DAVID ROSNER and GERALD MARKOWITZ. *Deadly Dust: Silicosis and the Politics of Occupational Disease in Twentieth-Century America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1991. Pp. xiii, 229. \$29.95.

Silicosis is defined in *Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary* as "a condition of massive fibrosis of the lungs marked by shortness of breath and caused by prolonged inhalation of silica dusts." David Rosner and Gerald Markowitz, however, do not clearly define it. That failure simply replicates a history of apparent inability to separate out silicosis from a variety of lung disorders, more or less occupation related. The disease was most consistently confused with tuberculous. Indeed, only with the general decline of TB rates in the decades around the turn of the century was the condition clearly differentiated from TB. Even the term silicosis was not widely used in the United States until the 1920s. Those early investigators who did recognize the specific nature of the condition generally tended to believe it was at worst an inconvenience and only a partially disabling condition, mainly among the elderly.

The "danger" of silicosis moved in and out of vogue, at one point reaching definitions of epidemic proportions in the years of the Great Depression, then to a social state of virtual nonexistence by the 1950s. Today it is almost impossible to find anyone outside of specialists in occupational diseases who would have more than a passing awareness of that condition's danger or treatment. So why write a book about silicosis? The volume may not be classified as medical history such as that provided on cholera by Charles Roseberg (*The Cholera Years* [1962]) and with which this book is briefly compared. This is not the interest of the authors. Although the work is subtitled the "Politics of Occupational Disease," it is only vaguely concerned with politics in a strict sense. According to the dust jacket, silicosis is used as a

sampling device to examine the process of "negotiation through which workers, bureaucrats, physicians, and industry constructed generation-specific perceptions of and responses to the disease." Herein is the contribution of Rosner's and Markowitz's work. While not original, the volume does draw attention more clearly than most previous works to social selectivity as a major factor in the extent of danger posed by disease in a culture at any given time.

Silicosis and, for that matter, cholera both attracted societal concern, even alarm on occasion. These reactions were, however, less due to the actual consequences of these conditions than to the social, political, and economic forces that gave them prominence. Although the authors do not press it, the "social selectivity" thesis continues to have applicability. AIDS is presently perceived, quite properly, as a vicious killer, but it is a disease assigned epidemiological privilege. The demand for resources to remedy it is enormous, in large part because the illness has been selectively elevated to public concern. Relative to actual impact, about thirteen cancer deaths and eighteen heart disease deaths occur for every AIDS-related fatality, at least in the United States. While a harsh assertion, it is unlikely that even AIDS can maintain its present competitive prominence. New social selections or definitions of public health dangers are surely awaiting their moment in time.

This volume is well worth reading as a significant contribution to American social history. The thesis is interesting, well stated, and warrants reflection on its larger application in the nation's past. The value of the work would be increased had the authors spent more time developing the index, which is poor, and had they provided the reader with ready reference to a bibliography, but these are minor flaws.

CHARLES O. JACKSON
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HERBERT HOVENKAMP. *Enterprise and American Law, 1836-1937*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1991. Pp. x, 443. \$39.95.

During the century preceding the first New Deal no institution symbolized change more than the business corporation. Transportation, finance, and manufacturing corporations helped to transform America from a rural commercial to an urban industrial nation. Yet these enterprises occupied an ambiguous place in politics, law, and popular imagination. From Andrew Jackson to Franklin D. Roosevelt, politicians both condemned and defended the role of the corporation in the nation's life. Scholars with as diverse ideological perspectives as J. Willard Hurst and Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., or Morton J. Horwitz and Gabriel Kolko, have attempted to explain the politician's ambivalence. No one, however, has met this daunting challenge better than Herbert Hovenkamp.

Contemporary political discourse and subsequent scholarly analysis supported or attacked the corporation on the basis of two broad policy assumptions. One measured the worth of the corporate form according to a public-interest standard in which the grant of private rights was compatible with wider social welfare. The other presumption was that once the state granted a corporate charter, the private not only superseded the public interest but that the private organizational structure soon overwhelmed or "captured" popular efforts to control it as well. Hurst and Chandler concluded that, at least over the long term, private and public interests were reconcilable. In period studies of antebellum American law and turn-of-the-century regulation respectively, Horwitz and Kolko argued, by contrast, that capture by one private group or another prevailed. Politicians viewed the process somewhat differently. Jackson condemned the Bank of the United States as evil, representing domination by domestic and foreign capitalists. The state banks, however, were good because they benefited American producers. After Jackson, politicians such as William Jennings Bryan, Theodore Roosevelt, and Woodrow Wilson ultimately accepted the distinction between "bad" and "good" corporate forms.

One of Hovenkamp's significant contributions is to provide a new way of looking at these issues. More completely than anyone before, he demonstrates how thoroughly legal doctrine and economic theory coexisted interdependently, shaping both the modern business corporation and the rise of laissez-faire constitutionalism. Hovenkamp explores such basics of American constitutional-legal history as the doctrines of vested rights and substantive due process. He does the same with the triumph of classical economic theory—the cluster of ideas about free markets. Other scholars have argued that the ideas of one field influenced those of the other. But no one has probed so deeply, showing the extent to which the interaction between legal ideas and classical economic theory guided policy makers, particularly judges.

Hovenkamp's interactive analysis relies on a particular theory of knowledge. Usually public officials do not, even in private correspondence, state explicitly the degree to which given ideas or theories influence the decisional process and policy making. To be sure these officials make formal statements that are consistent with current ideas. Scholars fasten on such statements as dominating ideological proclivities, develop the contextual environment, and produce an interpretation in which the implicit ideas are said to have explicit policy consequences. A famous example of this was Justice Oliver W. Holmes's dicta in the *Lochner* case criticizing the court for adopting an economic theory that many Americans found unacceptable. Richard Hofstadter and others argued that such statements revealed how pervasive was the influence of Social Darwinism on policy makers. Edward C. Kirkland, however, showed that even though

public officials freely used biological analogies, the actual substantive impact of Herbert Spencer's or William Graham Sumner's philosophical systems was little more than an exaggerated vogue.

Hovenkamp also uses the contextualist method, but he raises it to a new level of expertise. Essentially he juxtaposes a sophisticated understanding of classical economic theory and its neoclassical and institutional successors on an equally informed grasp of various legal doctrines. Through richly textured analysis, he then shows how closely the theory and principles of the two fields embodied similar core values. The coherence of these core values revealed, in turn, how much causality was an interactive process. In the *Lochner* case, for example, Hovenkamp demonstrates persuasively that the majority's opinion reflected not Sumner's Social Darwinist philosophy but the traditional classical theory of free markets. Holmes's dissent, moreover, was more consistent with emerging neoclassical and marginalist theories identified with Alfred Marshall and Arthur Cecil Pigou.

In six broad categories involving business enterprise during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Hovenkamp probes the relationship between economic thought and legal doctrine. First he explores the emergence of the private business corporation (what Hovenkamp calls the classical corporation) from eighteenth-century mercantilism, under the influence of the John Marshall and Roger B. Taney courts. He then examines how the interaction between law and economic theory shaped the evolution of the classical corporation into regulated industries, including most importantly the railroads. This same interaction molded the constitutional theories involving the rise of regulation within the federal system generally. Its most controversial result was the famous doctrine of substantive due process. Hovenkamp concludes with two finely wrought chapters, one on labor law and the other on the antitrust movement.

Throughout this long and informative book Hovenkamp's method repeatedly yields fresh insights. He shows how the Marshall and Taney courts' distinct but complimentary application of the contract clause to corporate charters facilitated Jacksonian ambivalence toward corporations. Similarly, his exegesis of the intellectual origins and operation of substantive due process explains better than most other interpretations why courts more often than not upheld state regulatory policies despite the triumph of laissez-faire constitutionalism. I did not think it was possible to say something new about the railroad rate controversy. Yet Hovenkamp does just that by showing that federalism—the coincidence of state and federal regulation—explains what otherwise often appeared to be contradictory policies. Although somewhat less original, Hovenkamp does a good job of linking the constitutionalization of general law established in *Swift v. Tyson* (1842) to substantive due process.

The assessment of labor law draws the same picture

of exploited workers as most studies. Even here, however, Hovenkamp manages to throw new light on the emergence of the labor injunction. The material on antitrust goes beyond Thomas K. McCraw's superb work and expands on Chandler's revolution in managerial capitalism. On the microlevel, Hovenkamp notes many significant points, such as the sexist bias of Louis Brandeis's famous opinion in *Muller v. Oregon* (1908) or the true public-interest worth of the butcher's purported monopoly in the *Slaughterhouse* cases. Overall, Hovenkamp significantly weakens the authority of a capture thesis. Yet while he gives aid and comfort to the faith in the possibility of achieving a broadly defined public-interest policy, he notes the tensions that constrained that possibility.

Any study as broad and rich as this inevitably raises some objections. Here and there occurs a certain lack of attention to detail. For example, Joseph Story did not have "some time to reflect" (p. 22) on the *Charles River Bridge* decision in the 1851 second edition of his *Constitutional Commentaries*. Story died in 1845. More importantly, the public fixing of railroad rates did not begin after the Civil War. State legislatures, at least in Maryland, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and New Jersey, routinely established fixed rates in railroad charters throughout the antebellum period. The point is relevant to Hovenkamp's thesis because the legislatures retained control over rates in order to ensure payment of franchise taxes that were then used to fund public services, including education and the running of the government. By the 1850s, for example, the entire operation of New Jersey's public sector was paid for by a tax on the rates of the "Monster Monopoly" Camden and Amboy Railroad.

Also, some caution may be in order concerning the ascription of influence so completely to the marriage of law and economic theory. Well into the twentieth century a residual of republican values influenced policy making, especially antitrust. A primary influence on the framers of the Constitution, eighteenth-century republicanism assumed that true liberty was impossible unless the individual remained economically independent and free to participate in public affairs, which in turn fostered the good of the commonwealth and public virtue. In public discourse, the ideological linkage between virtue and commonwealth did not persist beyond the 1830s. That economic dependency resulted in the corruption of free government, however, was a distinct republican presumption influencing late-nineteenth-century agrarian and labor protest and, to some extent, even Progressive rhetoric. Small businessmen also appealed to republican values to define the challenge of big business. This residual suggested the persistent importance of strictly political theory in the policy process. A leading example was Brandeis, who blended republican values with an amalgamation of legal doctrine and economic theory to profoundly shape business-government policies.

A related point involves the comparative implica-

tions of Hovenkamp's work. In the discussion of economic theory, Hovenkamp shows that British and American theorists followed divergent paths away from Adam Smith, the founder of classicism. Smith entwined concepts of value, supply, demand, desire, and scarcity to create a theory that blended moral and economic assumptions. During the nineteenth century, British utilitarian and marginalist theories excised from economic thought explicit moralistic concerns. American economists, publicists, and the politicians who used their ideas remained committed, however, to Smith's moralist principles. The consequences of this divergence for American policy making were profound, Hovenkamp shows. Unlike their British counterparts, American politicians could not avoid the moral implications of law that hindered the formulation of policies favoring social welfare. What he misses, though, is the linkage between this economic moralism and republican values. Ironically, according to those supporting Brandeisian logic, big business and big government threatened not only the hope of individual opportunity represented by small business but also free government itself. These ideological tensions thus impeded effective regulatory policies.

Such caveats suggest avenues of further research without detracting from the scope of Hovenkamp's achievement. He has indeed written an important book.

TONY FREYER
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Tuscaloosa

LYNNE PIERSON DOTI and LARRY SCHWEIKART. *Banking in the American West: From the Gold Rush to Deregulation*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1991. Pp. ix, 357. \$38.50.

Lynne Pierson Doti and Larry Schweikart offer a book with clear and simple messages. Branch banking is good. Deposit guaranty insurance is bad. Only the obtuse did not realize this sooner. Government regulation determined the history of banking in the American West.

Doti and Schweikart define the West as everything west of Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Arkansas, and Texas. They give this region unity by insisting that from Kansas to California banks initially sprang from a desire for currency, not the necessity for credit that drove their creation in the East and South.

Changes in regulatory patterns provide the break points for the pre-World War II chapters. From 1849 to the 1890s self-regulation sufficed. From the 1890s to the creation of the Federal Reserve in 1913 state and federal statutes added to the complexity of banking. From 1913 to 1939 regulation increased as prosperity receded.

World War II prevented full fruition of the ill-effects of the New Deal and initiated an extended

period of growth. Doti and Schweikart briefly depart from the regulatory focus and provide two chapters examining shifts in the basic economy. The concluding chapter on post-1980 banking, however, cheers on deregulation and the increased acceptance of branch banking.

In some ways this is a laudable book. It is written with flair and occasional humor, and its bibliography reveals extensive research in a variety of often obscure sources. It has an occasional useful insight, such as the point that Progressive-era reliance on highly specialized examiners reduced the public's ability to evaluate the strength of a bank and "made bank activities more than ever a 'secret' business understood by only a few experts" (p. 100).

Many readers, however, will find the authors' all-consuming biases so intrusive that they will ignore the book's virtues. Bias prevents blandness. Besides, it is impossible to completely exclude. Still, for Doti and Schweikart bias limits new lines of inquiry, leads to factual errors, and forces undue focus on regulation.

The authors make no significant effort to understand why some westerners clung to branch banking as long as they did. When dealing with the troubled 1920s, they assert that "Kansas bankers learned little from experience: they concentrated their efforts on more rigid examinations and limiting concentration, again ignoring branching" (p. 111). Kansas bankers were not stupid. Nor were they still under the influence of Jacksonian Democracy. Their culture and aspirations probably differed from A. P. Giannini in California. Those differences go unexplored.

Contemporary deregulation of banking rests on undoing the creations of the 1930s. Perhaps for that reason the authors saved their most vitriolic salvos for the New Deal. They should have aimed some of them at Herbert Hoover and not Franklin D. Roosevelt. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC) and Roosevelt receive much of the blame for the eventual collapse of the Nevada chain banks headed by George Wingfield. Until March 1933, however, Roosevelt and his appointed chair, Jesse H. Jones, did not control the RFC. The ruinous lending practices of the RFC mentioned in the book all occurred in 1932.

Despite regulatory shackles, banks prospered from the 1940s to the 1970s. Even for the 1920s, the authors' evidence indicates that banks failed not so much because of state-level deposit guaranty insurance, but because of sharp swings in agricultural commodity prices, fraud, poor management, and a surplus of banks. The peculiar characteristics of deposit insurance in the 1920s contributed to some of those problems, but not enough to justify this level of focus on regulation in a general survey of banking in the West. More balance, even at the cost of blandness, would have improved this book.

WALTER L. BUENGER
Texas A&M University

ALBRO MARTIN. *Railroads Triumphant: The Growth, Rejection, and Rebirth of a Vital American Force*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. xiv, 428. \$29.95.

Readers familiar with Albro Martin's iconoclastic work will be expecting much of what they find in this volume. Raised outside the academic community, so to speak (in mid-life he traded a business career for a Columbia Ph.D.), Martin surprised an ideologically complacent profession with *Enterprise Denied* (1971), a compelling account of Progressive rate regulation as unfair special interest legislation. In quick succession a major article on regulation and an excellent biography of James J. Hill affirmed his talents as a historian and a writer. In 1976, as editor of Harvard's *Business History Review*, Martin joined business history's inner sanctum, and his revisionist perspective received considerable respect.

This book embodies that perspective. Fifteen chapters, arranged as meditations on separate themes, discuss pioneer railroad technology, passenger trains and their impact on popular culture, coal, grain markets, industrialization and mass marketing, entrepreneurship and the rise of modern management, labor, lawyers, and politicians. Railroads provide the framework, but this commentary addresses the whole of history, politics, and business. Martin scatters information and insights in all directions, but his judgments seem distorted. Here heroic entrepreneurs struggle to bestow on an ungrateful nation the most important industrial system ever devised. Selfish, petty detractors abound in the story, always ready to employ the venal rod of demagoguery against honest interests in the market. In Martin's vision, entrepreneurial corruption never mattered, workers never deserved what they demanded (and always got more than they deserved), shippers never suffered needless or arbitrary injury, good men never went into politics, and bad men never operated railroads.

Such is the lens of an ideologue. In Martin's earlier work, his willingness to challenge the "received knowledge" of liberal historians brought fresh light to the evidence. The problem with this study is that such a passionate revision of history now rides free on a train of legitimacy made up of Martin's earlier works. No scholarly documentation encumbers the volume (a criticism the author anticipates with scorn in the preface). More seriously, the historical record itself sometimes illustrates but never informs his forceful arguments. Dogmatic truths appear by bold assertion, ornamented with anecdotes, propped up with factual claims (seldom supported, sometimes erroneous). With smug impatience he dismisses as "crybabies" (p. 200) the New York wholesale merchants who testified before the Hepburn Committee. Explanations reflect an unflinching bias: although reformers "slyly" twisted phrases to exaggerate railroad abuses (p. 201), poor old Oakes Ames never meant to bribe anybody but only to "cement some friendships" on behalf of

Crédit Mobilier (p. 286). Eugene V. Debs, the drunken, "muddle-headed, self-taught socialist," had a "penchant for getting into fights he could not possibly win," but George M. Pullman (whom Mark Hanna called a "damned fool") escapes censure (p. 313). In 1916, in this sometimes vertiginous narrative, railroad executives made their "last stand" against all-powerful railroad brotherhoods, with an outcome "hardly less devastating than an earlier last stand on the Little Big Horn" (p. 317). Workers (like Indians?) never had it so good!

This book intentionally offends the rituals of academic history, and so it begs for some response. Martin's style mocks the profession's search for understanding and reduces historical claims to faith statements, no more or less verifiable than the words of religious evangelists. Like any good camp preacher, he strikes familiar chords throughout the volume, building sympathetic rapport with his readers, not by reason but by resonance. To the unbelieving, he offers his personal assurance: "everything cited as an event actually happened . . . If it did not, I am sure that 'It *could* have happened'" (p. x, emphasis in original).

Finally, Martin's publisher, Oxford University Press, deserves some notice for producing a careless book filled with small errors of fact, repetitious passages, verbiages, indulgences, and gratuitous insults. Perhaps the intention was to suit a casual audience of nonspecialists; but such buyers, even more than professionals, depend on the honest intervention of the editor's pencil. They trust a quality house. Caveat emptor!

JOHN LAURITZ LARSON
Purdue University

LISTON EDGINGTON LEYENDECKER. *Palace Car Prince: A Biography of George Mortimer Pullman*. Niwot: University Press of Colorado. 1992. Pp. xiii, 323. \$29.95.

George M. Pullman has always been shrouded in mystery. Unlike many other late-nineteenth-century corporate giants, he spoke little of himself and left little in the way of historical record, except for the company and community that bore his name. Those interested in Pullman, his personality, and his beliefs have had to look for hints in his handling of the Pullman strike, his relationships with the residents of his town, and in the safeguards he had built into his grave.

In this book, Liston Edgington Leyendecker tries to dispel that mystery. Using a wide variety of sources including family letters and diaries and remaining corporate archives, he traces Pullman's life from his childhood in upstate New York through the Colorado gold fields and into the headquarters of the Pullman Company in Chicago. Along the way, Leyendecker describes the communities that offered the economic and social opportunities that made Pullman one of

America's most successful and best-known businessmen. He untangles the complicated financial and legal relationships that created and maintained the Pullman empire. He also introduces those who played significant roles in Pullman's life, especially his mother, brothers, wife, and children. By the close of this easy-to-read biography, the reader knows much about Pullman's world.

For all the valuable detail on the people and situations that surrounded him, however, Pullman himself remains elusive. Leyendecker describes a man deeply attached to his mother, wife, and elder daughter but plagued by troubled relationships with his other children and younger siblings who failed to meet his expectations. Never comfortable with people, Pullman was formal and proper to those outside his family circle, unless they challenged or disappointed him. Those could only expect disapproval and exclusion because he refused to understand their point of view. A man of few passions or interests, Pullman devoted his life to his various business enterprises. They provided him with an arena wherein he could excel and focus the spotlight on himself at all times. His promotional genius made Pullman synonymous with service and luxury and guaranteed a notoriety for the town of Pullman enjoyed by none of the country's other company towns. The company and the town gave him a status in the social and economic hierarchy of late-nineteenth-century America that few obtained. They also provided, at least until the 1894 strike, an escape from the demands of dealing with people. More comfortable with the corporate empire he could control than the people in his family and company he could not, Pullman the man became Pullman the company.

By reaching that conclusion, Leyendecker solves the mystery of George Pullman by showing that there was little to be solved. Contemporary observers and historians who saw corporate policy as the best reflection of Pullman's personality and beliefs made the right choice. The story of Pullman told with little reference to the model town or strike finally looks very similar to the portrait already presented in the accounts of both.

JANICE L. REIFF
University of California,
Los Angeles

JAMES GILBERT. *Perfect Cities: Chicago's Utopias of 1893*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1991. Pp. xiv, 279. \$27.50.

This book by James Gilbert deals with the utopian features of three unique cities in the Chicago area during the last decade of the nineteenth century. Daniel Burnham's White City, George Pullman's palace car company town bearing his name, and Dwight Lyman Moody's urban evangelicalism seeking physical form in Harvey (named after one of his support-

ers) contributed to the heightened attention that Chicago received during the Columbian Exposition in 1893. Short-lived, the three experiments in urban planning, social control, and evangelic vision withered away under the abrading influence of the diverse metropolitan culture that engulfed them.

In explaining the disintegration of the three planned cities, Gilbert focuses on the interaction of these experiments with the cultural forms and practices they were designed to counter. The commercial leisure displayed on the fair's Midway eroded the White City's unity, grandeur, and illusion. Pullman's fusing of factory and home into a single controlled environment collapsed when the depression of 1893 and the 1894 Pullman strike exposed the workers' exploitation and their lack of freedom. Harvey's evangelical orientation and investment opportunities failed when the crash bankrupted lumber magnate Turlington W. Harvey and stalled Moody's drive to rally the "Christian city" against the immorality of the industrial city. Ironically, the varieties of popular culture flourished on their encounter with the experiments of a single culture intended to be imposed on them. Commercial leisure thrived on the White City's illusions, labor thrived on the exposure of the workers' suppression, and people's preference to do as they liked thrived on evangelicalism's alternative to city life.

The changes that the three settings underwent provide the outline and the continuity of the intriguing book. Gilbert derives his insights to a considerable degree from an analysis of the appearance of the White City, Pullman, and Harvey. He traces the shape and images of the cities designed by elite groups seeking to impose their concepts of culture on the various working-class and immigrant popular cultures. The effective use of illustrations combined with sources ranging from personal papers and tour guides to novels and sermons allows him to compare the visions of Burnham, Pullman, and Moody against their actual urban experiments and with the ever-present backdrop of Chicago.

Gilbert's approach also accounts for a somewhat loosely knit argument. It requires him to repeat his definition of culture, initially given early in the opening chapter together with other definitions, almost verbatim in a footnote twenty pages before the end of the text (p. 207). Although the discussion of the architecture of the White City and Pullman yields sufficient descriptive analysis for a coherent argument, the subsequent chapter on "The Evangelical Metropolis" lacks the discussion based on architecture and has a weaker structure: Chicago as the setting for Moody's World's Fair gospel campaign offers too many images, and Harvey offers too few. Consequently the discussion rests on Moody's evangelicalism and his supporter Harvey's misfortune, but not on the physical scenes. Instead of bridging this gap, the final chapter presents a far ranging verbal perspective on turn-of-the-century Chicago that comes

close to beginning a new book. Apart from these strictures, the deft exploration of the fascinating sites attests to the value of the study.

GUNTHER BARTH
University of California,
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OSCAR HANDLIN and LILIAN HANDLIN. *Liberty in America: 1600 to the Present*. Volume 3, *Liberty in Peril, 1850–1920*. (A Cornelia and Michael Bessie Book.) New York: Harper and Row. 1992. Pp. xiii, 432. \$26.00.

The theme and content of the third volume of Oscar Handlin and Lilian Handlin's broad historical study are encapsulated by this work's title. "The years between 1850 and 1920 witnessed a retreat from liberty," they write, "a contraction of the ability of many people to act"; thus they examine what they consider to be "the low point in the history of liberty in America" (p. x). The kaleidoscopic breadth of coverage is matched by an unusual depth of analysis and insight for a general history. Yet what is most distinctive about this work is its style and organization: a nonlinear, topically structured narrative that begins at the end with World War I-era repression and jumps freely back and forth in time, written in a literary fashion slightly reminiscent of John Dos Passos and even Alexis de Tocqueville. The authors skillfully order and weave together a wealth of historical detail, enlivened by frequent quotes from poems, songs, and the satirical commentary of the fictional bartender, Mr. Dooley.

Like Tocqueville, the Handlins relentlessly pursue their theme across every feature of the American social and political landscape. Although they highlight the myriad new definitions of liberty emerging during these pivotal seven decades—including freed blacks' need for mobility, woman suffrage and women's control over reproduction, moral crusades for temperance and other "goodness," and the philosophy of pragmatism—they do not offer an adequate general definition of their own, only a vague "capacity to act." Their ambiguous use of liberty obscures more than clarifies their interpretation, since this protean concept appears to mean all things to all people. What is missing also is a balancing of the liberty theme with an examination of equality, the other animating ideal of the American creed, which was Tocqueville's central motif—and of the conflicts between liberty and equality.

Consistent with the focus on human liberty, the capacity to choose, is the book's suggestion at the outset that "it did not have to happen as it did," that the contraction of liberty was not inevitable or predetermined, and that until late in the nineteenth century Americans still had the freedom to determine the nature and boundaries of their freedom (p. xii). Unfortunately the Handlins do not pursue this no-

tion and do not consider what social forces or agents might have had the "capacity to act" to create alternative outcomes. Indeed the most disappointing aspect of this volume is its treatment of the large-scale social movements that at certain moments appeared most capable of shaping the course of American history by expanding both liberty and equality.

Besides the relative lack of attention to popular movements—compared, for instance, with thorough and thoughtful treatments of Progressivism and of intellectual developments—their discussion of these movements contains historical errors and conveys traditional interpretations seemingly uninformed by recent scholarship in social history. Examples of errors include the claims that the Knights of Labor declined, and the American Federation of Labor ascended, after the great strikes of 1877; and that the American Woman Suffrage Association (founded in 1869) was formed in 1890, the year that the two national suffrage organizations merged after two decades of rivalry. Moreover, the Handlins' rather brief account of Reconstruction minimizes the role of African Americans as agents of their own liberty, and they ignore the extensive prewar black freedom movement of the 1850s. They give a distorted picture of both the economic conditions that led to the agrarian Populist revolt and its nature and scope, barely mentioning the widespread supply and marketing cooperatives and downplaying Populists' strength in the South.

Although it privileges politicians, intellectuals, and reformers with higher status in American society, this book sets a standard in its innovative and imaginative approach to the writing of American history.

STEWART BURNS
Stanford University

VIRGINIA SCHARFF. *Taking the Wheel: Women and the Coming of the Motor Age*. New York: Free Press. 1991. Pp. xi, 219. \$22.95.

This book begins with a wonderful image: an affluent American woman of 1900, clad in the "immobility" of her class, her gender, and forty pounds of protective clothing, is preparing to venture out in public. She is going shopping. This avowedly fragile and virtuous creature will board a crowded trolley, on which she will be subject to unavoidable and "indecent" physical contact. In her opening pages Virginia Scharff raises many issues. This book is about not only women and the automobile but also the meanings of public and private, of gender, of class, of sexuality, of consumption, of work and leisure—and the ways the complex and changing culture of early twentieth-century America shapes and is shaped by a specific technological innovation.

The automobile, Scharff argues, was not simply a neutral object that was enveloped in clouds of cultural meaning as it was used. It was the product of a

specific culture at a specific time, and as a result the key cultural understandings of that society (those relating to gender and class among the most important) were ascribed to the automobile itself. The car was born in a masculine world (and the glimpse she offers of Henry Ford and his draftsman, C. Harold Wills, working in an unheated room, putting on boxing gloves for a round every now and then to warm themselves, is truly persuasive). The car was not developed first for dependable family transportation but rather for adventure—masculine adventure. Driving began as a manly sport.

The automobile, as Scharff demonstrates, was “deeply mired in cultural patterns” (p. 168) of the society that produced it, but at the same time this new technology offered challenges to the social order and possibilities for social change. The real strength of Scharff’s analysis is that she explores the complexity of the relationship between culture and technology. The automobile, she says, offered “multiple possibilities” (p. 164) that were used by different individuals and groups to different ends.

American women, in small but significant numbers, used the automobile to seek freedom, whether in an individual quest for adventure and rejection of the “social limits of femininity” (p. 67) or in the cause of suffrage and political emancipation. These challenges to the existing order were possible partly because of the women’s class. Automobiles were expensive consumer goods; originally only the most affluent women had access to them. Middle-class women used their privilege to override gender limits and claim the right to drive. And driving was, almost by definition, a strong and visible challenge to the existing gender paradigm and constraints of “women’s sphere.” It was all the more effective, in some ways, because it was a challenge that was unvoiced and indirect. And whether women took to the road for political or cultural change, Scharff argues, the act “embodied a new female sense of self, more mobile, more active, more public” (p. 88). Scharff’s title is not a careless one. Women, in her analysis, actually took the wheel.

As women used this new technology to challenge social limits and gender roles, the automobile industry and the society at large used the old gender paradigms to help manage the new technology. Some of the strongest cultural “myths”—those of masculinity and femininity—were called on to contain the potentially disruptive possibilities of the automobile and to smooth the process of change. For example, cranking the automobile seemed a “kind of masculine rite offering proof of a man’s fitness to motor” (p. 58). But it was also a dirty and often dangerous process that lessened the value of the automobile as transportation rather than sport. To a society obsessed with fears of lost masculinity, the industry marketed the electric “seat-starter” as a convenience for women. “Invoking female weakness,” Scharff states, “enabled male drivers to maintain a rugged self-image” while accepting “amenities” like electric starters and roofs

(p. 64). But such gendered understandings of the automobile also retarded its development as reliable, comfortable, and efficient transportation. The technology involved was not difficult to develop. Had the electric starter been seen as an improvement in efficiency (male) instead of convenience (female), Scharff argues, it would have been developed and implemented sooner.

I especially like Scharff’s analysis of the relationship between motoring and female sexuality, which moves well beyond the conventional arguments about privacy to discuss the “modern pleasure of automotive speed,” which seemed to offer women “an illegitimate and explosively sexualized power over time and space” (p. 22). I am less convinced by her arguments about women’s work. By arguing that the original association of motoring with leisure contributed to “the mystification of middle-class women’s work” (p. 148), she is too willing to claim any action (all shopping, a drive in the country for a picnic with the children, and so on) as “work.” First, the woman of the 1920s with regular access to her own car was also likely to have a maid. She was not in the same position as the harried housewife of the early 1960s (much less likely to have household help), ferrying a large brood of children around the ever-expanding suburban environment. Second, although the automobile (in conjunction with other technological innovations) certainly changed the sorts of work necessary to run a household, Scharff does not consider those changes in enough detail to substantiate her claims. In this case, as in a few others, the book seems a bit top-heavy in argument. I was also sorry—because of the strengths of the book—that Scharff did not carry her analysis forward through the mid-twentieth century, as the automobile became more and more central in American culture.

Scharff has written an engaging work that combines a thoughtful and sophisticated set of arguments with a wealth of wonderful detail. This is the sort of book one is hard-pressed to decide whether to assign to students or to save to mine for lectures.

BETH BAILEY
Barnard College

BETTY A. DEBERG. *Ungodly Women: Gender and the First Wave of American Fundamentalism*. Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress. 1990. Pp. ix, 165.

Betty A. DeBerg makes a refreshing addition to two much discussed areas of historical inquiry: the origins of twentieth-century fundamentalism and the fate of nineteenth-century gender ideologies. While most accounts of Protestant fundamentalism focus on its theological roots, DeBerg attributes its rise not to doctrinal concerns but to an attempt to bolster Victorian gender norms under siege from twentieth-century innovations. “Strains on gender-role conventions were part and parcel of fundamentalist theological

formulations, whether ostensibly concerned with the end of time, the truth of the Bible, or the dangers of evolutionary theory and modern theology" (p. 119). Aware that this interpretation will strike some readers as reductionist, DeBerg quotes lavishly and convincingly from the popular fundamentalist publications that provide the sources for her study. In DeBerg's reading, these reveal the "New Woman's" challenges to traditional family structures as the aspect of modernity most threatening to the architects of fundamentalist reaction. They embraced a premillennialist rejection of the modern world because new roles for women abounded in that world, they asserted biblical innerancy because it could keep women in check, and they attacked evolution because it undermined moral responsibility and therefore threatened the family.

DeBerg documents a world view that blames women's departure from their God-ordained sphere for a host of cosmic and mundane evils: from unhappy marriages and the decline of the public schools to the progress of the Antichrist preceding the millennium. If DeBerg's depiction of gender ideology sounds anachronistic for a study focused in the early decades of the twentieth century, it is because she is documenting the fortification of Victorian norms for perpetuation into the twentieth century, and perhaps beyond. Her account of the role of a conservative social agenda in the formation of fundamentalist theology helps explain the ardor of current fundamentalist advocacy of "family values."

Like Barbara Welter's pioneering work describing "The Cult of True Womanhood," DeBerg's study is based exclusively on prescriptive literature. Like that work as well, it opens the way for a host of new studies relating the ideal to the real, and including women's voices and experiences as well as men's anxieties. In the current study, no distinctions are made between male and female authors writing in fundamentalist periodicals, and no evidence about females—fundamentalist or not—is offered either to contradict or to confirm men's fears about their behavior. Nevertheless, the book's contribution to women's history is as valuable as its contribution to religious history. It provides a much needed focus on conservative women and suggests that reports of the death of the Victorian ideology of "woman's sphere" may have been premature.

ANN BRAUDE
Carleton College

IAN TYRRELL. *Woman's World, Woman's Empire: The Woman's Christian Temperance Union in International Perspective, 1880–1930*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1991. Pp. xiii, 381. \$45.00.

Ian Tyrrell's ambitiously conceived and exhaustively researched study of the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) succeeds admirably in locating this substantial international movement in

the context of American cultural penetration of the far-flung British empire. His dense and subtly argued narrative provides a splendid example of how much, as he points out, historians miss when they do not take seriously enough the "study of failure" (p. 7). Employing a comparative perspective, Tyrrell isolates the configuration of cultural practices, religious presuppositions, and gender systems that explains why this self-consciously transnational organization took root almost exclusively within the Anglo-American imperial sphere. Doing so reveals the salient features of late-nineteenth-century Anglo-American culture in ways overlooked by political histories and too often obscured in women's history that focuses on comparative suffrage campaigns. What emerges is an intricate account of the meshing of a particular brand of Protestant evangelicalism with peculiar histories of drinking practices that made abolition (teetotalism) a temperance goal, and of a bourgeois gender system that, in contrast even to other Protestant European societies, encouraged rather than resisted the formation of single-sex organizations. The status of the WCTU as a movement for women's emancipation (the aspect of the WCTU phenomenon that has most interested historians of the United States) is clarified—as is the meaning of female emancipation itself in the Anglo-American world—when the European comparison reveals a strikingly different relation between feminism and temperance reform on the Continent. The ideology of domesticity loses power as an abstract conceptual tool when viewed from this rigorous comparative stance; yet, as Tyrrell's chapter on the family ideology of World's WCTU shows, its concrete function in Victorian culture simultaneously gains force.

It is, however, not only as a model of comparative history that this complex study deserves attentive readers. Tyrrell also offers an innovative analysis of cultural transactions between metropolitan centers and the peripheries of empires. His chapter on "Alcohol and Empire," explicating the WCTU's ambiguous attitudes toward imperial expansion, restores to a consideration of empire the moral debates that so deeply affected Anglo-American reformers. His careful reconstruction of the structure and operation of the World's WCTU and of the roles of key players in its hierarchical network represents the finest in institutional history. His chronological sweep and transnational perspective resituate Frances Willard, resisting the prevailing tendency to subsume the history of the WCTU in her story while recognizing her centrality in the formation (and malformation) of crucial policies and practices.

Four brief chapters explore the role the WCTU played in other international reforms that formed, alongside temperance, its "Do Everything" agenda. Its relations to movements for peace, social purity, female suffrage, and socialism are succinctly delineated. These chapters provide a marvelous survey of the Anglo-American reform connection as it func-

tioned in a global context. Implicit in the discussion, but perhaps not sufficiently highlighted, is the degree to which Anglo-American reformers came to conceive of achieving reform primarily through the invocation of state power.

The passage and repeal of Prohibition in the United States effectively demonstrated the perils of delegating moral agency to the state. Dependence on legal prohibition proved addictive to the WCTU in the 1920s; Tyrrell argues that the movement narrowed and focused on prohibition as a universal solution. After repeal, in a profoundly altered cultural environment, it barely survived withdrawal and was never successfully rehabilitated. But, as Tyrrell's complicated and packed text proves, writing the history of a movement that ultimately failed illuminates more clearly the world in which the WCTU flourished than the stories of successes alone.

PATRICIA R. HILL
Wesleyan University

LINDA G. FORD. *Iron-Jawed Angels: The Suffrage Militancy of the National Woman's Party, 1912–1920*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America. 1991. Pp. xii, 299. Cloth \$47.50, paper \$24.50.

Linda G. Ford tells a story whose outlines will be familiar to most historians versed in the women's suffrage movement. She focuses on the determined women who aggressively advanced a federal constitutional amendment first under the aegis of the Congressional Committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, then through the Congressional Union, and finally by means of the National Woman's Party. Alice Paul and her associates have not been ignored by historians of women. Thus, this book builds on the excellent work of the many historians who have advanced understanding of the Woman's Party.

Ford brings a particular focus to her study that makes out of the well-known facts and personalities quite a compelling tale. She is interested in the militancy of the National Woman's Party, and especially in the 168 party members who served time in prison between 1917 and 1919. The "militant feminists" of the Woman's Party, Ford argues, were "America's first political dissenters to use the nonviolence resistance method" (p. 146).

This volume operates on three levels analytically. It offers a narrative history of the more radical wing of the suffrage movement, developing in detail how a "militant state of mind" emerged from direct exposure to British suffragists, the apparent intransigence of the major political parties in the U.S. (the sympathetic Progressive Party is not treated in depth), as well as strategic debates and generational differences within the "woman movement." The influence of Emmeline Pankhurst and Christabel Pankhurst on Paul, Lucy Burns, and Anne Martin is apparent, yet

Ford misses some opportunities to explore more fully a fascinating question: why did Paul initially reject the model offered by the British militants as inappropriate to the United States? Ford stresses Paul's belief in the greater openness of American politics and society but one detects a deep allegiance to the idea of American exceptionalism in Paul's views. The intellectual roots of these beliefs are worth exploring further, especially in the case of Paul, whose political actions were informed by a rigorous mind.

Ford also analyzes the social backgrounds, political affiliations, and reform activities of the jailed suffragists in an attempt to challenge charges by historians that the Woman's Party was an elite group, uninterested in class alliances. The categories Ford employs—"new women" versus "clubwomen," "leaders," "organizers," and "recruits," "elite," "middle class," and "working"—suggest distinctions that obscure the considerable overlap within these typologies among her group. In the end, Ford persuasively shows the appeal of militant suffragism to women of wildly differing political allegiances, but the social and economic backgrounds of the majority were not dramatically dissimilar.

The third analytical theme of this volume is the most engrossing, namely the extraordinary militancy of the Woman's Party during World War I. Ford offers a dramatic account of the Woman's Party's fierce determination to exploit the war climate, its shrewd political activism, and its brilliant direction of public opinion through nonviolent direct action. The reader gets a vivid sense of what the jailed Woman's Party members endured in their efforts to advance women's political rights. Ford argues that the brazen attempt to humiliate Woodrow Wilson by hurling his wartime rhetoric back at the beleaguered president brought the force of the state down on the radical suffragists. In so doing, she underscores the critical importance of World War I to the suffrage movement, a theme much analyzed by historians but still elusive in many respects. Similarly puzzling is the precise impact of the Woman's Party's militancy on the suffrage drive. Ford stresses the importance of radical action to victory but without fully exploring the dynamic relationship between suffrage militants and the more moderate National American Woman Suffrage Association. In short, Ford brings a fresh and thoughtful perspective to the suffrage movement. She suggests that much will be gained by historians' continued attention to this vital moment in American political history.

ELLEN FITZPATRICK
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DIANE KIRKBY. *Alice Henry: The Power of Pen and Voice; The Life of an Australian-American Labor Reformer*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1991. Pp. xxvi, 254. \$44.50.

This sensitive biography of Alice Henry, the Australian journalist and activist best known for her role in the U.S. Women's Trade Union League (WTUL), is an important contribution to both women's labor history and to feminist biography. Diane Kirkby is ideally suited to this project as an Australian who spent several years in the United States studying American history. She draws on an impressive array of sources from both America and Australia to reconstruct Henry's life story, which she meticulously traces from childhood to old age. The resulting narrative reveals a good deal about the international (and particularly Australian) influences on American feminism and unionism in the Progressive period and casts new light on the history of the WTUL as well.

Henry was forty-nine years old when she arrived in the United States in 1906, after a successful career as a journalist and lecturer in Australia. She had also been active there in the successful struggle for women's suffrage, and this experience, together with her familiarity with the English suffrage movement (acquired during several months spent in England just before her arrival in the United States), gave her a "ready passport" to the network of American feminists (p. 70). Henry ultimately stayed in the United States for twenty-eight years, most of which she spent as a staff member of the WTUL. She began in 1907 as a secretary for the organization, later becoming the first editor of its newspaper, *Life and Labor*. After a conflict with League President Margaret Dreier Robins, the group's financial mainstay, Henry resigned as editor and wrote her first book, *The Trade Union Woman* (1915). She soon returned to the WTUL, however, and engaged in various activities related to legislation and workers' education until she retired in 1927.

Henry remained single and childless all her life, and Kirkby reports that the record "is stunningly silent on the question of emotional or sexual involvements" in both Australia and America (p. 92). Henry had some close female friends, most notably the novelist Stella Miles Franklin (author of *My Brilliant Career* [1901]), but Kirkby found no hint of any sexual intimacy here either. Although she sketches the outlines of Henry's family background and friendships, this is largely a professional biography, focusing mainly on the writings and political activities of its subject. Kirkby documents the considerable influence of the Australian model of labor reform on American Progressives and also recasts the conventional historical understanding of the WTUL. Whereas others have claimed that the League turned to protective legislation in the 1910s because of the failure of its earlier efforts to unionize women workers, Kirkby argues that the twin goals of union organization and legislative reform were tightly linked throughout the WTUL's history—in sharp contrast to the voluntarism of its erstwhile ally, the American Federation of Labor. Although the influence of Henry and her Fabian socialist outlook is only part of the explanation

for the League's orientation, this biography provides a persuasive vehicle for Kirkby's intriguing reinterpretation of one of the most important chapters in U.S. women's labor history.

RUTH MILKMAN
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DOROTHY SUE COBBLE. *Dishing It Out: Waitresses and Their Unions in the Twentieth Century*. (The Working Class in American History.) Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1991. Pp. xiv, 327. \$34.95.

This well-written and richly documented narrative uses archival sources and interviews to trace the history of waitress unions in the United States from the early twentieth century to the 1970s. Dorothy Sue Cobble uses her analysis of waitresses' activities and consciousness to raise fundamental questions about women's relationships to unions, the categories of labor history, and the benefits and limitations of separatism. Waitresses, Cobble points out, were among the few groups of women workers to build long-lasting unions; these waitress unions organized a substantial proportion of the workers in their trade and frequently won significant concessions from management.

The reasons for the success of waitress unionism, Cobble convincingly argues, lie in three interrelated phenomena: the nature of waitress work, the character of the waitress work force, and the kind of organizations waitresses developed. Waitress work became a female-dominated trade in the mid-twentieth century, and by the 1950s it was the sixth largest occupation for women. Waitresses, more than workers in other female-dominated occupations during this period, worked full time, tended to be self-supporting, and saw their wage-earning status as permanent. The work culture they developed, rooted both in an occupational and gender identity, laid a firm basis for the separate women's waitress locals that developed within the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Union (HERE) during the Progressive Era.

Cobble effectively challenges the notion that craft unionism was a necessarily inferior organizational tool for organizing women, suggesting that craft, or what she calls "occupational," unionism, which emphasizes occupational identity, provided an effective framework for organizing some groups of women. Waitress unionism flourished in the soil of occupational identity, which nourished a blend of gender and union consciousness. The separate unions waitresses built within HERE fostered a strong group allegiance and created a power base from which women leaders became active in the international organization. They protected the rights of their members not in particular jobs but in the occupation as a whole, and, rather than championing seniority rights,

they organized cooperatively to cope with hard times. Members of waitress unions fought hard for their rights as women and as workers, sometimes challenging the men within HERE over issues such as the right to serve liquor. Waitress separatism, rooted as it was in a distinct female waitress culture, led the waitress leadership to support legislation based on sex distinctions and oppose the Equal Rights Amendment until the mid-1970s.

Cobble vividly demonstrates the mixed legacy of waitress separatism. Separatism enabled waitresses to consolidate their power in the union and sustain vital organizations. Yet waitresses' separatism, based as it was on a gendered conception of waitressing as an occupation, had negative implications as well. Not only did it lead waitresses to accept the discrimination against women in jobs that did not fall within their definition of "waitressing" but it also was inherently exclusionary. When black women in Chicago fought for their right to mix drinks as well as serve them, the waitress unions did not support them.

The book ends on a paradoxical note. As feminist ideas propelled individual waitresses in the 1970s to challenge the exclusion of women from more lucrative food serving jobs, the leadership of waitress unions fought to maintain their traditional boundaries. But as the barriers fell and the separate locals disappeared, women's position in the international simultaneously weakened; women's committees within mixed locals could not mobilize waitresses on behalf of their own interests as effectively as the separate locals could. The challenge for the women active in HERE today is to rebuild female strength while eliminating the restrictions that have traditionally defined the occupation of waitressing. In this project, as well as in the project of understanding the history of women's labor activism, Cobble's thoughtful and provocative analysis of waitress unions will be a valuable resource.

AMY KESSELMAN
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MYRA DINNERSTEIN. *Women between Two Worlds: Midlife Reflections on Work and Family*. (Women in the Political Economy.) Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1992. Pp. xvii, 223. Cloth \$34.95, paper \$16.95.

Myra Dinnerstein's book is a rather narrowly defined interpretation of the lives of twenty-two women, all of them white and middle class, ensconced in long-term first marriages, living in the same midwestern community, and born between 1936 and 1944. Dinnerstein states that she is examining the "choices and compromises" of a generation of women who came of age after World War II—women who were "split between two worlds," one a world of traditional expectations and limited opportunities and the other,

in the advent of the women's movement, a world of expanding opportunities presenting options that had not been available to their mothers' generation.

Although Dinnerstein is analyzing a social revolution of significant proportions, her study has few surprises and little variety. Any one of the women interviewed might be interesting in her own right, but as a group these are conventional people who have lived through years of dramatic social change by making what are essentially modest changes in their values and lifestyles. Some of these women were more dramatically affected than others, but it does not come through clearly in Dinnerstein's account. Her sample of twenty-two is too large for any one of the women to stand out as an individual. Yet the sample is too nonrepresentative to tell us much about the generation as a whole. Most women who lived through the 1960s and 1970s as young adults probably experienced more economic and marital stress and ended up in less-rewarding careers than did the women in this study.

If Dinnerstein's intent is to show the similarities of these women's lives, she has succeeded. But it seems foreordained, given the socioeconomic definition of her cohort, which is made up for the most part of privileged women with relatively successful careers and long-term marriages, mostly to successful business and professional men. These are achievements that reflect patience, moderation, and the ability to compromise, as well as discipline and hard work. Dinnerstein's chapter on "The Persistence of Domesticity" is particularly revealing of these characteristics. Most of the women in the study were "accommodators" or "negotiators" when it came to sharing household responsibilities with their husbands. Only two out of the entire group were identified as "equalizers," that is, household work was equally shared and neither partner was dominant. The rest expended a great deal of energy working a "second shift" when they arrived at home in the evening, rather than asking their families for help. Dinnerstein notes that "the personal toll in exhaustion and the sense of frenzy that most women experienced was unremitting" (p. 148).

This study reinforces much of what we already know about middle-class, married, white women of a certain age, and the impact of the women's movement on their lives. But what underlies the narrative is the sense that these are privileged people who have options that few people have, regardless of race, class, or gender. Although some of the women in the sample group chose career paths for economic reasons, economic need seldom seemed to be the issue. Apparently, with a few exceptions, a career was a choice, with the alternative choice being domesticity. Dinnerstein concentrates on white, middle-class women because she wants "detailed accounts of the interaction between the prevailing ideologies and personal choice" while at the same time to demonstrate "how race and class privilege interact with

gender oppression" (p. xi). In other words, she wants to study women who could make choices nearly free of economic constraints or racial oppression, so as to measure the impact of gender. The very fact that "even this privileged group has been circumscribed in its aspirations and accomplishments attests to the continuing power of gender in defining lives" (p. xi). True enough, but nonetheless the women in this particular group are as remarkable for their opportunities as for their oppression. Gender continues to circumscribe, but, as Dinnerstein's study seems to indicate, it is also a force for gradual change.

WINIFRED D. WANDERSEE
Hartwick College

DENNIS CLARK. *Erin's Heirs: Irish Bonds of Community*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1991. Pp. 238. \$27.00.

It would be hard to find anyone who has written more about the American Irish over the last two decades than Dennis Clark. This is Clark's eighth book on the subject since *The Irish in Philadelphia* was published in 1973. His writings have displayed both depth and breadth. While the bulk of his work focuses on the Irish in Philadelphia, Clark reached across the continent in *Hibernia America: The Irish and Regional Cultures* (1986). Likewise, he has proven to be equally adept at writing about the Irish immigration of the Great Famine years and Irish Americans of the 1980s (and, one suspects of this prolific author, before too long, the 1990s). This volume clearly is the product of Clark's scholarly range and reveals a mature understanding of the nature of ethnicity in America.

This is a book about ethnic identity. Significantly, throughout this study Clark specifically eschews the term "ethnic group" in favor of "community," for he argues that ethnic identity properly understood is less a matter of boundaries than of relationships. Clearly, if Clark has learned anything from both his micro-studies of the Irish in Philadelphia and his macro-studies of Irish-American communities nationwide, it is that ethnicity is not so much inherited as made. In fact, he doubts that there is a single ethnic identity for the American Irish but many that are specific to cities, states, and sections—and none of them stagnant.

Clark does not doubt that ethnic identity is sometimes formed in the negative, that the Irish in particular have had to labor to defy popular stereotypes, but he emphasizes that the root of ethnicity is really "consciousness of a common past" (p. 10). This is not the same as an "old country" past, for much of what has become Irish-American identity has been consciousness of shared American experience. It is this fact that leads Clark to see no incompatibility between ethnic persistence and assimilation. Actually, Clark argues that it is the ability of ethnic identity to evolve as the common past evolves that allows it to survive among successive postmigrant generations. Because

ethnic identity combines a remembered past (a pregnant term) with sensitivity to contemporary group interests, it is more likely to preserve a style (say, of Irish-American politics) than a specific ideology or outlook.

Clark's most original contribution is probably his discussion of the mechanisms of intraethnic communication. The persistence of ethnic identity depends on repeated reminders of the evolving common past and the formulation of explicit analogies between past and present. Other students of ethnicity have explored the role of family mythology, popular literature, and ethnic journalism in preserving shared identity. But Clark offers a much richer account of the media of intracommunal communication, including radio, academic discourse (in such areas as Irish and Irish-American studies), genealogical research, and transatlantic telephony.

Clark is a first-class anecdotalist and each of his books has been a good read. His latest work is perhaps more difficult to penetrate than his earlier works because the stories—largely biographical—he relates have a chatty, Philadelphia "insider" quality. Moreover, throughout the book, Clark ranges forward and back from the mid-nineteenth century to the late twentieth century. Yet it is precisely Clark's firm grounding in the rich source materials of local history and his willingness to take the long view that make his book a useful contribution to American ethnic history.

DALE T. KNOBEL
Texas A&M University

STEPHEN S. FUGITA and DAVID J. O'BRIEN. *Japanese American Ethnicity: The Persistence of Community*. Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1991. Pp. x, 207.

DAVID J. O'BRIEN and STEPHEN S. FUGITA. *The Japanese American Experience*. (Minorities in Modern America.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1991. Pp. 178. Cloth \$29.95, paper \$12.95.

Although most of the immigrants to the United States in recent decades have been Asian Americans and Hispanics, most of the historical and theoretical writing about ethnicity reflects the European immigrant experience. These two books are part of a small but growing body of new scholarship that examines the experience of non-European immigrant communities. This scholarship is important because it enlarges—and, as these two works suggest, may substantially change—our understanding of ethnicity in American society.

Written by the same two coauthors, Stephen S. Fugita and David J. O'Brien, both of these books explore the theme of assimilation and ethnic identity. Both books point out that whereas second and third-generation Japanese Americans (Nisei and Sansi) experienced the same high levels of cultural assimilation as their European counterparts, they maintained

much higher levels of social and organizational identification with their ethnic communities. Drawing on the Japanese-American experience, the authors make the provocative suggestion that assimilation and ethnic identification are not opposite poles on a single continuum, but independent variables.

Japanese American Ethnicity: the Persistence of Community is an empirical study (using interviews) of the early socialization, friendship and marriage patterns, political and economic life, and organization affiliations of Nisei and Sansi males in California. The study demonstrates that, contrary to the predictions of Milton Gordon and other sociologists, cultural assimilation does not always lead to structural assimilation. While the subjects shared neighborhoods, schools, and lifestyles with other Americans, much of their recreational, religious, and economic life took place within the ethnic community, often within a structure of voluntary organizations. The authors offer two explanations. First, Japanese immigrants, unlike many of their European counterparts, arrived with a well-developed tradition of voluntary organizations, a tradition that helped them survive in their new environment. Voluntary organizations remained important because of their continuing economic and political usefulness. Second, Japanese ethnicity has historically been identified less by a specific cultural content than by a distinctive style of social interaction, a style that is nonassertive, consensus oriented, and concerned with the welfare of the group rather than the individual and passes from generation to generation. Thus, while Japanese Americans have been freer than many European groups to adopt mainstream culture, they have preserved their ethnicity (and avoided discomfort) by interacting with others who share their distinctive social style.

The Japanese American Experience is an interpretive history rather than an empirical study: a succinct and insightful account of the community's early struggle for survival in a racist society, its multifaceted response to internment, and its post-World War II breakthrough into "mainstream" American life. Informative comparisons are made between the Japanese immigrant experience and that of the Chinese and the Europeans, and between Japanese Americans on the mainland and in Hawaii. One of the strengths of the book is its discussion of the conflicting views and political styles of the Nisei and Sansi and of the role of the internment as a focus of "symbolic ethnic identification" in uniting both generations. Another strength is the discussion of current mainstream hostility toward Japanese Americans because of their economic and educational mobility and because of America's economic competition with Japan.

Although the central thesis about the nature of Japanese-American ethnicity presented in both books is convincing, the authors' optimistic judgments about the persistence of currently high levels of ethnic identification into the future may be premature. Most second and third-generation Japanese Americans

were the children of endogenous marriages but, as the authors point out, 50 to 60 percent of current marriages are mixed. The children of these marriages may define ethnicity differently.

The authors are sensitive to the impact of regional and generational differences in both books, but they pay little attention to social class and even less to gender. It is difficult to accept the disclaimer that women could not have been included in the empirical study without undue expense; and it is inexcusable, given the current level of research on immigrant women, that women are slighted in the historical volume. Although the empirical study mentions the important role of women in maintaining ethnicity through family networks, neither book explores this. Neither book provides information on the educational levels, social mobility, or organizational life of women, examines changing sex roles, or explores the significance of women's higher intermarriage rate. The exclusion of half of the Japanese-American community is a serious flaw in what are otherwise two useful and thought-provoking books.

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Buffalo

STUART A. MARKS. *Southern Hunting in Black and White: Nature, History, and Ritual in a Carolina Community*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1991. Pp. xviii, 327. \$24.95.

Stuart A. Marks enjoys hunting and admires people who hunt. But he is also an academic who tries to explain the world through anthropological and social theory. The result of this combination of beliefs is a fascinating "inside," yet academic, account of the world of hunting among blacks, whites, and Lumbee Indians in Scotland County, North Carolina. Readers are treated to sympathetic tales of barking dogs, chases, and kills, and then to analyses of "metaphors of meaning."

Marks has read a vast amount of the published and archival material on southern hunting. But the heart of the study is based on a massive volume of field notes, interviews, and questionnaires collected during the late 1970s and early 1980s. He visited hunting clubs, spoke to people who bought hunting licenses, and listened to his fellow hunters. As a result, he has been able to re-create large sections of a social world. We learn about the connections between the hunt and definitions of masculinity, about how the object and style of the hunt vary with race and class, about how hunts define community boundaries, and about how they connect boys to their fathers.

Precisely because Marks explains so many things so well it is easy for a reader to see that he is not able to deliver all that he promises. First, the "historical" chapters of the book seem considerably thinner than the chapters that deal with modern hunting. The

sources for the antebellum hunt are skimpy compared to the rich collection of contemporary interview data. While Marks touches on the relation between slavery and hunting, he does not fully explore the deep connections between control over death and mastery. Second, this work is largely a study of hunting among whites, even though it promises more. While blacks and Lumbee Indians appear, they are clearly peripheral to the central focus of the book. Finally, much of the book consists of raw field notes and interviews. These are excerpted from a much larger body of data but we are never told the precise criteria for selection nor do we get much extended interpretation of the material. Sometimes the book reads like a collection of undigested interviews rather than a completed study. Often Marks presents interview data with virtually no description of the person interviewed. At a minimum, we should be told the race and class of the people who generate the long narrative descriptions that make up a good part of the book.

Despite these weaknesses this is a valuable book. The interview data are fascinating even if not fully digested. The book is full of memorable descriptions of hunting clubs, hounds at fox field trials, the preference for bucks over does, the meaning of small game hunting or dove and quail hunting, and much more. Every future student of the southern hunt must begin the pursuit here.

KENNETH S. GREENBERG
Suffolk University

LISA MIGHETTO. *Wild Animals and American Environmental Ethics*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 1991. Pp. xiv, 177. Cloth \$35.00, paper \$17.95.

Reading this volume is an enlightening, enjoyable, and all too brief experience. Lisa Mighetto provides a fascinating intellectual history of American popular culture regarding wild animals. The lively text is illuminated by thirty-two pages of illustrations. John Muir, Theodore Roosevelt, Jack London, Aldo Leopold, and a host of others are represented here, but the writers and advocates who are brought into clearest focus are the humanitarians, the intellectual forbears of contemporary animal rights activists.

For Mighetto the story begins in earnest in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The pioneering science of Charles Darwin raised the uncomfortable specter that humans might well have more in common with beasts than with gods. A new breed of nature writers responded with tales of exaggerated, exalted, and altogether anthropomorphic wild animals, beasts capable of dignity, virtue, education, language, chivalry, marriage, and even surgery and salvation.

In principle, the reduced status gap between humans and animals might have made it easier to attribute value to animals in their own right, but early

wildlife conservationists were anthropocentric and utilitarian in their approach. The sportsmen of the Boone and Crockett clubs were hunters eager to preserve their sport. The activists of the Audubon societies sought to preserve birds for human enjoyment.

Exponents of the "new humanitarianism" departed from the purely anthropocentric view and focused attention on animal pain. The humanitarian impulse gave rise to organizations as various as the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals and the First Church for Animal Rights and eventually manifested itself in antihunting, antitrapping, antivivisection, and vegetarian movements. Sympathy for sentient creatures did not extend to the predators, however, for "if humanitarians were to accept predators, they would have to accept also that the natural world does not conform to their values" (p. 83).

A third approach to wildlife valuation emerged in the 1920s and 1930s. Biocentrism, as exemplified by Leopold's "land ethic," matured with the science of ecology. It valued all wildlife, including the nonsentient and the predator. Its concern for nature at large was expressed in its commitment to preserving species and natural systems, but, unlike humanitarianism, it showed little interest in alleviating the pain of individual animals. Neither humanitarianism nor biocentrism has been able to establish dominance over persistent anthropocentrism, and American attitudes toward wild animals continue to reflect both conflict and cooperation among advocates of the three perspectives.

Mighetto's evaluation of the competing perspectives remains enigmatic. She is obviously taken with the humanitarians, comparing them to the signers of the Declaration of Independence and to abolitionists. It is equally clear that biocentrism has its appeal. Mighetto is especially reverential to Muir, whom she sees as combining the best features of humanitarianism and biocentrism. In the end she emphasizes the common thread: "For all their differences, both [humanitarianism and biocentrism] approach the animal world in a spirit of humility, thereby defying centuries of Western tradition" (p. 113). This break with tradition is praiseworthy because an appropriate ethic requires that we "accept animals for what they are rather than for what we would like them to be" (p. 118).

CRAIG W. ALLIN
Cornell College

CHARLES MUSSER. *Before the Nickelodeon: Edwin S. Porter and the Edison Manufacturing Company*. (The UCLA Film and Television Archives Studies in History, Criticism, and Theory.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1991. Pp. xii, 591. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$29.95.

Dismissed as a tinkerer, hailed as the father of the story film, and known to film-studies majors as the director of *The Great Train Robbery* (1903), Edwin Stratton Porter (1870–1941) occupies a place in film history somewhere between August and Louis Lumière and D. W. Griffith. If there is anyone who can resurrect Porter's reputation, it is the dean of early film, Charles Musser, who has justified his title in countless articles and in *The Emergence of Cinema: The American Screen to 1907* (1990), the first volume in Scribner's History of American Cinema series.

It is not just Musser's knowledge that makes his newest book authoritative; he has also seen many of the early films he discusses, no mean feat given the lack of any central source for early film. Musser interweaves Porter's career with that of the Edison studio, where he worked and thrived until he was fired in 1910. Musser's book reads like a film, with crosscutting and inserts that enrich the narrative. While one might say that Porter lived a rich, full life, the evidence points only to its fullness.

Porter never understood how much of an innovator he was. As a projectionist at the Eden Musee in Manhattan, he learned that exhibitors could edit films as they saw fit. Thus, Porter could never have accepted the studio system with its division and specialization of labor. He could have accepted some collaboration (which was not the same as the studio model), but it would have had to be informal. Porter would have found a production head other than himself anathema. Musser chronicles Porter's development as a director from the one to the two to the multiple-shot film, as Porter created temporal and spatial relations between shots, sometimes following linear practice, sometimes not. Although Griffith eclipsed him, one wonders if some of the innovations attributed to Griffith might not have appeared in rudimentary form with Porter's work.

This book must be read leisurely because of its multiple narrative; it is not only a juxtaposition of Porter and Edison, but of the gallery of characters that became the supporting cast in this two-man drama. Inevitably, one must ask what Porter might have been had he entered the business some twenty or thirty years later. Like Madame Rose in *Gypsy*, Porter was born too soon and started too late. Today, one could see him as head of an independent company, trying not to release through the studios but realizing that sometimes it is inevitable. Porter would have been an independent, not unlike Musser, who, except for a few concessions to cinematically correct terminology ("privilege," "valorize"), marches to his own beat.

BERNARD F. DICK
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GREGG ANDREWS. *Shoulder to Shoulder? The American Federation of Labor, the United States, and the Mexican Revolution, 1910–1924*. Berkeley and Los Angeles:

University of California Press. 1991. Pp. vii, 272. \$45.00.

I was naturally pleased to see that the story told in this monograph about how, from 1911 to 1924, Samuel Gompers and the American Federation of Labor (AFL) became the major defenders of the Mexican Revolution in the United States differs little from the one in my book on much the same topic (*Labor Organizations in the United States and Mexico: A History of Their Relations* [1971]). This might be because, although Gregg Andrews did have access to some newly available sources, particularly intelligence reports and recent works on labor and the Mexican Revolution, both books rely heavily on the same two manuscript sources, the Gompers Papers and the State Department files. Although Andrews fleshes out the tale, it still follows the main outlines of mine.

Perhaps, then, a need to put a different spin on events explains the rather peculiar structure of this book. The first five chapters provide the detailed narrative, taking Gompers and the AFL through their initial contacts with Mexican labor leaders struggling to create a union movement amid the violent revolutionary storm sweeping their country. These chapters delve into the mixture of motives that inspired Gompers to establish links with labor leaders who seemed much more radical than he, including heading off anarchism and bolshevism in Mexico and demonstrating the AFL's usefulness in foreign policy to the U.S. government. They amplify my narrative but disagree with me only here and there.

There then follow two chapters, each of which returns to the beginning of the story. The first is on Robert Haberman, an American socialist who was part of the corrupt group that came to dominate the Mexican labor movement. I have always been curious about this shadowy figure and found much of Andrews's discussion about him very interesting. Yet one wonders why other readers, whose curiosity has not been piqued by the difficulties in tracking him down, have to be taken back to the beginning to be told of Haberman's role in previously described events. If they were significant, Haberman's contributions should have been dealt with along with them. Similarly, the short chapter on "The AFL and U.S. Hegemony in Latin America" seems an attempt to distance this work from mine by asserting the importance of "corporatism" in shaping Gompers's ideology. Ironically, while researching my study as a graduate student at Wisconsin in the heady mid-1960s, when William A. Williams seemed to be unlocking the mysteries of the universe, I was naturally tempted to find "corporate liberals" lurking everywhere. Yet for the life of me I could not be convinced that the concept helped explain Gompers in Mexico. (Far more important, I thought, was that he was a puffed up, self-important blowhard.) Although Andrews, like Ronald Radosh (who is cited approvingly but has since become an apostate), manages to scrape to-

gether some of Gompers's supposedly corporatist rhetoric, its connection to his Mexican policy remains unclear. Andrews is more successful in explicating Gompers's ambivalence over U.S. military and economic intervention in Latin America, but here too it would have been preferable to have integrated these points into the main narrative. Nevertheless, for those looking for the fullest story of what happened, this book will now be the place to go. It is well written, thoughtful, and (unlike mine) takes all of its protagonists very seriously.

HARVEY LEVENSTEIN
McMaster University

CLETE DANIEL. *Chicano Workers and the Politics of Fairness: The FEPC in the Southwest, 1941–1945*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 1991. Pp. xii, 239. \$27.50.

The Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC) was established by the Franklin Roosevelt administration largely to head off a march on Washington threatened by African-American labor leader A. Philip Randolph. Historians see little commitment by Roosevelt to changing employment practices either in the government or private sector for black Americans. The FEPC lacked a budget sufficient for its task, strong leadership, and enforcement powers. As a result it had only a limited impact on the employment opportunities of black Americans during World War II. Blacks did eventually find better jobs during the war, but changes occurred mainly because of labor shortages and not because of a vigorous fair employment policy on the part of the federal government.

It should come as no surprise that the FEPC also failed to help Chicano workers improve their employment prospects. The concerns of Mexican Americans were hardly at the top of the FEPC's list. Clete Daniel tells this story of an ineffectual FEPC, focusing on Mexican-American workers in the Southwest. His account reveals cancelled or postponed hearings and a Roosevelt administration indifferent to the complaints of Chicano workers. Daniel notes in this well-researched book that Mexican Americans even lacked the political clout of black Americans, which itself was not very great in the early 1940s, and this hurt their cause even more.

Daniel also notes that the Mexican government did not push for better treatment either, and American authorities used foreign policy as a further reason for a lack of action. Thus, Chicano workers had few advocates. He does find that unions like the United Mill and Smelters Union and individual investigators such as Carlos Castañeda exposed rampant discrimination against Chicanos in the Southwest, but their pleas generally fell on deaf ears in Washington. Daniel concludes that Chicano workers made employment gains during the war, but as the FEPC itself notes, these did not occur because of the committee

efforts. Rather, as was the case of African Americans, better jobs were usually found because of labor shortages as mobilization expanded during the war.

The short concluding chapter about these gains lacks some hard data, and the lack is by no means confined to the last few pages. Daniel's book is largely based on hearings and reports and complaints of workers and investigators, but he rarely gives statistics about the depth of the discrimination. Such data are required when making the case of discrimination and their inclusion would have greatly strengthened his account. Even so, it is clear that Daniel has added another small chapter to the history of the first federal FEPC, which served perhaps as a forerunner of future events and not as a powerful agency in its own right.

DAVID M. REIMERS
New York University

JAMES B. CROOKS. *Jacksonville after the Fire, 1901–1919: A New South City*. Jacksonville: University of North Florida Press. 1991. Pp. x, 193. \$24.95.

James B. Crooks argues persuasively in this slim volume that private citizens, city officials, and civic organizations in Jacksonville, Florida, like those in other southern cities during the Progressive Era, successfully modernized the region before World War I. Furthermore, the pattern of events in Florida's Gateway City during these years approximated those in urban centers across the nation.

Boom times and the progressive movement arrived simultaneously in Jacksonville. Following the catastrophic fire of 1901, both the private and public sectors helped shape the city's growth. Enlightened leadership from the mayor's office and city council, from the Board of Trade—later the Chamber of Commerce—and women's organizations transformed the city.

The rebuilding of Jacksonville itself provided jobs that attracted thousands. The skyline and the physical shape and size of the city changed dramatically and attracted northern investments in railroads and financial institutions. Federal appropriations to deepen the St. Johns River brought about the expansion of the port facilities. The city became a regional distribution center for consumer goods. With prosperity came suburbs, which were connected to downtown by streetcars. In 1914 Jacksonville's population and trade exceeded that of its older competitors, Charleston and Savannah.

African Americans comprised one-half of Jacksonville's population. Most were relegated to menial jobs and remained poor while whites prospered in skilled jobs. The city's blacks also were disenfranchised and rigidly segregated by state and local laws. These oppressive conditions prompted many of the best and brightest African Americans to migrate north. Racial violence peaked following World War I when two

blacks accused of killing a white man were themselves murdered by a white mob.

Throughout the years 1901–19 in Jacksonville, the spirit of reform was in the air. The city and the Chamber of Commerce attempted unsuccessfully to ban prostitution and liquor; the local Woman's Club promoted school and public health reform. The latter movement was launched by the directors of the city's Board of Health and transformed Jacksonville from an unhealthy to a healthy city. Between 1900 and 1916 the mortality rate of its citizens was cut from 28.6 to 15.7 deaths per 1,000.

The newspaper and new department stores, ball parks, motion picture theaters, and amusement parks, although segregated, encouraged a leisure ethic that rapidly became part of the new city culture. These urban institutions brought enormous changes in the life of Jacksonville and other cities across the nation.

This important book is another in a growing list that explore the process of southern urbanization. Jacksonville, like Atlanta and Nashville, grew and prospered during the Progressive Era while other southern cities like Charleston and Savannah atrophied. Unfortunately, Crooks does not address why this happened. It is noteworthy, however, that Jacksonville, like other expanding, prospering cities, was led primarily by "new men" while those cities that languished were dominated by an entrenched elite. But in the area of black-white relations, Jacksonville's urbanization process followed that of other southern and American cities—there was little progress toward racial harmony during an era characterized by both progressive reforms and white supremacy.

This book is especially recommended for anyone interested in urban, Florida, and southern history during the Progressive Era.

WALTER J. FRASER, JR.
Georgia Southern University

ERIKA DOSS. *Benton, Pollock, and the Politics of Modernism: From Regionalism to Abstract Expressionism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1991. Pp. xvi, 445. \$40.00.

This book by Erika Doss is about the relationship between regionalist art of the 1930s as exemplified by Thomas Hart Benton and Abstract Expressionism of the 1940s as exemplified by Benton's student, Jackson Pollock. The usual view has been one of discontinuity, but Doss argues for the continuity of their aesthetic and political strategies, focusing on what she calls the political culture of the two decades. She characterizes Benton as a liberal, rather than a Populist, supporter of the New Deal; she sees Pollock in two contexts, one of consensus and anticommunist politics and the other of personal therapy, arguing that the latter is also social reform achieved through the autonomy of the artist. Following Walter Benjamin, Doss examines

corporate coopting of the work of both artists. She combines the more radical political analysis of Serge Guilbaut with the more moderate cultural analysis of Warren Susman. She acknowledges the importance to her thought of Karal Ann Marling's interpretation of regionalism—American popular culture as reformist politics—and of Lary May's analysis of the movie industry as mass culture.

There is much to recommend this book: it is written in a lively and clear style, it introduces new material, it is liberally illustrated with black-and-white reproductions, and the author does not lose sight of the context she establishes. Although lacking a general bibliography, the book is well researched and the endnotes are useful. Doss is versatile in handling various kinds of material—historical, political, textual, and art historical. The result is interesting and stimulating reading. Readers may disagree at times—for instance, with Doss's sympathy for Benton—but there are few errors. A minor one is her misreading of Native American shamanism; by means of art the patient is realigned with the cosmos, not the art, and thus restored to health.

About two-thirds of the book is devoted to regionalism and in particular to Benton's murals of the 1920s and 1930s. Doss argues that the murals represent, in terms of modern art, a republican, producerist tradition intended to revitalize American democratic values. She interprets them biographically and politically and provides the most sophisticated and satisfying reading of them. Doss recounts Benton's falling out with the Left, Stuart Davis in particular, and then traces his willing cooption into consumer culture. In that section, she focuses on the Associated American Artists, which developed a mass market, and on business', especially 'Time-Life's, use of regionalist art. Her study of the attacks on regionalism and its demise are valuable.

The last third of the book is about Abstract Expressionism as an expression of a dominant culture, but since Pollock, unlike Benton, said little and wrote less, Doss's arguments are more fragmentary and circuitous, based on essays such as those by critics Clement Greenberg and Harold Rosenberg. Her discussion includes film noir as a phenomenon related to Abstract Expressionism, but she may underestimate its relation to World War II. The reader may be a little uncomfortable with the simplicity of other implied assumptions: that Pollock's paintings can be read directly as documents of postwar disaffection and anxiety, that America had a "dominant culture," or that federal legislation can reform the world, but Doss has written a valuable and interesting book that restores continuity and political context to the decades of depression and war.

MARLENE PARK
John Jay College
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City University of New York

ALAN STONE. *Public Service Liberalism: Telecommunications and Transitions in Public Policy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1991. Pp. xiv, 296. \$35.00.

In defense of both regulation and the Bell system, Alan Stone has written a curious book that attempts to rebut historically the new conventional wisdoms of deregulation, divestiture, and Chicago-school economics. Stone's book is designed as a case study of AT&T's early development, prior to the onset of New Deal regulation and the ruination of "modern liberalism."

The author devotes his first chapter to an explanation of "public service liberalism," which he carefully distinguishes from the modern variety of liberalism that took hold during the New Deal. Stone's liberal tradition, which derives from the work of John Stuart Mill, gives primacy to private property and competition, but not as any sort of perfect model—merely a base for efficiency on which the public interest could be superimposed. Because many businesses had especially strong public interest characteristics, there was no reason not to anticipate a role for government. In his second chapter, Stone makes clear that the telephone exhibited just these sorts of characteristics: bringing people together, providing a backbone medium for commerce, and benefiting all subscribers proportionately with increased interconnection. Public service liberalism reached its apogee, according to Stone, during the Progressive Era, in the institutional form of the state level, independent regulatory commission.

In chapters 3 through 8, Stone documents several aspects of early Bell history: monopoly growth under the umbrella of patent protection, the development of corporate organization and charter, the adoption of a strategy by Theodore Vail that embraced government regulation (as an alternative preferable to either competition or municipal ownership), the process of consolidation and interconnection between 1913 and 1933, the development of procedural norms between AT&T and public utility regulators, and the policy resolution of a radio broadcasting regime. Stone's sources reveal a thorough familiarity with the relevant secondary literature and a reasonable use of primary and archival sources.

The material in these empirical chapters seems generally chosen to illustrate the natural and well-intentioned evolution of the systems and policies that led to AT&T's virtual national monopoly. Regulators are sincere and public minded, with little evidence of the sort of capture that Gabriel Kolko or George Stigler would suspect. Managers, while self-interested, were generally open and honest, conciliatory of their smaller competitors' interests, and self-consciously aware of their own special "public-interest" obligation.

The book's shortcomings, at least from an economist's perspective, would begin with the dearth of hard evidence on the Bell system's performance.

Merely stating that the phone system worked well under pre-New Deal regulation does not say much about the efficacy of that regulation. Conversely, the author's implication that post-New Deal regulation was relatively less effective is neither documented nor sufficiently presaged in his concluding chapter on the origins of the Federal Communications Commission.

I think I probably agree with Stone that public service liberalism, especially in the case of telephony, was a successful regime for developing a national telecommunications network. But as Vail himself concluded, "effective aggressive competition and regulation and control are inconsistent with each other, and cannot be had at this time" (AT&T, *Annual Report* [1910]). Despite its efficacy, it would be tough to restore "public service liberalism" in today's intensely competitive environment.

RICHARD H. K. VIETOR
Harvard University

CHERYL LYNN GREENBERG. *"Or Does It Explode?" Black Harlem in the Great Depression*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1991. Pp. viii, 317. \$35.00.

Bracketing her study with the Harlem Riots of 1935 and 1943, Cheryl Lynn Greenberg offers a detailed portrait of black life in the nation's largest metropolis. Based on the voluminous records of the Mayor's Commission on Conditions in Harlem among other primary sources, the study carefully documents the impact of racial discrimination and segregation on Harlem, the political responses of blacks, and white reactions to black political demands. Economically insecure during the 1920s, African Americans sank even deeper into unemployment, poverty, and suffering during the 1930s. As elsewhere in urban America, their plight was made even worse by the discriminatory policies of employers, labor unions, and social welfare agencies (public and private). Still, Greenberg concludes that the activities of social welfare organizations, especially after the establishment of New Deal programs, helped numerous African Americans and their families to survive hard times.

In their quest for jobs, relief, and housing, New York City blacks found white allies in the NAACP, Urban League, the CIO, and the Communist Party. They also found a congenial supporter in the office of Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia, the fusionist-Republican who held office during the entire period. Above all, however, they organized in their own interests. Black political activism gained its greatest expression in the "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work" campaign, which increased the number of blacks in white-collar jobs in white-owned businesses. When mass mobilization dissipated, black political activities found other channels, including riots. In short, Greenberg concludes, in 1935 and again in 1943, "Harlemites responded to discrimination and prejudice with anger and violence when organized protest seemed useless. In that sense,

the riots represented, not a rejection of political activity, but rather extensions of it" (p. 214).

This book demonstrates the enormous complexity of life in depression-era Harlem. Greenberg pays close attention to the ways that gender, class, nationality, and race structured the lives of Harlemites. She examines the contrasting and overlapping fates of men and women, children and adults, southerners and West Indians, the employed and the unemployed. In addition to close analysis of families on relief, for example, she uses the records of the Bureau of Labor Statistics and the files of the Universal Negro Improvement Association to examine the lives of black families who managed to escape the unemployment rolls.

While identifying a variety of political persuasions—nationalist, integrationist, communist, and socialist—within the black community, Greenberg also documents the dynamics of black political mobilization. In order to explain the success of the "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work" campaign, for example, she builds on the theoretical framework of civil rights historian Aldon Morris and locates what she calls "a movement center" in black churches, fraternal orders, and other organizations.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, Greenberg analyzes how much Harlem changed and how much it remained the same between the Great Depression and the onset of World War II. Although blacks had improved their lot since the early 1930s, racial inequality and poverty persisted. Despite the important contributions of this study, however, it gives insufficient attention to the dynamics of intraracial class relations at the level of the "movement center," where blacks from a variety of class backgrounds struggled to build multiclass institutions to meet their needs. Nonetheless, this study complements the growing body of scholarship on blacks in Harlem and warrants our close attention.

JOE W. TROTTER
Carnegie Mellon University

WILLIAM IVY HAIR. *The Kingfish and His Realm: The Life and Times of Huey P. Long*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1991. Pp. xvi, 406. \$24.95.

William Ivy Hair has written an excellent account of Huey P. Long set against the world in which he lived. Long held the offices of state railroad commissioner, governor, and U.S. senator before his assassination in 1935. No person in Louisiana history either before or after him can be said to have equaled his impact on that state. As Long once remarked, he was *sui generis*.

Huey P. Long, Sr., and Caledonia Tison Long of Winn Parish, Louisiana, had nine children, the seventh, born in 1893, they named Huey, Jr. Young Huey early exhibited qualities that characterized his career: an astounding memory, foresight, an insecurity that drove him to occupy center stage on all

occasions; an on-off personality that could charm or be brutally nasty; a mastery of words ranging from scriptural passages to almost original profanity and striking invective. His was an "attack" philosophy. He also possessed abounding energy.

After he passed the state bar examination, he decided to follow his dream of a political career all the way to the presidency. As a state railroad commissioner he claimed the position of people's champion against entrenched economic interests. He made political alliances as needed and discarded them without qualms. His driving ambition propelled him into the governorship in 1928.

There he welded a coalition of Long acolytes while ridiculing, and in some cases politically destroying, opponents. Long sponsored legislation that eliminated self-government in cities and parishes while concentrating his power. His high-handed actions, controversial legislation, and a charge that the Standard Oil Company (New Jersey) had bought the legislature led to his impeachment in 1929. A round robin, signed by one more than one-third of the senators saying they would not vote to convict him, ended that affair.

Varying interpretations of the Long impeachment sharply distinguishes Hair's biography from that of T. Harry Williams (*Huey Long* [1969]). Williams asserted that impeachment affected Long but did not alter his goals. Long, Williams argued, never believed reform in Louisiana could be achieved by appeal to reason or resort to principles. Hair questions that ideals ever motivated Huey. To him, raw power served in lieu of principles. Huey never "specifically helped any of the underclass who were unable to help him . . . The conclusion is inescapable that everything he did in politics was for the purpose of augmenting his own power" (p. 209).

During the depression in 1931, with a huge crop forecast and very low prices, Huey proposed a cotton growing holiday. Widely supported in Louisiana, opposition from Texas killed it. From that scheme Huey gained national visibility.

Elected to the U.S. Senate in 1932, Long significantly influenced the presidential nomination of Franklin D. Roosevelt. For a time he supported FDR's New Deal, but soon he launched attacks on its agricultural and economic programs. Politically FDR feared Long, whom he considered one of the two most dangerous men in the nation.

For years Long toyed with a plan to redistribute wealth, for which he claimed there was scriptural justification. In 1934 he began to organize a Share Our Wealth Society, whose motto was "Every Man a King." The movement generated such force nationally that many historians later contended it forced Roosevelt and the New Dealers to move left. Economists pronounced the plan unsound but its simplicity attracted thousands.

Hair skillfully evaluates Long's record and finds it wanting. He gives Long credit for his biracial free

textbook program and for supporting public works projects such as bridge and highway construction. Hair states that Long advanced Louisiana State University: "Largely because of Long's largesse, improvements in facilities and faculties took LSU from mediocrity to the status of a major southern university." And he correctly credits Huey with establishing night schools where in four years 100,000 black and white citizens learned to read and write.

But Hair's research also indicates the falsity of Long's claims that he provided for the mentally ill and the indigent. On occasion he warred with established vice operations while a Mafia chieftain claimed to have cut a gambling deal with him.

In this volume Hair demonstrates his ability to turn felicitous phrases. His case against Long is well presented. Tightly organized, the research is massive and the bibliography full. And Louisiana State University Press did its usual fine job of book making. Hair presents a story that in essence differed sharply from Williams's. That he did so gracefully and convincingly is a tribute to his writing skill. Yet in the last analysis, in his brief career Long demonstrated such a complex personality that who he was, what motivated him, and what he achieved will be long debated. The mythos remains stronger than the facts.

BENNETT H. WALL
EMERITUS
University of Georgia

MARY ANN DZUBACK. *Robert M. Hutchins: Portrait of an Educator*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1991. Pp. xvi, 387. \$24.95.

Mary Ann Dzuback presents Robert Maynard Hutchins as the educational missionary *par excellence*. Educated in the evangelical culture of Oberlin College, committed to rational discourse as the preeminent method of defining truth, and spurred on by unshakable moral conviction, Dzuback's Hutchins mesmerized and infuriated his contemporaries primarily through the strength of his beliefs and the power of his vision. Hutchins is presented to us in this book as a man whose single-minded faith in the power of reason sustained him to persevere in his crusades and also deprived him of lasting impact on the world he most eagerly sought to reform: the world of higher education.

Dzuback concludes that Hutchins will be remembered and cherished for his perseverance in the battles he fought for academic freedom and for his never-ceasing challenges to his fellow academics to examine and reexamine the ends of educational institutions. As the immediate causes for his ultimate failure, Dzuback identifies Hutchins's uncompromising and ever-repeated efforts at the University of Chicago and at the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions to battle, undercut, and overcome

the prevailing trends of modern academic life and organization.

It was Hutchins's affirmation of a single way of educating, of a single set of values, and of a single truth that put him at odds with the modern world. To him, the university was above all an academic institution committed to teaching its students how to think. For Hutchins, thinking, with its related processes of clarifying ideas through debate and discussion, was the royal road to truth, which was ultimately discoverable through human reason. Hutchins's college at the University of Chicago was, in his mind, the singular model of undergraduate education. As Dzuback points out, for Hutchins there was no room for tolerance of varied ways and plural truths. The scientific ways of learning from observation and facts were distinctly inferior, particularly when they were carried out in separate departmental compartments. Only interdisciplinary rational study would lead us to the recognition of the truth. To use a phrase of contemporary debate: for Hutchins, the canon was infinitely preferable to the intellectual diversity of the modern curriculum.

Dzuback's biography is rightly called a portrait of an educator. As portrait it rarely goes beyond brief sketches of events and ideas in Hutchins's life. It refrains from analyzing at greater depth the intellectual debates Hutchins engaged in. We learn that Hutchins came to dislike science and empiricism, but we are not helped to understand the basis of his distaste. We learn nothing of Aristotelian or Thomistic metaphysics that might enable us to grasp better, for example, Hutchins's attraction to Mortimer Adler, on the one hand, or his initial rejection of John Dewey on the other. Although Dzuback mentions Harry Ashmore's *Unseasonable Truths* (1989), a biography of Hutchins far more detailed than hers, she never deems it necessary to tell us how she thinks her book supplements or improves on his. Dzuback's volume is a competently crafted and thoroughly readable biography, yet, to satisfy the probing reader, it leaves unexplained and unanswered too many pertinent questions.

JURGEN HERBST
*University of Wisconsin,
Madison*

LINDA REED. *Simple Decency and Common Sense: The Southern Conference Movement, 1938-1963*. (Blacks in the Diaspora.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1991. Pp. xxvii, 257. \$29.95.

In his prize-winning book on *Brown v. Board of Education*, Richard Kluger vividly demonstrated that the struggle to achieve racial justice has been anything but simple (*Simple Justice: The History of Brown v. Board of Education and Black America's Struggle for Equality* [1975]). Similarly, Linda Reed concludes that those who tried to transform the South into a more

egalitarian region found decency and sense neither simple nor common. She proves this point by tracing the history of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare (SCHW) and its successor the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF). Covering the period from SCHW's founding in 1938 to SCEF's participation in the black freedom movement up to 1963, Reed details the pioneering efforts of black and white liberals to achieve racial and economic democracy and the fierce resistance they faced. It is an account that highlights the perils of battling for social change with tactics inadequately designed to crush racial segregation and disfranchisement.

Envisioning a New South different from the conservative and racially repressive version following Reconstruction, these interracial groups placed great faith in the willingness of responsible white southerners to respond favorably to reasoned arguments for first-class black citizenship and progressive economic measures to ameliorate the widespread poverty both races endured in Dixie. Through educational campaigns, the two southern conferences fought against politically discriminatory poll tax requirements, exposed incidents of violence perpetrated against blacks, and cooperated with black civil rights organizations to challenge the legal fiction that segregated institutions provided equal opportunities. When SCEF replaced the SCHW in 1948 it focused mainly on promoting racial equality. SCEF remained predominantly white, but throughout the 1950s and 1960s it depended increasingly on black leadership and support from the civil rights movement.

Reed cogently argues that neither SCHW nor SCEF accomplished many concrete results. The credit for the destruction of Jim Crow and the reentranchisement of southern blacks must go to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and the Congress of Racial Equality. The author attributes the conferences' shortcomings not to any lack of bravery or idealism but instead to the failure to turn these organizations into mass-based groups that would wage their struggle primarily in the streets rather than politely disseminating information through various publications and broadcasts. Moral suasion without confrontation was not enough to overcome entrenched racism. In rendering this judgment, Reed nonetheless recognizes the intangible successes of these groups in keeping alive a vision of interracial justice during several decades of political pessimism. If they could not weather internal conflicts, financial hardships, white supremacist attacks, and anticommunist harassment, SCHW and SCEF nevertheless helped rally whites behind the black-led freedom struggle. Much of this history has been told before by Thomas Krueger and Irwin Klibaner, and Reed generally concurs with their conclusions. Her book raises some important questions for other scholars to explore. Without a grass-

roots membership or a strategy of direct-action protest, in what ways can the southern conferences be classified as part of a social movement? How did the substantial contributions of women such as Anne Braden, Mary McLeod Bethune, Virginia Durr, Lucy Randolph Mason, and Modjeska Simkins serve to mobilize other lesser-known women to participate in a myriad of civil rights activities? How did the growing participation of blacks in these organizations reshape their goals? We are fortunate to have a book that stimulates so much thinking.

STEVEN F. LAWSON
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Greensboro

MELVIN I. UROFSKY. *Felix Frankfurter: Judicial Restraint and Individual Liberties*. (Twayne's Twentieth-Century American Biography Series.) Boston: Twayne. 1991. Pp. xiii, 234. \$26.95.

Almost thirty years after his death, Felix Frankfurter remains a subject of scholarly interest. Arriving from Vienna in 1894 at the age of twelve and unable to speak a word of English, Frankfurter proceeded to live the American dream. Graduating from Harvard Law School, he quickly established himself among America's governing elite. The protégé of Henry Stimson and Louis Brandeis, he counted Oliver Wendell Holmes, Teddy Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, Herbert Croly, and Walter Lippmann among his early acquaintances. When he joined the Harvard Law faculty in 1914 it was not to retreat into the cloistered academic life; during his twenty-five distinguished years at Harvard, he was a founder of the ACLU, an advisor to the NAACP, a defender of Sacco and Vanzetti, a contributor to *The New Republic*, a crusader for reform, and a friend and advisor to Franklin Roosevelt. Considered from the perspective of the late twentieth century, Frankfurter's career is astonishing in the breadth of his experiences and the variety of his accomplishments.

Melvin I. Urofsky's one-volume biography is the newest addition to a burgeoning body of scholarly works attempting to do justice to the life of this exceptional man. Urofsky's focus, for the most part, is on Frankfurter's judicial career; he concludes Frankfurter's precourt years in a scant forty-four pages. Such brevity can only introduce the reader to the highlights of Frankfurter's early career. Urofsky, however, has carefully crafted his description of this period of Frankfurter's life and, even in such an abbreviated form, he has managed to convey the boundless energy, intelligence, and excitement that marked the life of the young Frankfurter.

Far more detailed and indeed controversial is his analysis of Frankfurter's Supreme Court career. Urofsky asserts that Frankfurter on the Supreme Court failed to live up to the enormous potential shown by Frankfurter as law professor and reformer.

Primarily this was the product of Frankfurter's role as the voice of judicial restraint on a Court that eagerly embraced judicial activism in the defense of minority rights. Examining the great battle between Hugo Black and Frankfurter over the direction of judicial review in post-New Deal America, Urofsky concludes that history vindicated the vision of Justice Black. Moreover, when Frankfurter lost control of the Court in the 1940s, his harsh criticisms and pedantic lectures to his fellow justices, coupled with his habit of personalizing every battle, strained interpersonal relations on the Court. In this respect, Urofsky is on target when he characterizes Frankfurter as the "prima donna of the law" (p. 63).

Urofsky is one of academe's best legal historians and his case against Frankfurter makes provocative reading. Too often the works on Frankfurter smack of hagiography; there is much to criticize in his jurisprudence and personality. Nevertheless, one can concede all of Frankfurter's failings and yet still believe he deserves recognition as one of the "greats." Whether he measured up to his potential, he was nonetheless an articulate and passionate champion of a theory of Court and Constitution that has roots deep within American political and legal thought. The positions of Black, William O. Douglas, Earl Warren, and William Brennan were forged in debates with Frankfurter. Simply measured by the mediocrity that ascends to the Court today, Frankfurter was a giant.

It is to Urofsky's credit that one can differ on this ultimate judgment regarding Frankfurter and still gain much from this book. It is a first-rate introduction to Frankfurter and deserves a wide audience.

MARK SILVERSTEIN
Boston University

JACOB A. VANDER MEULEN. *The Politics of Aircraft: Building an American Military Industry*. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1991. Pp. xii, 292. \$35.00.

In this well-researched monograph, Jacob A. Vander Meulen, seeking the origins of the military-industrial complex, analyzes the aircraft industry from World War I to World War II. During World War I the infant industry performed poorly. After hostilities ended, the aircraft manufacturers' troubles multiplied because the industry was intensely and bitterly competitive, subject to rapidly changing technology, and heavily dependent on unpredictable military services that were deeply divided over the airplane's combat role, aircraft procurement, and the air services' degree of independence. All of these problems, according to Vander Meulen, were magnified by Congress thwarting sensible industry-military relations through its insistence on competitive procurement policies. The nation's legislators did so out of the conviction that the wartime production failures

had resulted from malfeasance involving an "Aircraft Trust" and that market forces could purify the industry and build needed walls between it and the armed services. "Associational" efforts pursued by Herbert Hoover, continued under the National Recovery Administration and supported by various industry and trade association leaders, some members of Congress, and far-sighted military officers, never succeeded in reversing Congress' destructive policies. Despite nearly insuperable odds, aircraft manufacturers in the interwar years brought their industry to maturity and prepared it for the enormous demands of World War II.

Vander Meulen explains that his approach "suggests the limits of institutional or technological approaches to business and industrial history and the history of political economy" and demonstrates the benefits of emphasizing "political culture" (p. 221). Exactly what the author has in mind is unclear, a quality rather common to this often densely written volume. Indeed, evaluating the monograph is difficult because of its piecemeal, idiosyncratic nature. The author, for example, fails to analyze systematically the aircraft industry's evolution and its interaction with Congress and the military. Yet he spends an inordinate amount of space on labor, based on the questionable notion that collective bargaining would have acted to stabilize the emerging aircraft industry. Furthermore, Vander Meulen frequently writes as if he is dealing with a sick industry instead of an evolving industrial giant. More seriously, the author neglects vital developments shaping the aircraft industry and relevant to his subject. He rightfully, albeit begrudgingly, recognizes the importance of the Air Corps Act of 1926. He barely mentions, however, the Air Mail Act of 1925 and the Air Commerce Act of 1926: the first subsidized the rise of the airline system, the second created what became the Civil Aeronautics Board and the infrastructure essential for orderly airplane operations. Additionally, the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics gets little more than a nod.

Although Vander Meulen fails to locate the roots of the military-industrial complex in the aircraft industry, his information on the interwar struggle among the executive and legislative branches, the armed services, and the aircraft industry over the development, production, and procurement of the airplane adds to our knowledge about the political economy of modern warfare. A more complete, coherent, and convincing analysis might have enhanced his contribution.

PAUL A. C. KOISTINEN
California State University,
Northridge

GREGORY HOOKS. *Forging the Military-Industrial Complex: World War II's Battle of the Potomac*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1991. Pp. x, 303. \$39.95.

Gregory Hooks offers a convincing argument that America's unique obsession with amassing military hardware and relative lack of interest in domestic social reformation were consequences of a struggle in the corridors of power during World War II. Thus, the book's subtitle.

The monolithic Pentagon, undisputed champion in the battle over budgetary priorities, continued after the war to extend its administrative authority at the expense of the institutional foundations established during the New Deal. Much of the strength of the military establishment's argument rested on the emotional plane of the "threats"—both real and contrived—represented by the Soviet Union. Not only was the military establishment enormously successful in aggrandizing the bulk of budgetary resources but it also exercised a remarkable degree of influence over the productive (and political) activities of the firms engaged in the manufacture of military equipment.

In his concluding chapter Hooks offers some thoughtful and worthwhile observations on the post-Cold War direction of these political and economic structures and the fate of the peace dividend: "The political and economic structures that were forged during and after the war have become increasingly costly. The Pentagon's industrial planning effort consumes valuable resources while providing fewer indirect benefits to the civilian sector" (p. 267). He also states that even if "the autarkic Pentagon will not take the lead in reindustrialization, the Pentagon's compliance is necessary for the policy's success. It is all but inconceivable that a separate planning effort could succeed when over 50 percent of federal purchases of goods and services is made by a military bureaucracy that is hostile or indifferent to the planning of civilian industries . . . The state's authority and ability to shape economic activity presently monopolized by the Pentagon must be transferred to, and adapted by, new civilian agencies that are both more democratic and more concerned with society's needs" (p. 275).

The book is difficult to categorize: although Hooks is a sociologist, he considers New Deal and postwar social programs only to the extent to which they were subsumed or consumed by the military establishment; in some ways this is a political science case study of the functions of a major American bureaucratic institution. More than anything, it may be described as institutional history, although it departs from the traditional forms historians associate with this genre.

Other than Hooks's too often obtuse or arcane prose, the flaws in this work are minor. It will be regrettable if the book does not achieve a broad audience, for it is an important and fresh perspective on the development of the military-industrial complex. The research is impeccable and the objectivity commendable.

RICHARD F. HAYNES
Northeast Louisiana University

THOMAS PARRISH. *Roosevelt and Marshall: Partners in Politics and War*. New York: William Morrow. Pp. 608. \$15.00.

In this dual biography, Thomas Parrish traces and analyzes the extraordinary relationship between two of the most important members of the U.S. high command throughout World War II: President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Army Chief of Staff General George C. Marshall. Such an analysis is extremely difficult because, as Parrish correctly notes, both men carefully fashioned masks at an early age that successfully hid their innermost thoughts and feelings throughout their distinguished careers. Making excellent use of their unpublished papers in the Roosevelt and Marshall libraries, previous biographies, relevant scholarly books and articles, diaries and oral histories of their associates, and Marshall's later reminiscences, Parrish succeeds in uncovering these masks. The result is an incisive, comprehensive, and well-written narrative of their successful collaboration, one that will interest both the specialist and the general reader.

Parrish's provocative thesis is that the Roosevelt-Marshall partnership during World War II rested not simply on a mutual candor and respect that developed gradually throughout the war but also on a "remarkable paradox" (p. 509): Roosevelt, the great politician, became the strongest and most active commander-in-chief in U.S. history, while Marshall, the supposedly quintessential "nonpolitical" soldier, became one of the nation's most effective politicians. The result was the "most triumphantly effective political-military team in American history" (p. 519), yet one that set a dangerous precedent for the future by partially inverting traditional civilian-military roles within the U.S. government.

Numerous scholars have previously noted the abilities of Roosevelt as a military leader and Marshall as a politician and statesman, most notably William R. Emerson and Forrest C. Pogue. Parrish, however, is the first to do so in a comparative as well as a comprehensive manner. His evidence and analysis are convincing, while his easy prose makes for enjoyable and informative reading. Only the publisher's decision to eschew numbered notes in favor of the more limited list of references for direct quotes by page at the end of the book, a practice of limited use and endless frustration to scholars, detracts from the overall high quality of this work.

Parrish has previously written and edited numerous works on World War II, and in this volume he clearly illustrates his strong scholarly and writing abilities. Consequently, this book is one of those great rarities in contemporary historical writing—a work of both original interpretation and broad synthesis, based on research in unpublished sources as well as the work of other historians, which is well-written, factually accurate, enjoyable, and informative. It is

highly recommended for scholars, students, and the general reading public.

MARK A. STOLER
University of Vermont

SALLIE PISANI. *The CIA and the Marshall Plan*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1991. Pp. x, 188. \$25.00.

This short book makes an important contribution to what John Lewis Gaddis has called the "distinct subdiscipline" of "intelligence studies." Most of the historical scholarship in this relatively new field stops in 1945 with the abolition of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), America's first full-scale intelligence organization. With the end of the Cold War, CIA Director Robert Gates has promised to open the agency's records, and this offers some hope that historians might be able to work with documents on intelligence operations after 1945. Until then books such as this by Sallie Pisani will be vital to understanding the history of covert operations in American foreign policy.

Pisani's book uses interviews with important figures in intelligence operations, especially Richard Bissell, to tell the story of the Office of Policy Coordination (OPC), a covert organization that complemented the Marshall Plan in Western Europe. A small group of what Pisani calls "determined interventionists"—Bissell, John A. Bross, Franklin Lindsay, Lawrence Houston, and Kermit Roosevelt—sought to use covert methods to counter what they saw as Soviet-inspired subversion. Pisani describes in revealing detail the early relationship between clandestine organizations and private institutions like the Ford and Rockefeller foundations. She also describes how the OPC acted to funnel money to European "assets," particularly in the labor movement and conservative political parties. She suggests that such operations played an important role in U.S. efforts in Western Europe during the early Cold War.

The book questions the legitimacy of covert operations given America's proclaimed belief in self-determination, an "idealistic vision" that "rested upon a foundation of actions and methods that were wholly incompatible with self-determination itself" (p. 2). This critique, however, is not developed within the book, and there is no analysis of the dilemmas involved with the vague goal of self-determination. The historical background that Pisani provides is confusing, lumping together under "interventionism" everything from military conquest to international trade and government regulation of the economy. The book is strongest when Pisani deals with the group of "determined interventionists," a term coined by Bissell in his interviews with her. It provides a vivid description of the men who were "ardently and actively" opposed to isolationism and were determined to "intervene actively in postwar world

affairs" (p. 3). She recounts a number of interesting stories of their activities, especially in the promotion of a noncommunist labor movement in Western Europe. The book's assessment of the actual impact of covert operations in the case studies of France, Italy, and Iran is more suggestive than convincing, underlying the need for more systematic study over the coming years. Pisani's book, however, provides a good place to start.

THOMAS ALAN SCHWARTZ
Vanderbilt University

MARK STERN. *Calculating Visions: Kennedy, Johnson, and Civil Rights*. (Perspectives on the Sixties.) New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1992. Pp. xiv, 307. Cloth \$38.00, paper \$14.95.

Mark Stern's survey of the civil rights activities of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations presents the now-conventional view that both presidents were "political schemers" (p. 233) whose actions were dictated by political considerations. The book's two parts each begin by examining the role civil rights played in each man's prepresidential career, and then work through each administration chronologically. The organization is clear although overlaps in the prepresidential periods occasionally lead to repetition (compare pp. 29 and 151, and pp. 85–86 and 155–59).

For Stern, Kennedy was a "reluctant hero." He had no principled commitment to civil rights and found it necessary first to court the segregationist South to gain the nomination and then to accommodate segregationists in Congress. As a result, Kennedy's civil rights initiatives were quite limited. And, even when his administration supported civil rights when pressed by demonstrations, it tried to channel civil rights activity into the least threatening form by aiming only at voting discrimination. Stern's survey concludes by discussing the Kennedy administration's political maneuvering over the civil rights bill it proposed in 1963.

Johnson was, in Stern's terms, a "coincident hero," an awkward phrase designed to suggest that he too was as much pushed by events outside Washington as he was dedicated to civil rights in principle. Yet, Stern argues, because Johnson "had to reach out" to liberals (p. 161), his administration actually pursued a more aggressive civil rights agenda than Kennedy's. Stern discusses Johnson's role in the 1964 Civil Rights Act in detail, shows the tensions that arose during the 1964 party convention over the seating of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, and concludes with a chapter on the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Oddly, or perhaps because of space constraints, Stern mentions the 1968 fair housing act only in passing and does not mention at all Johnson's appointment of Thurgood Marshall to the Supreme Court.

Stern's book will be a useful supplement in survey courses and offers a good view of what happened in

Washington on civil rights from the late 1950s to 1965. It contains no surprises for specialists, however, and the conventional wisdom it endorses may be ripe for some modest revision.

As to Kennedy, Stern's analysis may overlook the cultural significance of the "vigor" with which the administration infused government, which may have made the political system more open to outside pressure of the sort provided by civil rights demonstrations. It may also overlook the importance in a bureaucracy of low-level appointees who exert a sustained, though small, force in one direction. Starting with the Justice Department under Herbert Brownell and continuing through the Kennedy administration, these low-level bureaucrats may have contributed more to committing the national administration to civil rights than the high-level appointees on whom Stern focuses.

In addition, by describing both Kennedy and Johnson as mere politicians, Stern rather clearly underplays Johnson's deep and principled commitment to racial equality. True, both were politicians, but there surely is a difference between Kennedy, who did what he had to, but no more, on the civil rights issue, and Johnson, who did all that he could.

MARK TUSHNET
Georgetown University

FRANK R. KEMERER. *William Wayne Justice: A Judicial Biography*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 1991. Pp. xiv, 481. \$29.95.

Until recently, biographies of federal judges focused either on members of the U.S. Supreme Court or major judicial figures in the nineteenth century. Fortunately, legal historians are now writing about the role of federal district judges in recent American history, particularly in the field of civil rights and liberties.

Some federal judges had a more searing impact on the states in which they held court than governors or congressmen in those states. Many were appellate judges but some significant jurists have served at the trial court level. One such judge is William Wayne Justice, the U.S. District Judge for the Eastern District of Texas.

Throughout much of Justice's career, he dealt with the usual cases heard by federal trial judges. Yet Justice stands apart from many of his colleagues. Born and educated in Texas, he departed significantly from what many Texans believed he might do once he became a judge. After his appointment to the bench by fellow Texan Lyndon Johnson in 1968, Justice forced a revolution in juvenile rights, demanded improved conditions for the mentally retarded, integrated Texas schools, and reformed the Texas state prison system. As Frank R. Kemerer modestly points out in his conclusion, "Rather than a pioneer or crusader, Justice is best viewed as a cou-

rageous and fiercely independent jurist with a deep sense of right and wrong" (p. 405).

Kemerer describes Justice's precourt years as not being atypical of his generation. From childhood Justice aspired to the practice of law. Following law school at the University of Texas, Justice returned to his native Athens, Texas, where he became his father's law partner. After several years in private practice, he was appointed U.S. attorney, a position he was holding when Johnson tapped him for the Eastern District judgeship.

The biography establishes the origins of Judge Justice and provides some clues on what may have influenced the kinds of decisions he made in later years. In these initial pages, Kemerer's affection for the man is evident. Unfortunately, because of the author's tendency to celebrate the man, this is the more disappointing segment of the book.

The fascinating portion of the book is in the second part, where Kemerer pinpoints the areas of the law in which Justice's decisions have had the greatest impact, both in Texas and nationally. Ironically, it is in this segment where one gains a greater sense of the man. Here, Kemerer carefully sets out the judge's role in politically explosive situations, how long-time friends became alienated from him because of his decisions, how conservative Texans pilloried him for demanding social change. In this well-drawn portrait of Judge Justice the reader sees the strength of Kemerer's character and sense of purpose.

Kemerer's research is thorough and impressive; he draws from case files and court documents as well as interviews of participants. Interviews with Judge Justice himself provide inside stories of how these cases were decided.

The book joins a growing list of biographies of federal judges and ably shows how one trial judge, fairly low in the judicial hierarchy, could use the tools of law to revolutionize how institutions treat the disadvantaged. In essence, it demonstrates how one modern judge's legal activism can help remake society.

PHIL ROBERTS
University of Wyoming

EDWARD P. MORGAN. *The 60s Experience: Hard Lessons about Modern America*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1991. Pp. xxiv, 357. \$34.95.

Edward P. Morgan aims to synthesize the major events and themes of the 1960s. In doing so, he first summarizes what he calls the liberal and conservative interpretations of the 1960s and then introduces his own view, which he says "is grounded in the *experience* of the decade's movements and the hard lessons learned about modern America." According to Morgan, the movement began with the civil rights struggle and New Left students, and each "contained an expressive or prefigurative strain—an effort to build

and enjoy new democratic social relationships—within an instrumental or political strain aimed at transforming American society.” The fundamental dilemmas that confronted the various movements were the same: “how to effect change on a national scale through movements founded on personal relationships and grassroots organizing, a utopian vision, and personal spontaneity; what to do when confronted by a repressive state; how to extend a qualitative, post-scarcity critique of society to those still wanting to be included in that society” (pp. 8–9).

Morgan’s interpretation supports a growing body of scholarship by former activists—Todd Gitlin, Tom Hayden, Mary King, Wini Breines, James Miller—whose books appeared in the conservative 1980s and endorsed the contention that the movement of the 1960s was not destructive but instead a positive effort to improve America. Morgan tends to see the decade in a dichotomy, the activists or “people” who pressed for change versus the establishment or “system” that aimed to preserve the status quo (p. 27). He concludes that “the most fundamental lesson of the Sixties experience was that the very institutions that raise hopes for equality, empowerment, and enhanced personal meaning will not and cannot deliver more than marginally on these promises” (p. 276).

Morgan writes about social activism in the 1960s thematically—civil rights, campus revolt, antiwar, counterculture—and he concludes his study with lessons and legacies, which include women’s liberation and ecology. The pitfall of this approach is that it can result in backtracking and create an artificial feeling for the decade. The movement grew as one demonstration fed another, and this development is missing here as the author traces one theme to 1970, then begins another in 1960. Consequently, the legacies of civil rights are discussed before the ideas in the *Port Huron Statement*, which called for equality in 1962, the Weathermen are mentioned before the Free Speech Movement, and the antiwar legacy before “Blowin’ in the Wind.”

If this approach does not bother the reader, then this can be a satisfying book. The chapter on the counterculture is a welcome attempt to understand and not simply criticize that significant phenomenon. Morgan continues the 1960s into the next decade as he discusses feminism and ecology, and his lessons and legacies are thoughtful and at times provocative. Although the book is based almost entirely on secondary works, the author has synthesized hundreds of books and written a lucid narrative. Morgan has made a substantial contribution to a growing body of research on the 1960s.

TERRY ANDERSON
Texas A&M University

HERBERT S. PARMET. *Richard Nixon and His America*. Boston: Little, Brown. 1991. Pp. xii, 755. \$24.95.

Richard Nixon received a bum rap from Left historians who demonize him and dismiss mainstream Americans, Herbert S. Parmet argues. Others were creeps, opportunists, or wily pipe dreamers. Nixon was the major centrist conservative of the post-1945 era. His closeness to the “larger [‘working middle class,’ ‘conservative populist’] forces that have constituted our political culture” makes his career coherent and his success comprehensible (p. ix). Nixon, “more than any other figure of his generation, bridged cultural and geographic differences to keep in touch with mainstream Republicanism” from the Hoover to the Reagan era in a nonopportunistic fashion (pp. 346–47).

Parmet, like his subject, is skilled in polemical technique. His defense has strengths. Nixon as sinister betrayer and evil genius has been overdone. Parmet does not confuse intellectual history with the history of intellectuals “confined to the left bank of the Hudson and the shores of the Charles” (p. 283). Parmet’s discussion of George Wallace is unparanoid, and his suggestion that Nixon saved America from Wallace’s “primitive populism” in 1968 and afterward is suggestive. Parmet expresses views of Democrats whose shift toward Republicanism began in the 1960s and dealigned U.S. politics.

Nixon throughout is created by his times. He is almost never their creator. Red baiting was only “attuned to the national mood,” sensitively reflecting mass opinion (p. 263). Nixon did little, except as a moderate in the Hiss case, to define moods or opinions. Early moderation is oversold. Initial opposition to globalisms including the Marshall Plan are ignored. Nixon represents all “Forgotten American” middle-class populists in the 1950s; but he saves America from the “primitive populists” for the “middle-class majority” in the 1960s (p. 528). Nixon was not a Republican Right counterweight to Dwight Eisenhower in 1952; although “at least for the moment” he was a “concession” to Robert Taft and Herbert Hoover. Nixon liked Ike “long before” 1952; that Ike could win and Taft could not was irrelevant (p. 232). Parmet’s treatment of Nixon as always centrist and consistent and never opportunistic is needlessly overdone.

Watergate poses problems. It receives three and a half pages in a discursive 650-page narrative: this compares to twenty pages for the 1962 California governor’s race; eighteen for Nixon administration efforts at welfare reform; and eight for Howard Hughes–Nixon connections. Oracular phrasings like “a free society has the right to consider the administration’s malfeasance in its proper perspective” add nothing. Parmet seeks shelter behind strategic quotes such as Watergate was a “media putsch” mounted by “New Class” liberals marinated in hatred for Nixon since 1948–49 (pp. 638, 640). Why not frankly argue the point?

Avoidance occurs elsewhere. Economic policies receive cursory attention, so Parmet’s claim that Nixon

was centrist or coherent about such matters is dubious at best. To say that Nixon wanted New Deal "objectives" without New Deal "bureaucratic structures" means little (p. 95). It does not demean Nixon to clarify his heavy dependence on advisers in domestic policy. Parmet's contempt for the New Left as "upper-class aggression" is comprehensible. His lumping an antiwar coalition into an elite monolith is not. Parmet appears to posit "politically correct" academic legions besmirching Nixon and crucial American values to settle old scores. His analysis overreacts accordingly. The narrative also becomes progressively sprawling and disjointed after 1968. Nixon deserves defenders of portions of his career and aspects of his presidency. He has them. He will get more. Parmet's book, benefiting from access to interviews and papers not yet available to other writers, is a beginning at synthesizing defenses into a coherent whole. It is only a beginning.

KIM MCQUAID
Lake Erie College

MARK J. GASIOROWSKI. *U.S. Foreign Policy and the Shah: Building a Client State in Iran*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1991. Pp. xvi, 242. \$35.00.

Like so many analysts of the Iranian revolution of 1978–79, Mark J. Gasiorowski begins with how baffling it was for most observers. How could this have happened in a country with high rates of economic growth, rapid industrialization, a major land reform program, and an educated and modernizing elite? While agreeing with interpretations focusing on economic inequality and dislocation, on technological progress without concomitant social or political change, and on the capability of Shi'i clergy to mobilize the lower classes, the author argues a more basic cause: that the Iranian state had developed a high degree of autonomy under Mohammad Reza Pahlavi that allowed it to act independently of societal interests and needs. Thus, it would avoid rather successfully for a quarter of a century pressures for social, economic, and political change by a middle class that desired a political role parallel with economic status and by a lower class that sought greater benefits than the modest few afforded by the shah's regime. Many in both classes resented the corruption, life style, and secularism of the elite and the royal family. These increasingly repressed and alienated groups were susceptible to the appeals of the Shi'i clergy with grievances of its own against the shah's regime.

If it was the autonomous character of the Iranian state that created the conditions and precipitated the revolution, how it got to be that way is the theme of this well-written, significant, and informative book. Obviously, the increasing revenue from oil was a major factor in permitting the state to operate independently of participatory political practices, to develop a repressive and authoritarian regime, and to

coopt individuals or groups. But Gasiorowski points out that increasing oil income merely enhanced the independent authority of the regime after the late 1960s while the growth of the autonomous state had begun over a decade earlier with the CIA intervention against Prime Minister Mohammed Mosaddeq and the resultant reestablishment of the shah.

Indeed, one of the most interesting and valuable facets of the book is its analysis of the 1953 coup, which is based on extensive and often confidential interviews with retired British, American, and Iranian participants. At first reluctant to support British intrigues following Mosaddeq's nationalization of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, U.S. policy changed with the Eisenhower administration, which came to fear an unstable Iran on the Soviet border. Having put the shah back in power, the U.S. provided extensive economic, military, and security assistance in the 1950s that allowed the shah to consolidate his hitherto weak position and to act with increasing autonomy and independence. Had the United States not intervened, the author argues, the middle class rather than the shah would have established its hegemony.

The initial chapter constructs a theoretical framework for analyzing the patron-client relationship and for demonstrating its effect on the domestic politics of client states. Economic aid and security assistance from the United States would stabilize a friendly Iranian regime in a strategic area by strengthening it to meet the economic aspirations of its people and to overcome seemingly irresponsible and hostile factions. But the more autonomous the state regime, the more it can act independently from internal societal needs and political dynamics. "A relationship initially designed to promote political stability in the client country may therefore promote instability in the long run, threatening the patron's strategic interests" (p. xiii). Thus, suggests Gasiorowski, the superpower strategy of supporting client states may be inherently flawed. Although this theoretical chapter is interesting and underlies the development of the rest of the book up to the overthrow of the shah in 1979, the analytic narrative is well written and self-explanatory and can be read without reference to the theoretical overview.

Yet one might ask for how long Iran was truly a client state? If the oil income allowed the shah to reign as he wished, did it not also permit him a significant degree of independence from the United States? By the 1970s Iran was funding its own economic development, its own military machine, and its own security agency (SAVAK). What influence did the United States have over an Iran as autonomous externally as internally? Nevertheless, "by enabling the state to become highly autonomous, the U.S.-Iran client relationship helped bring about the 1978–79 revolution" (pp. 223–24).

BRICE HARRIS
Occidental College

CANADA

YVES GINGRAS. *Physics and the Rise of Scientific Research in Canada*. Translated by PETER KEATING. Buffalo, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1991. Pp. xii, 203. \$37.50.

In rankings related to science, Canada usually tends to fall somewhere in the middle, blessed with sufficient natural resources and well-educated people to assure steady growth but without a Manhattan Project or an Apollo program to attract international attention. Yves Gingras exploits this stability to his advantage in this book; it allows him to focus on the models and lessons that transcend northern borders, rather than on crises and exotic *dramatis personae*.

The narrative begins in the mid-nineteenth century, when physics was not considered an essential part of the Canadian university curriculum, and ends in the 1950s, by which time Canadian physicists had established an independent professional identity and a presence within national politics. Although Canada's reputation for pragmatism and industrial accomplishment might suggest otherwise, it was the universities, not industry, that actually shaped Canadian science. As the university ideal shifted from the transmission of knowledge to its creation, a new generation of physicists began to identify their professional image less through teaching and more through research and publications. Three distinct phases characterize this transformation: "the emergence of a research practice," "the institutionalization of research," and "the formation of a social identity."

In limiting the term "professionalization" to a community's control of access and practice, Gingras distinguishes his work from that of historians who award "professional" status on the basis of organizational aspects alone (meetings, journals, or awards for example). A "discipline," he points out, is a closed market, "where producers of knowledge are also [its] consumers" (p. 118); in contrast, a profession's clients (or the consumers of its knowledge) are not themselves producers or, at least, are not producers of the same type of knowledge. Defining the rules for controlling access to a profession thus requires a community to define its own social identity as well as how it relates to society, its clients, and other professions.

Gingras skillfully merges traditional historical research with bibliometric and other quantitative indicators into a work that will inform scholars of international science policy as well as historians. He exploits imaginatively the "retrospective" index of citations developed over the past decade by the Institute of Scientific Information, which has applied modern bibliometric analysis to technical journals published earlier in the century. Gingras uses these maps of intellectual influence (and a host of official statistics) as they should be used: to supplement rather than substitute for historical research in primary documents. They support rather than drive his arguments.

This book will also be of interest to those who study science in developing countries, where a scientist's desire to establish an international reputation may conflict with national publishing ventures. Gingras describes how Canadian physics at the turn of the century dealt with "foreign" publication, slowly reducing the proportion of major articles published abroad by subsidizing "domestic" journals.

This is a solid book, well researched and well written, with much that can be of use to scholars in areas both outside of and within the history of science.

MARCEL C. LAFOLLETTE
George Washington University

JOHN A. ENGLISH. *The Canadian Army and the Normandy Campaign: A Study of Failure in High Command*. Foreword by GUNTHER E. ROTHENBERG. New York: Praeger. 1991. Pp. xvii, 347. \$47.95.

This immensely stimulating book by John A. English enriches the already distinguished new generation of scholarship on the armies of the Western Allies of 1939–45. It addresses many of the same questions about command and combat effectiveness as Russell F. Weigley's *Eisenhower's Lieutenants: The Campaign of France and Germany 1944–1945* (1981) and Carlos d'Este's *Decision in Normandy: The Unwritten Story of Montgomery and the Allied Campaign* (1983). Because the Canadian Army was the smallest of the Allied armies in the Normandy campaign of June–August 1944, the author is able to press sustained analysis more deeply, to the small unit level. He does so with a clarity that searingly evokes the agony of battle. He also probes the tap roots of combat performance, devoting half of the text to the development of the Canadian land forces since 1919.

This is not in any sense a nationalistic army history. Wide-ranging international scholarship informs the judgments, and they are severe. English shows more precisely than any previous author how ponderous were the operations of the three divisions committed in Normandy. The existing literature suggests two explanations for the disappointing performance: the need to rebuild the army following virtually complete Canadian disarmament in the 1920s and 1930s and the fact that the new formations had had no combat experience before running into crack German forces. The author, himself a career infantry officer, dissects these contentions. Experience, he argues, is less important than effective training built on systematic study of the operational arts. It is this, he demonstrates, that the Canadian formations lacked, largely because senior officers had reacted to the truncation of the forces in the 1920s and 1930s by all but abandoning combat studies. Rather, they had appeased politicians by promoting polished bureaucrats, usually members of the technical services with limited experience in the combat arms. Generals such

as A. G. L. McNaughton and H. G. D. Crerar, both commanders of the overseas army in 1939–45, were notable for their smooth policy memoranda and unsure grip on field operations.

The thesis is fresh, cutting, and convincing. Like all soundly crafted analyses, it raises further questions. Penetrating as the insights are from an operational viewpoint, there is a need to know more about the extremely difficult policy questions that engaged the “bureaucratic” generals, about the profoundly anti-military political milieu that made the simplest issues of service development and planning nearly impossible. There is a need as well to weigh dispassionately the views of unsympathetic government leaders and others who remembered the severe losses suffered by the Canadian overseas army in 1914–18. They doubted that a geographically isolated country with limited foreign interests should have to pour its meager population’s blood into European soil once a generation.

One would also like to see similarly focused studies at the divisional level and lower for the other operations of the Canadian Army in 1939–45, and for the U.S. and British armies. We can only hope that other nations’ archives contain the large and apparently utterly unsanitized collections of personal papers of the type that English has been able to draw on to such brilliant effect.

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LATIN AMERICA

LESLIE BETHELL, editor. *The Cambridge History of Latin America*. Volume 7, *Latin America since 1930: Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1990. Pp. xiv, 775. \$87.50.

This volume in the *Cambridge History of Latin America* series, covering middle America since the Great Depression, continues a fine synthesis of Latin American history. As in the earlier volumes, most of the authors are British or North American (five each), with three Latin Americans. More than half of the authors in the present volume, however, are not primarily historians, a decision probably justified on the basis of most historians’ discomfort with the recent past. Practitioners of other social sciences, especially political science, are more evident here than in earlier volumes. With a few notable exceptions, this volume reflects a preoccupation with political history yet serves as an excellent introduction to the region as well as an essential guide and reference for experienced scholars. As in earlier volumes, Leslie Bethell, in this case assisted by James Dunkerley, has excelled in giving the volume remarkable coherence and comprehensiveness.

The work begins with a chronicle of Mexico since 1930. Alan Knight, focusing especially on the Lázaro Cárdenas *sexenio*, does a splendid job of integrating

the political succession of events with the social and economic history. Peter Smith continues the political chronicle through the opening of Carlos Salinas’s term, but he also pays considerable attention to the economic change and turmoil since World War II.

Edelberto Torres-Rivas’s perceptive overview of recent Central American history is one of the notable exceptions to the focus on political history, as he describes the common economic and social experience of the five Central American states in the twentieth century. While not completely abandoning the political trail, he portrays it as the consequence of economic and social developments. Detailed studies of the individual states follow. As in his *Power in the Isthmus* (1988), Dunkerley has detailed a coherent chronicle of the tragic histories of Guatemala and El Salvador during the last half century. He spares us the dubious optimism regarding “democratization” found in several recent works on these states as, for example, in Georges Fauriol and Eva Loser’s *Guatemala’s Political Puzzle* (1991). Victor Bulmer-Thomas’s chapters on Honduras and Nicaragua also focus on political history. Predictably, he gives considerable attention to economic affairs also, but these chapters are quite different in tone and emphasis from his *Political Economy of Central America since 1920* (1987). Although he wrote before Violeta Barrios de Chamorro’s Nicaraguan electoral victory, Bulmer-Thomas analyzes convincingly some of the Sandinistas’ shortcomings in Nicaragua that led to their defeat in 1991. Native Costa Rican political scientist Rodolfo Cerda Cruz has woven skillfully the importance of foreign economic and political pressures on Costa Rica together with attention to the failures of the Communist Party there into an essay somewhat out of the mainstream of Costa Rican historiography. It is, nonetheless, a useful interpretation of Latin America’s most successful democracy and welfare state. Conspicuously absent from this section is Belize, a result of the non-Spanish Caribbean, except for Haiti, being excluded from the scope of the volume. Nor is there more than a mention of Belize in Dunkerley’s chapter on Guatemala.

The Caribbean section includes two chapters on Cuba since 1930: before and since Fidel Castro’s 1959 revolution. Louis Pérez superbly details the complexities of the Cuban experience that led to the revolution, making clear the intimate relationship with the United States in both the economic and political spheres. Jorge Domínguez’s essay, however, is a little disappointing, for while it chronicles the principal political events of Castro’s three decades, it does not assess adequately the dynamics of the regime or its socioeconomic record. On the Dominican Republic, Frank Moya Pons has written the best survey of the Trujillo era available anywhere in English. His treatment of the complex post-Trujillo period is also informative and filled with detail not easily found elsewhere. David Nichols’s emphasis on social and cultural factors in the exotic history of Haiti makes his

essay another exception to the emphasis on politics in this volume, as he effectively puts forth a more optimistic view of that troubled state's contemporary situation than we usually hear. Robert Anderson then emphasizes the contradictions in the often neglected history of Puerto Rico since 1940. He views that year, when there occurred a redefinition of the relationship between Puerto Rico and the United States, as a major watershed in the island's political history.

The final section of this volume covers Panama since 1903, by Michael Conniff, with a separate chapter on the Panama Canal Zone, 1904–79, by John Major. Conniff carries the story through the U.S. invasion of December 1989 and the subsequent sequestering of Manuel Noriega by U.S. authorities. His account is primarily political but reflects the interesting and unique patterns in the Panamanian social structure. Major's analysis of the history of the "zone" is especially worth reading, for it rigorously evaluates the U.S. role in Panama with unusual lucidity. Bethell's decision to include this essay by a British scholar that flatters neither the Americans nor the Panamanians was brilliant.

The concentration on political history in this volume is not unwarranted, for volume 6 of the series (yet to appear) will include general essays on major themes in the economic, social, and political history of Latin America since 1930. The present volume provides the most comprehensive history of the last half century of the entire middle American region now available. It, along with other volumes in the set, has already become the bible for graduate students studying for their qualifying examinations. It is the essential reference and review work in Latin American history.

RALPH LEE WOODWARD, JR.
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RUTH BERINS COLLIER and DAVID COLLIER. *Shaping the Political Arena: Critical Junctures, the Labor Movement, and Regime Dynamics in Latin America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1991. Pp. xii, 877. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$19.95.

Ruth Berins Collier and David Collier have written a book monumental in length, scope, and imagination. It intends, no less, to "construct a model of political change and regime dynamics" (p. 745) in Latin America from the late nineteenth century to the present. They hold that this is possible by looking at labor-state relations and labor politics, which provide a way to study and explain the larger processes of political change and regime formation. They argue that profound late-nineteenth-century socioeconomic transformations led to a dramatic reorientation or "critical juncture" in which the question of how to deal with a rapidly emerging labor movement and working class surged to the fore. This led to what the authors call periods of "incorporation," in which different pat-

terns of labor-state or labor-party relations solidified. The way in which this occurred strongly influenced subsequent political developments. After this time, political systems assumed a life of their own, only marginally influenced by world events like the Great Depression.

The analysis concentrates on four country pairs: Brazil/Chile; Uruguay/Colombia; Mexico/Venezuela; and Peru/Argentina, grouped by similar incorporational experiences. The authors thus project a comparative basis for their work. The book then examines patterns of reaction and counterreaction found in the "aftermaths" to incorporation, and finally it treats the "heritage" of the former two periods. For each larger instance they develop a whole range of subcategories to explain the particular way in which relationships between parties/labor/state worked out. Finally, the authors briefly speculate about the viability of the heritage and conclude that Latin America may be entering a new critical juncture.

The Colliers admit that theirs is not a history of the labor movement. As a labor historian, however, I have several general and specific quarrels with the text. Labor or the labor movement often appears too monolithic and is treated as if it were a thing to be manipulated by parties or politicians rather than as a dynamic entity, although often divided in its loyalties even within the same confederation or tendency. Specifically, was labor really nationally strong in Mexico prior to 1917? Does oversupply of bodies really drive down wages and hurt organization? The late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Argentine case tends not to support this conclusion. This may seem minor, but the authors rate Argentina a three out of four in the category of surplus labor (p. 95). Would changing this number throw the theory out of kilter by altering Argentina's ranking among countries? Probably not, given the magnitude of the work, but such changes multiplied many times might.

Political scientists will delight in the Colliers' use of diagrams, some three dimensional, to explain graphically their theories of social change. Historians, however, may shudder. Yet they should praise the historical bent of these two political scientists. Nor are definitions always clear; working class and labor movement seem to equal the same thing in places, and one can quarrel with the use of the word democracy in some instances.

Any conclusions drawn from this work regarding the relationship of the working class and labor movement to political systems must be pessimistic. Clearly, Latin American systems contain no place for an independent and/or powerful working-class movement spearheaded by unions or working-class political parties. In fact, the mere threat of such a happening seems enough to provoke conservative reactions. Workers (in the broadest sense) and peasants must look to their own salvation and only negotiate with established systems or parties very carefully. This may prove difficult. As the authors show, powerful

mechanisms of cooptation and repression exist, but the lessons of history read clearly. In all, the Colliers have produced something important. Political scientists, sociologists, and historians alike must acknowledge the boundaries for debate that they have set.

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E. BRADFORD BURNS. *Patriarch and Folk: The Emergence of Nicaragua, 1789–1858*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1991. Pp. x, 307. \$39.95.

In this study, E. Bradford Burns focuses on the twin processes of elite, fratricidal conflict prior to 1850 and the generation and imposition of patriarchal consensus on the folk thereafter. His analysis of elite and folk cultures, and the political processes that he sees as largely separating the two in increasingly antagonistic camps, is based on an inventive reading of travelers' accounts, elite correspondence and hagiography, and both memorable and less than memorable verse penned in that "nation of poets."

Burns has set for himself an imposing task: to explain the lack of effective nation-state formation prior to mid-century and the process by which he believes one did take shape in the critical decade from 1848 to 1858. While there are a good many successes along the way, Burns has also stepped into a minefield wherein his potentially dualistic patriarch/folk conceptual framework runs into difficulties, the most serious of which is a severe lack of surviving documentation on socioeconomic structures to undergird any such study of class relations, ideological conflict, and state formation.

To his credit, Burns fully reveals Nicaragua's deviant particularities in both politics and economy. Here, conservatives and liberals are united by both their patriarchal ideology and their essentially liberal attitudes toward church and land tenure issues. Thus, the conservatives who emerge triumphant at the end of the period undertake much of what would elsewhere be considered a Liberal agenda. Moreover, the author is careful to show that in Nicaragua the elite may have unanimously favored large-scale, private ownership of land, but with virtually no capacity, in comparative terms, to make such a preference reality or to deny the folk access to land.

In pursuing this patriarch versus folk framework Burns may be significantly underestimating the ties that bound the two together and the level of folk participation within elite-directed political conflict prior to the late 1840s. Essentially, Burns argues that the folk responded first by seeking to avoid any engagement with the often absurdly fratricidal elite conflicts and then by opposing them in the popular uprising led by Bernabé Somoza. Triumphant over this mass challenge, and chastened by a disastrous experience with William Walker and U.S. interven-

tionism in the mid-1850s, the patriarchs reunited under conservative leadership to finally consolidate a nation-state after 1858.

Three examples of contrary evidence or argumentation, not dealt with by the author, are perhaps worth pondering. First, how could the massive physical destruction during the so-called anarchy of the 1820s and 1830s have occurred without substantial and continuous folk involvement? Second, how does one interpret the role of the lower-class, antimerchant faction of Granada, led in the 1820s by Cleto Ordoñez (not mentioned in the text but head of state and one of the founders of Nicaraguan independence after 1823)? While often opposed to León-based liberal hegemony, they were at times Liberal themselves and always opposed to Granadan elite conservatism, within the patriarchal political game, not outside of it.

Finally, the Nicaraguan historian José Coronel Urtecho is cited, quite correctly, as one who tended to glorify the peace and tranquility of the colonial period in contrast to the anarchy that followed. Contrary to the views of both nineteenth-century radical Liberals and Burns today, however, Urtecho also argued that the folk of rural León could not be roused against their landed patriarchs, owing not to clerical machinations, ignorance, or lack of interest but rather to their identification with and often active support of their "betters." For Urtecho, they clearly shared a number of economic ties not seen as so openly contradictory as those separating Granadan merchants from both landlords and the lower orders. Thus, ironically, León elites were more "integral" (that is, successful) social conservatives as partisan Liberals compared to Granada's self-proclaimed Conservatives who fell victim to Ordoñez and the plebeians, however briefly.

It may be true that the gulf between patriarch and folk was wide indeed by the 1850s, but assuming that to have been equally true earlier is a more difficult proposition. It may well have developed or widened, in part, as the consequence of disillusionment with the results of an all too warm embrace with patriarchal politics earlier, as well as being a result of the failed popular rebellions of the late 1840s.

Perhaps the most rewarding aspect of this work is the discovery of many obscure travelers' accounts, deftly exploited by Burns in painting a rich portrait of mid-century Nicaragua. Especially good are the accounts by the naturalist Thomas Belt from 1868 and various descriptions left by trans-Nicaraguan travelers bound for California that were discovered by the author in the Huntington Library. Burns puts these and a wide variety of less-conventional sources to good use, with a highly colorful prose capable of accenting the importance of Walker's joining the fray in Nicaragua with the memorable phrase "the Yanks had landed." Yet the documentary poverty regarding the social and economic bases of politics in nineteenth-century Nicaragua, caused by the very "anar-

chy" so ably described here, remains a formidable barrier not fully overcome even by such an exhaustive and insightful effort as this.

LOWELL GUDMUNDSON
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ALVAR W. CARLSON. *The Spanish-American Homeland: Four Centuries in New Mexico's Río Arriba*. (Creating the North American Landscape.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1990. Pp. xviii, 294. \$39.95.

Alvar W. Carlson's book will stir up controversy in New Mexico's Río Arriba region, the spiritual and historical homeland of the state's Hispanic population. Spain settled the area in 1598 and the state maintained a Hispanic majority until World War II. New Mexico, therefore, has been an important symbol for rising Mexican-American historical consciousness that began with the Chicano movement in the 1960s. Carlson is a geographer and his book adds many fresh details about land tenure and cultural geography of the Río Arriba region—a stretch of territory between Albuquerque and Taos. His version of New Mexico history, however, runs counter to some commonly held historical interpretations. He claims to have achieved this "revisionist perspective" through "the methodology of a geographer who is detached from any political or other cause" (p. xv). Thus, he argues, his conclusions "tend to temper the harsh criticism of Anglo Americans" (p. xv).

Carlson's tempering extends to the United States' adjudication of Spanish and Mexican land grants after 1848. This process was not completed until the early twentieth century. During this prolonged process, Anglo-Americans and their sharp lawyers found ways to accumulate claims while native New Mexicans tended to lose out. Carlson correctly points out that New Mexicans as well as Anglo-Americans filed fraudulent claims and there was a great deal of confusion due to bad record keeping. Yet it is difficult to accept the idea that the process, which took decades and was administered by a series of officials who often became land speculators, merely resulted from the federal government's determination to recognize the validity of Spanish and Mexican land laws. Likewise, I wonder about Carlson's defense of Thomas B. Catron, "the acknowledged leader of the Santa Fe Ring," who acquired two million acres of New Mexico land after being involved in sixty claims cases. Carlson says that Catron purchased land "at an undeniably low cost" and states that "questions about his practices and ethics linger. Despite the allegations, he received strong support from the Spanish Americans when he became one of New Mexico's foremost elected officials" (pp. 15–16). Land barons seldom lack friends, but is the book by Lance Chilton and others (*New Mexico: A New Guide to the Colorful State* [1984]) the best source to cite for Catron's popularity? Carlson also defends the U.S. Forest Service from the criti-

cism of other scholars and New Mexicans who claim that forest regulations discriminate against small operators. Forest administration, he argues, has provided much-needed employment as well as grazing opportunities for livestock owned by people who keep them for "merely social reasons" (p. 126).

Perhaps the book's greatest strength is in its description and analysis of the cultural landscape. The author uses maps and photographs to illustrate the particular forms that New Mexicans have created to accommodate to the region's harsh conditions. That landscape, however, is threatened as Spanish Americans abandon traditional life ways and Anglos advance into rural areas. Thus, Carlson regards the Río Arriba as a "waning cultural region" (p. 203). This book is bound to be controversial because it treats subjects that have continuing importance in northern New Mexico. Many New Mexicans will not regard Carlson's views as politically detached but instead as the latest defense of Anglo strategies to disinherit them. Nevertheless, Carlson's book deserves serious attention from all readers who are interested in the Southwest and the evolution of rural agricultural societies.

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COLIN M. MACLACHLAN. *Anarchism and the Mexican Revolution: The Political Trials of Ricardo Flores Magón in the United States*. Foreword by JOHN MASON HART. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1991. Pp. xvi, 185. Cloth \$27.50, paper \$11.95.

Latinos in the United States, such as Mexican Americans, have often been criticized for failing to participate in the American political process. Yet such criticism is not fair nor is it historically grounded. Mexican Americans, for example, have a tradition of political participation and political struggle in this country. What critics overlook is the fact that for many Mexicans north of the border, politics has often transcended the U.S.–Mexican border, given the proximity of Mexico and the persistent migration of Mexicans in both directions.

Colin M. MacLachlan is sensitive to this transnational politics and has written a study that bridges the space between U.S. history and Mexican history. His topic, the experiences of Ricardo Flores Magón, is particularly appropriate for this historical crossover. Representing the most radical wing of the Mexican Revolution of 1910, Flores Magón and his anarcho-syndicalist followers waged most of their battles on the U.S. side of the border. Persecuted first by the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz and later disdained by the more moderate and victorious elements of the revolution, Flores Magón struggled to influence events in his homeland from his political base in locations such as St. Louis, San Antonio, El Paso, and Los Angeles. His efforts, however, were hampered

and ultimately defeated by his persecution by U.S. authorities who, as MacLachlan argues, saw Flores Magón as an internal threat along with other radicals and militants of the period such as the Wobblies, Eugene V. Debs, and Emma Goldman.

It is in his role as part of a self-perceived international Left during the 1910s and the persecution that went with that role that forms the backdrop for MacLachlan's study. He examines the various political trials of Flores Magón until his incarceration at Ft. Leavenworth in 1919 where he died three years later.

This well-researched, tightly written study, although by its own admission not anywhere near a full biography of Flores Magón, helps to place him and the influence of Mexican anarchism in a larger international context. It contributes to the historiography of the Mexican Revolution as it does to the history of the American Left. Equally significant, it further contributes to Chicano history by underscoring the political role that some Mexicans have played in the United States.

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MURIEL NAZZARI. *Disappearance of the Dowry: Women, Families, and Social Change in São Paulo, Brazil (1600–1900)*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1991. Pp. xx, 245. \$35.00.

Despite its deceptively narrow title, Muriel Nazzari's book is a provocative, broadly based analysis of three centuries of Brazilian social transformation, with significant comparative interest for social, economic, and business historians. In this study "dowry" functions as a lens to elucidate social relations (within families, gender relations, between individuals and society) and the relationship between the family, production, and the process of commercialization. The disappearance of dowry is convincingly documented through a qualitative and quantitative analysis of estate and inheritance records for 1640–51, 1750–69, and 1850–69. Seventeenth-century families with property endowed almost every daughter, favoring them over their brothers; it was well known that "dowry was a requisite for marriage" (p. 15). By the nineteenth century dowries were accorded to less than a third of daughters in propertied families and they were much smaller. This implied an astounding transformation in the marriage system.

Viewed in comparative terms, however, the disappearance of the dowry was unremarkable, since a similar change occurred in England and most of Europe by 1900. In Mexico the decline appears to have been parallel to São Paulo. (See Asunción Lavrin and Edith Couturier, "Dowries and Wills: A View of Women's Socioeconomic Role in Colonial Guadalajara and Puebla, 1640–1790," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 59 [1979], 280–304; Margaret Chown-

ing, "A Mexican Provincial Elite: Michoacán, 1810–1910," Ph.D. diss. [1985]; Couturier, "Women and the Family in Eighteenth-Century Mexico: Law and Practice," *Journal of Family History* 10 [Fall 1985], 294–303; and Jack Goody, *The Development of the Family and Marriage in Europe* [1983].) In general terms, the use of dowry in a society suggests that "the woman's kin [were] heavily involved in the marriage and its offspring" (Goody, 258). Its decline, then, would seem to imply a disinvestment of families in offsprings' marriages. Nazzari's microlevel focus indicates, however, that families responded to commercial opportunities by redirecting their investment in offsprings' futures to new areas such as education. It was not a lessening of family interest or involvement but the increased independence of sons and the effective separation of business affairs from the family that drove this conversion.

The declining relationship of the family and household unit to productive activities was reflected in the altered composition of property inventories and dowries by the nineteenth century. In the seventeenth century, marriage itself was valorized through the dowry system, which provided land, labor, and equipment for a new enterprise. The dowry was intended to motivate young men to marry and to marry women of the right class. While women were advantaged over their brothers in property settlements, both sexes usually acquired equivalent holdings because brothers also married women with dowries similar to their sisters. The dowry served as a means of patriarchal control and, as Jack Goody affirmed, "an instrument and product of stratification" (Goody, 258).

The rise of commercial opportunities in the eighteenth century "permitted men with relatively little property to make fortunes" (p. 44), thus decreasing effective patriarchal control over unmarried sons. Nazzari's interpretation of late-eighteenth-century family relations with respect to marriage is opposite to that of Patricia Seed, who argued that parental control over marriage increased in late-eighteenth-century Mexico with legislation requiring parental permission for marriage. Nazzari sees the dowry as a means of control over marriage in the seventeenth century and suggests that the legislation of the late eighteenth century requiring parental permission was a symptom of parents' reduced effectiveness in controlling offspring (see Seed, *To Love, Honor, and Obey in Colonial Mexico: Conflicts over Marriage Choice, 1574–1821* [1988]). Merchant sons-in-law began to show more interest in a bride's family and its connections than in her dowry, a perspective that transformed the "marriage bargain." Dowries in this period were increasingly composed of consumption goods such as clothes, jewels, money, and furniture (p. 67). By the nineteenth century marriage was no longer the principal means for a man to establish himself. Men were now contributing more property to their marriages than were their wives. Nevertheless, family connections created through marriage clearly continued to

be important for commercial and political advancement in nineteenth and twentieth-century Brazil.

While Nazzari links this metamorphosis to the "development of capitalism" (p. xix), she notes that the dowry disappeared through the choice of individual families rather than law, a proof of its embedded relationship to other microsocial areas affecting the individual and the family. At the same time, the move to separate business from family accounting was in the interest of the propertied families, which otherwise often faced enormous losses at the death of either business partner or one of their wives. Furthermore, dowries became inconvenient because the legal obligation to maintain them intact was a hindrance to capital mobility. Property that had traditionally been part of the dowry went to finance education and business enterprises.

The position of daughters of propertied families was substantially worsened by the loss of the dowry. While women still needed marriage for support, "marriage [was converted] into something similar to concubinage" (p. 167). Married women found themselves dependent on their husbands and, perhaps, in widowhood, on their families of origin.

Nazzari not only analyzes the use and composition of the dowry and its relationship to inheritance, marriage, and gender relations over three centuries but also brings to that analysis a comprehensive and lucid explication of related changes in family law, modes of production, and business and accounting practices. This excellent book should be compulsory reading for all scholars interested in family history, gender relations, and especially the relationship between the family and the economy.

ELIZABETH ANNE KUZNESOF
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STANLEY E. HILTON. *Brazil and the Soviet Challenge, 1917-1947*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 1991. Pp. xvi, 287. \$37.50.

Until about ten years ago, there were few historians doing serious scholarly work on Soviet relations with the nations of Latin America. What was done often owed its inspiration more to superpower competition than to legitimate scholarly curiosity. In general, the focus of such scholarship was on Soviet penetration of the Western Hemisphere rather than on the views and perspectives of Latin American governments and nations about the USSR. In addition, most issues were examined from within the overall context of Soviet-U.S. relations, and much of what was written was heavily biased, whether it appeared in English, Russian, Spanish, or Portuguese. Fortunately, that period has now ended, and during the last decade important books have appeared that offer analysis in depth of an increasing range of issues related to the history of Soviet-Latin American relations. Stanley E. Hilton's

volume is the most recent of these studies, and one of the best.

Hilton is a specialist on Brazilian politics. He attempts to examine analytically the Brazilian image of the Soviet Union in the first three decades following the Bolshevik Revolution and to discuss the role the Soviet Union played in domestic Brazilian politics. Hilton finds, not surprisingly, that there was a close connection between the perception of a Soviet and communist threat to Brazil and the rest of Latin America and the creation of the *Estado Novo*. Of fundamental importance to Brazil's view of the Soviet Union, of course, was the ill-conceived and executed Prestes revolt of 1935. Hilton wisely focuses not on the rebellion itself (which has been handled adequately elsewhere) but on the impact the revolt had on a Brazilian government tending increasingly toward authoritarianism. Hilton does this with a detail and skill that tells us much about the real and imagined contacts between Brazil and the Soviet Union. Indeed, those years of the late 1930s make up the core of this study and provide an important contribution to our understanding of the political psyche of the Brazilian government and its sociopolitical elite. Hilton's study is equally strong, and perhaps more interesting, in dealing with relations during World War II. Brazil's coming to terms with its foreign policy commitments, and especially the reorientation of its relations with Germany, is handled well and is one of the most useful and fascinating parts of Hilton's book. Finally, Hilton uses the brief period of postwar relations to help illuminate and recapitulate the major features of the Soviet-Brazilian relationship up until 1947.

Hilton's work is particularly valuable in its use of public and private archival materials from Brazilian sources. His documentation is exceptionally detailed and his interpretations judicious and reasonable. Indeed, his book is a model of how to do a study of this sort.

Yet it must be said also that this book, like so many of those dealing with Soviet-Latin American relations, has a significant drawback in that it uses no Russian-language sources, either published or archival. Soviet published materials were never completely reliable, of course, but there are materials available that could have added some additional depth to the book. In terms of sources, no longer will scholars be able to ignore primary materials from Soviet foreign policy archives. With the collapse of the Soviet regime, unprecedented new opportunities present themselves to scholars studying Soviet foreign policy. It would be unfair, however, to criticize Hilton for not doing something he would not have been permitted to do when he was writing this book.

These criticisms are minor ones and should not detract from the important contribution Hilton has made to our historical knowledge of the image of the Soviet Union in Brazil and the impact of that image

on Brazilian politics. It is an excellent, admirable study.

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PAULO SÉRGIO PINHEIRO. *Estratégias da ilusão: A revolução mundial e o Brasil, 1922–1935*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras. 1991. Pp. 379.

This work by Paulo Sérgio Pinheiro, the product of some two decades of research, combines three interlocking studies in one. In order to define the international and national contexts in which the Brazilian Communists functioned from the founding of their party in 1922 to their greatest fiasco in 1935, it ranges thematically over the aims and activities of the Communist International (1919–43) and over the consistent abuse of the police power against political dissidents and the urban poor by every Brazilian government from the 1890s to the 1940s. The book is directed chiefly toward a Brazilian audience and the limited number of foreign specialists familiar with the political and social history of modern Brazil.

Striking a revisionist tone from the outset, the author grapples with a problem long since resolved to their general satisfaction by historians and other scholars in the field, but which has continued to plague some Brazilian radicals. Using the tools of political science, Pinheiro seeks to understand and explain how Communist revolutionaries in Brazil, and their assessors in the Comintern, could have completely misread political and military events in Brazil to adopt strategies leading to the ill-fated Communist revolts of November 1935. To this end, he painstakingly analyzes the words and deeds of the principal actors in order to see the world as they saw it. He is quite successful in this endeavor, reconstructing the complex web of personal and institutional relationships among the Communist leadership in Brazil, the Comintern, and its South American secretariat. He provides a detailed accounting of the persistent, vain efforts of Brazilian Communists to keep abreast of the shifting leadership and policies of the Comintern and to fit class structure and politics peculiar to Brazil into the mold assumed since the days of V. I. Lenin to prevail in "semicolonial" countries. He concludes that Communist analyses of the situation in Brazil were consistent and rational from their point of view, but in fact were illusory, when not based on myth or pure fantasy. Hence the title "strategies of illusion."

Pinheiro attributes the gap between illusion and reality to the Communists' firm belief that the teachings of Marxism-Leninism were universal and therefore applicable to Brazil. Motivated by ideological conviction, Communist leaders persuaded themselves that the Brazilian people were seething with revolutionary spirit and would support a Communist bid for

power. Even though their party had no rural following and only minimal influence among workers in a few cities, in 1935 they reasoned that a Communist-led mutiny within the army would create the conditions necessary for successful revolution by the urban proletariat and the rural masses, as stipulated by the Comintern. They miscalculated on all counts.

Pinheiro considers the enigma of Comintern involvement in the armed uprising in Brazil while urging Communist parties elsewhere to adopt the new antifascist, popular-front line, but he reaches no firm conclusion on the issue. In its major contours his account coincides with studies of the 1935 revolts by Robert M. Levine, John W. F. Dulles, and other Brazilianists. It richly supplements these earlier works, for example, with more detail on the transition of Luis Carlos Prestes from charismatic army rebel in the 1920s to leading Brazilian Communist revolutionary in the 1930s. It does not contradict or refute their long-accepted findings.

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MAURICIO A. FONT. *Coffee, Contention, and Change in the Making of Modern Brazil*. (Studies in Social Discontinuity.) Cambridge, Mass.: Basil Blackwell. 1990. Pp. xii, 351. \$49.95.

The destinies of Latin American nations in this century, Mauricio A. Font notes, have been shaped, for better or worse, by their export sectors. Font, a historical sociologist and practitioner of Charles Tilly's collective action approach, examines São Paulo's growth and development in relation to its coffee economy, a source of remarkable change and transformation in the period beginning in the 1870s with the expansion of the agricultural frontier in the west. These open spaces, he notes, came to be filled rapidly with unfettered forms of capitalism.

Although Font concentrates on the period of the 1920s and 1930s, he takes his analysis beyond the 1930 revolution to the paulista-led "constitutional" rebellion of 1932. He explores the hypothesis that differentiation of interests in the export sector found expression in political conflict and mobilization, thereby providing an alternative hypothesis of the role of coffee planters in the political events of the Getúlio Vargas years after 1930. Ranging well beyond coffee agriculture, Font offers a broad sociological reinterpretation of the political system in the state of São Paulo, focusing on clientelism (*coronelismo*), the indirect political participation of immigrant agriculturalists, violence, and partisan politics. He provides a convincing argument that tensions between coffee interests and the paulista political elite ultimately led to the collapse of the old republic itself.

One of the keys to his analysis is the existence of an alternative rural economy, the basis of coalition-

building by political leaders seeking independence from the old coffee elite and providing a market for the equally new industrial sector organized by immigrant entrepreneurs. Following in the path of Joseph L. Love and Steven Topik, Font finds that the state of São Paulo played an interventionist, modernizing role throughout the 1920s; he shows how power ebbed from large coffee planters, whose former near-monopoly gave way to competition from smaller producers. One shortcoming of this approach, however, is that not enough convincing explanation is given for the reasons that the coffee latifundarists were unable to fight back successfully to defend their hegemony.

The author offers crisp, thoughtful analysis of the divisions within the traditional elites and the legacy of that condition on São Paulo's role in the Brazilian federal system. From a national perspective, he concludes, the commercial end of the traditional export sector entered the last stages of the transition in the late 1920s, having ruptured the formerly close bond between large planters and brokers (*comissários*), and, showing the "diversity of potential or effective antagonistic interests in the coffee economy" to be even more pronounced (p. 251). Font exploits a wealth of source materials, ranging from census and production data to newspapers to a data base containing accounts of collective action and conflict by coffee-related associations, as well as primary sources and secondary works on the labor system, sharecropping, frontier expansion, development, and political economy. Citations are detailed and unusually precise, to the point of indicating, in the case of newspapers, whether an entry occurs at the top, middle, or bottom of a page or column.

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Coral Gables

SUZANNE AUSTIN ALCHON. *Native Society and Disease in Colonial Ecuador*. (Cambridge Latin American Studies, number 71.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1991. Pp. viii, 151. \$39.95.

In this short book Suzanne Austin Alchon has attempted to combine two major themes in Spanish-American colonial history: the decades-old but still flourishing interest in the disastrous demographic impact of European invasion on Native American peoples and, a newer agenda, native adaptation and resistance to colonialism. She is especially concerned with the obvious link between these two themes, what she calls "biological adaptability and resilience" (p. 1).

Alchon begins by suggesting that the population of highland Ecuador had probably fallen before the arrival of the conquistadors, because of the Inca invasion, the dynastic civil war between Atahualpa and Huascar, and the smallpox epidemic or epidemics that swept the Andes just before Fernando

Pizarro's arrival. In fact, her tentative figures indicate a drop of some 50 percent between 1520 and 1536, and the Spanish conquest continued this depopulation. The sixteenth-century epidemics were as deadly as elsewhere in the Americas and were accompanied in places by mistreatment of local people, malnutrition, and some breakdowns in community care and agriculture. Spanish public health measures were few and ineffective. The nadir of the population, at some 105,000 native people, occurred at the end of the sixteenth century.

Here Alchon's account begins to diverge from the periodization that others have offered for Peru and Mesoamerica. In the seventeenth century, highland Ecuador's unique pattern began, with what the author claims was a considerable demographic and cultural revival, a "biological and social stabilization" (p. 57). The pattern described bears some resemblance to that of Yucatán, but some of her evidence is ambiguous and her distinction between sixteenth-century pandemics and seventeenth-century local epidemics may be overdrawn. People seemed to have acquired some immunities to the invisible invaders, and there may have been considerable migration toward the Quito and other basins.

The 1690s was a decade of new epidemics and natural disasters, reversing the demographic trend in a uniquely Ecuadorian way again. Recovery in the eighteenth century was slow and intermittent, and by 1780 population totals were still lower than those of 1690.

The remainder of the book is devoted to Native American responses to colonialism and disease and to changes in Spanish public health measures. Public health ceased to be a concern only of the church, and official interventions increased. Indian responses, including at least ten rebellions between 1730 and 1803, were often based on an emphasis on nativist beliefs, ceremonies, and medical practices.

There are two unresolved difficulties, one minor and one major, in this generally informative and satisfying book. In the few cases where Ecuadorian material is unavailable Alchon often turns to Peruvian evidence. This is disconcerting, not only because Alchon is at pains to point out how topographically and culturally different the two regions were but also because an essential part of her thesis is highland Ecuador's dissimilarity with Peru and Mesoamerica. Of greater concern is her material on Indian responses. There is little evidence that they were unique or that they were specific responses to epidemics and population decline rather than to general colonial oppression. Nor does Indian medicine appear to have been a specific response to epidemics and population decline. Thus, the two parts of the book, interesting in themselves, do not completely mesh.

A pioneering work containing much new data, Alchon's book presents a curious and problematic

variant on the standard picture of post-conquest biological shock and demographic disaster.

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ROBERT J. FERRY. *The Colonial Elite of Early Caracas: Formation and Crisis, 1567-1767*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1989. Pp. x, 342. \$45.00.

This book by Robert J. Ferry belongs to a new generation of regional studies focusing on seventeenth and eighteenth-century Latin America. It follows traditional pathways in its reliance on lesser used provincial sources, its reconstruction of bench mark economic trends in the local mainstays of wheat and cacao, its identification of local elites, its attention to notable regional institutions such as the Guipuzcoana-Caracas company cacao monopoly, and to events such as the rebellion in 1749 against the company's dominance.

Ferry, however, goes significantly beyond traditional methodology by providing an innovative case study of tutelage records that not only lends insight into the daily expenses of elite families but also some particularly concise temporal comparisons between the growth and income of wheat versus cacao cultivation. Ferry uses the technique of family reconstruction to trace the "matrix of kinship and residence" (p. 8) and to explore intergenerational transfers of wealth. In meticulously tracing these social linkages he presents the thesis that matriarchally directed clusters of first-cousin intermarriages after 1720 marked a strategy through which the Caracas elite struggled to conserve dwindling family resources. An analysis of the 1749 rebellion both identifies who participated and breaks new ground in a novel examination of who did not. Throughout, the author shows how in Spain and in the colony the private and personal intersected to influence the public and the official.

The author suggests a number of revisionist themes. Foremost in his rather persuasive proposal that historians might more appropriately date the "first steps" (p. 5) of the Bourbon reforms, which tightened Spain's control over its colonies, to the crown's response to the 1749 Caracas rebellion rather than to the 1763 British occupation of Havana. Caracas, it seems, proved to be a "laboratory" (p. 241) for later reforms, to the extent that postrevolt governance consciously discriminated against creoles, controlled but stimulated municipal initiatives, increased taxes and the imperial military presence, and ruthlessly repressed dissidents. Imperial bureaucrats proved responsive to local issues and injustices, to the extent that the crown lessened Basque political dominance and alleviated the worst excesses (the *alternativa*, quotas, price fixing, the exclusion of creoles) of the Guipuzcoan Company.

Ferry challenges previous views that the Caracas elite functioned as social brokers whose patronage and kinship linkages vertically integrated local society. Instead he portrays elites as divided into "kin-linked faction[s]" (p. 25) that forged horizontal social linkages intended to advance family interests. It was no accident that elites suffered the least, both punitively and financially, as they distanced themselves from the rebellion that represented many of their interests.

Not surprisingly, it is where the author most presses his material that his conclusions are most provocative and sometimes least convincing. His analysis of the degree to which gender, generational history of political activism, and debt divided Caracas elites into factions cannot fully explain who supported the rebellion and who did not. Even more questionable is the assertion that patriarchal influence in Caracas was diminished and had to be "recreated" (p. 230) within every generation, given that elites delayed matrimony so that fathers were often deceased when their sons married. The cultural patterns that established discrete gender roles early in childhood and that considered males as adults in their early to mid-teens suggests that colonial bridegrooms in their twenties would have had little need for paternal "role model[s]" (p. 229). Such objections aside, this is a carefully crafted, methodologically sophisticated, and beautifully written monograph that merits the attention of every colonialist historian.

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GAVIN SMITH. *Livelihood and Resistance: Peasants and the Politics of Land in Peru*. Paperback edition. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1991. Pp. xiv, 279. \$13.95.

WILLIAM P. MITCHELL. *Peasants on the Edge: Crop, Cult, and Crisis in the Andes*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 1991. Pp. x, 264. \$30.00.

Gavin Smith and William P. Mitchell have written studies of Andean villages that are empirically rich and theoretically engaging. Smith analyzes the village of Huasicancha in the Mantaro Valley of central Peru, a region that has been extensively studied by anthropologists and historians. Despite this concentration of scholarship, he argues that no one has understood the historical dialectic between relations of production and political resistance. Smith is particularly critical of Florencia Mallon's Leninist argument which claims that capitalism transformed peasant producers into proletarians as the twentieth century advanced (*The Defense of Community in Peru's Central Highlands* [1983]). Smith counters that peasants avoided proletarianization by simultaneously adjusting their household economies and engaging in political resistance. He bases his conclusions on research in hacienda archives, on interviews and obser-

vations over a fifteen-year period, and on a thorough consideration of the relevant theoretical literature.

Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, haciendas responded to market opportunities by acquiring village land through political subterfuge and theft, compelling villagers to perform communal labor obligations (*faena*) on the estates, and forcing "trespassing" shepherds to work without pay. Villagers responded by periodically invading the offending estates, forging alliances with political opponents of land grabbers, and making a series of economic adjustments. These included migrating to work for wages for part of the year, making crafts, bartering goods with villages in the jungle and high sierra, and relocating in Lima. These adjustments allowed villagers to retain their household economies and to resist proletarianization.

By the mid-twentieth century, 50 percent of all Huansicanhinos maintained residences outside of the village. Some worked in shops in the nearby town of Huancaayo while others formed a community in Lima where they grew and sold strawberries. Nevertheless, many migrants still maintained ties with Huansicanha and some prosperous ones moved home and established new enterprises in the village. Individual households now related differently to one another, but villagers retained a strong sense of community and attempted to reclaim communal land.

From the 1930s, Huansicanhinos began occupying neighboring haciendas and recovering portions of their land. These assaults coincided with favorable political developments at the national level. For example, land invasions followed new legislation in 1936 that required Indian communities to occupy stolen territory before claiming ownership in court and occurred during periods of widespread peasant unrest and agrarian reform in the 1960s and 1970s.

Smith succeeds in linking political and economic change at the national and local levels, and in offering fresh analytical insights into the evolution of the household economy and peasant consciousness. The author's prose is awkward in places, and some will lose patience with overly long theoretical digressions. His sophisticated analysis, however, commands the attention of those interested in rural society and economy.

Mitchell's study of Quinua, Ayacucho, offers a less adorned theoretical framework and focuses on a shorter time frame, from the mid-1960s into the 1980s. Mitchell argues persuasively that material causes, rather than symbolism, ritual, or ideology, lay behind the sweeping social, cultural, and religious changes that have transformed this village. Mitchell bases his conclusions on several field trips to Quinua over a twenty-year period as well as careful consideration of printed sources and theoretical issues.

The heart of Mitchell's thesis is that population pressures since the 1960s have forced Quinueños to make radical changes to survive in an area with limited ecological and economic resources. Faced

with the specter of starvation, they have altered their economy, converted from Catholicism to Protestantism (for strictly economic reasons), migrated to the cities, and, in some cases, joined the Maoist revolutionary movement *Sendero Luminoso*.

The expansion of farming and stock raising has been limited by poor soils, inadequate rainfall, and increasing competition for land. Peasants have migrated periodically to earn wages in urban areas or the savannah, and talented artisans have increased the production of fine ceramics. Others have relocated permanently in Ayacucho city or in Lima, and by 1981 Quinua contained 41 percent more young women than men.

Fundamental changes also have occurred in religious and cultural traditions. Historically, Quinueños practiced a religion based on aspects of Catholicism and pre-Columbian paganism, which featured the celebration of festivals organized through the cargo system. This practice required that individual sponsors provide food, drink, and entertainment for the entire village, a practice that became increasingly burdensome as economic conditions deteriorated. The solution for many was to abandon Catholicism in favor of Protestantism. In this case, converts sought salvation for their pocketbooks rather than their souls.

By abandoning public festivals and ritual drinking, however, peasants were also foregoing an important part of their social and cultural ethos. It is conceivable that Protestant doctrine or other ideological influences contributed to such a fundamental change in behavior and consciousness, and I expected Mitchell to discuss this possibility.

I was also disappointed that little was said about the guerrilla war in Ayacucho, a circumstance that has contributed significantly to deteriorating conditions. Mitchell's intimate knowledge of the region and its people should permit him to shed light on this controversial topic.

Nevertheless, this is an unusually lucid and well-written book, based on years of painstaking field research. It constitutes an important contribution to the field of peasant studies.

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JOEL HOROWITZ. *Argentine Unions, the State, and the Rise of Perón, 1930–1945*. (Research Series, number 76.) Berkeley: Institute of International Studies, University of California. 1990. Pp. xi, 284. \$16.95.

For several decades considerable controversy has accompanied scholarly discussion of the origins and nature of Peronism in general, and Juan Perón's links to the Argentine working class and labor movement in particular. The latest contribution to that discussion from a North American scholar comes to us from Joel Horowitz. Horowitz argues persuasively that

previous studies of the Argentine labor movement during the neo-conservative and early Peronist periods (1930–46) generally failed to penetrate and decipher the complexity of state-union relations and neglected the diversity of experiences encountered by organized workers and their unions across a broad spectrum of trades and activities. He therefore painstakingly surveys not only the trajectory of Argentina's national labor confederations but also, more importantly, the evolution of workers' conditions and their unions in five key sectors: telephone workers, retail clerks, municipal employees, railroad workers, and textile workers. In particular, he explores "how unions adapted to the rapid changes resulting from the worldwide depression of the 1930s and how this adaptation led to support for Perón" (p. 1).

His research, based on a fastidious survey of an impressive array of labor and non-labor sources, clearly reveals, among other things, that at least in some areas the attraction and cooperation between the state and organized labor had evolved considerably further during the pre-Peronist epoch than is commonly acknowledged. Yet he also insists that the culmination of that attraction and cooperation in Perón's dominance over labor (or some similar populist-type manifestation) was hardly the inevitable outcome of that evolution. Accordingly, Horowitz argues that many accommodations by unions toward Perón, their collaboration with him, and their eventual acceptance of him was not born of total despair over their treatment at the hands of the neo-conservatives during the 1930–43 epoch. In comparison with Perón, however, "they had looked to the [neo-conservative] government[s] and received very little," whereas the Peronist "regime offered [cooperating unions] a way of solving long-standing problems and permitted an escape from political and social marginalization" (p. 228). Along the way, Horowitz offers some fascinating glimpses of neo-conservative government attempts to harness unions to political purposes during the 1930s (for example, President Roberto M. Ortiz's sponsorship in 1938 of the creation of a syndicalist-led rail union—the *Federación Obreros y Empleados Ferroviarios*—to challenge the socialist-dominated *Unión Ferroviaria*).

Horowitz's discussion of labor developments within his select five sectors affords us an unprecedented understanding of the intricate internalities of pre-Peronist labor unions. His work is not quite as convincing, however, in presenting a clear outline of the general contour of this period. "By studying individual [union] organizations," Horowitz asserts, "I have not ignored the larger picture but rather illuminated it by constructing it out of pieces, much as the pointillist Georges Seurat created paintings out of pieces of color" (p. 4). The picture that emerges from this "pointillist approach," he claims, calls for a revision of the "revisionist view" of Peronist labor's origins. Unfortunately, Horowitz's account does not always bring his myriad pieces into clear focus, nor does he always accurately portray the positions of those revisionist scholars (Miguel Murmis and Juan Carlos Portantiero, Hiroschi Matsushita, Hugo del Campo, Ricardo Gaudio, and Jorge Pilone, as well as myself) whose interpretations he purports to correct. Nor is it completely clear that his conclusions represent as decisive a break with those drawn by the revisionist scholars he claims to "move beyond." In asserting that Murmis, Portantiero, and the others "argued that Peronism did not create a major change in the union movement" (p. 4) or that they suggest "that a discontinuity in the labor movement did not occur with the rise of Perón" (p. 5), Horowitz greatly oversimplifies their positions and thereby creates something akin to straw men for sparring partners. Indeed, it would seem that his own conclusions tend greatly to amplify and clarify their commonly held position that labor's embrace of Peronism represented both continuity and, at the same time, profound innovation in Argentine labor's development.

Despite the somewhat overreaching claims for the originality of his thesis (and occasional problems with the organization of the work), Horowitz's study nevertheless makes an important and engaging contribution to the ongoing debate over the nature of the origins of Peronism.

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Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the AHR office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

JOHN BENDER and DAVID E. WELLBERY, editors. *Chronotypes: The Construction of Time*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1991. Pp. xi, 257. Cloth \$37.50, paper \$12.95.

BASTIAAN C. VAN FRAASSEN, Time in Physical and Narrative Structure. CORNELIUS CASTORIADIS, Time and Creation. JONATHAN Z. SMITH, A Slip in Time Saves Nine: Prestigious Origins Again. JACK GOODY, The Time of Telling and the Telling of Time in Written and Oral Cultures. GAYATRI CHAKRAVORTY SPIVAK, Time and Timing: Law and History. DOMINICK LACAPRA, The Temporality of Rhetoric. THOMAS LUCKMANN, The Constitution of Human Life in Time. TAMARA K. HAREVEN, Synchronizing Individual Time, Family Time, and Historical Time. JOHANNES FABIAN, Of Dogs Alive, Birds Dead, and Time to Tell a Story. DAVID WILLIAM COHEN, La Fontaine and Wamimbi: The Anthropology of "Time-Present" as the Substructure of Historical Oration.

JOAN H. PITTOCK and ANDREW WEAR, editors. *Interpretation and Cultural History*. New York: St. Martin's. 1991. Pp. xvii, 296. \$45.00.

JOHN H. PITTOCK and ANDREW WEAR, Introduction. PETER BURKE, Reflections on the Origins of Cultural History. GEORGE ROUSSEAU, Cultural History in a New Key: Towards a Semiotics of the Nerve. ROY PORTER, Bodies of Thought: Thoughts about the Body in Eighteenth-Century England. LUDMILLA JORDANOVA, The Representation of the Family in the Eighteenth Century: A Challenge for Cultural History. MARTIN KEMP, "Intellectual Ornaments": Style, Function and Society in Some Instruments of Art. LAWRENCE LIPKING, Inventing the Common Reader: Samuel Johnson and the Canon. PETER HULME, Rewriting the Caribbean Past: Cultural History in the Colonial Context. JONATHAN BARRY, Provincial Town Culture, 1640–80: Urbane or Civic? WILLIAM SCOTT, Ignorance and Revolution: Perceptions of Social Reality in Revolutionary Marseilles, 1789–92. PAUL DUKES, The Emergence of a Modern Vernacular Culture in North-East Scotland.

BRETT WILLIAMS, editor. *The Politics of Culture*. (Anthropological Society of Washington.) Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution. 1991. Pp. 272. \$29.95.

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Culture, and the Manumission of Slaves in North and South Carolina. RICHARD HANDLER, Who Owns the Past? History, Cultural Property, and the Logic of Possessive Individualism. ROBERT VERREY and LAURA HENLEY, Creation Myths and Zoning Boards: Local Uses of Historic Preservation. BRETT WILLIAMS, Good Guys and Bad Toys: The Paradoxical World of Children's Cartoons. ARVILLA C. PAYNE-PRICE, African-American Folk Medicine in the Southeast Lowlands of the United States. JOHN LEE and ARVILLA C. PAYNE-PRICE, John Lee: An African-American Folk Healer. DAVID E. WHISNANT, Sandanista Cultural Policy: Notes toward an Analysis in Historical Context. MICAELA DI LEONARDO, Women's Culture and Its Discontents. DALLAS L. BROWNE, Christian Missionaries, Western Feminists, and the Kikuyu Clitoridectomy Controversy.

ALEIDA ASSMANN and DIETRICH HARTH, editors. *Mnemosyne: Formen und Funktionen der kulturellen Erinnerung*. (Fischer Wissenschaft.) Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer Taschenbuch. 1991. Pp. 399. DM 29.80.

ALEIDA ASSMANN, Zur Metaphorik der Erinnerung. LUDOLF KUCHENBUCH, Verrechtlichung von Erinnerung im Medium der Schrift (9. Jahrhundert). IVAN ILICH, Von der Prägung des Er-Innernen durch das Schriftbild: Überlegungen zur Arche Noah des Hugo von St. Victor. HORST WENZEL, Imaginatio und Memoria: Medien der Erinnerung im höfischen Mittelalter. GOTTHART WUNBERG, Mnemosyne: Literatur unter den Bedingungen der Moderne; Ihre technik- und sozialgeschichtliche Begründung. DIETRICH SCHUBERT, Formen der Heinrich-Heine-Memorierung im Denkmal heute. LINA BOLZONI, Gedächtniskunst und allegorische Bilder: Theorie und Praxis der *ars memorativa* in Literatur und Bildender Kunst Italiens zwischen dem 14. und 16. Jahrhundert. MASSIMILIANO ROSSI, Gedächtnis und Andacht: Über die Mnemotechnik biblischer Texte im 15. Jahrhundert. BARBARA KELLER, Mnemotechnik als kreatives Verfahren im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert. MONIKA GOMILLE, Gedächtnisbilder der Klugheit (Prudentia) in humanistischer Tradition. DIETRICH HARTH, *Memoria eschatologica*: Versuch über Matthias Grünewalds Isenheimer Altar. HINRICH BIESTERFELDT, Ibn Kaldūn: Erinnerung, historische Reflexion und die Idee der Solidarität. PETER BURKE, Geschichte als soziales Gedächtnis. SIEGFRIED WIEDENHOFER, Erinnete Tradition und tradierte Erinnerung in Humanismus und Reformation. BERNHARD BUSCHENDORF, Enthusiasmus und Erinnerung in der Kunsttheorie Edgar Winds. JAN ASSMANN, Die Katastrophe des Vergessens: Das Deuteronomium als Paradigma kultureller Mnemotechnik. SILVIA FERRETTI, Zur Ontologie der Erinnerung in Augustinus' *Confessiones*. HORST FOLKERS,

Die gerettete Geschichte: Ein Hinweis auf Walter Benjamins Begriff der Erinnerung. SIEGFRIED J. SCHMIDT, Gedächtnis—Erzählen—Identität.

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Interview Techniques and Analyses. KRISTINA MINISTER, A Feminist Frame for the Oral History Interview. GWENDOLYN ETTER-LEWIS, Black Women's Life Stories: Reclaiming Self in Narrative Texts. KATHERINE BORLAND, "That's Not What I Said": Interpretive Conflict in Oral Narrative Research. MARIE-FRANÇOISE CHANFRAULT-DUCHET, Narrative Structures, Social Models, and Symbolic Representation in the Life Story. CLAUDIA SALAZAR, A Third World Woman's Text: Between the Politics of Criticism and Cultural Politics. JUDITH STACEY, Can There Be a Feminist Ethnography? SONDRÁ HALE, Feminist Method, Process, and Self-Criticism: Interviewing Sudanese Women. DAPHNE PATAI, U.S. Academics and Third World Women: Is Ethical Research Possible? RINA BENMAYOR, Testimony, Action Research, and Empowerment: Puerto Rican Women and Popular Education. LAURIE MERCIER and MARY MURPHY, Confronting the Demons of Feminist Public History: Scholarly Collaboration and Community Outreach. KAREN OLSON and LINDA SHOPES, Crossing Boundaries, Building Bridges: Doing Oral History among Working-Class Women and Men. SHERNA BERGER GLUCK, Advocacy Oral History: Palestinian Women in Resistance.

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Hermann Gundert and Britain. DERYCK W. LOVEGROVE, Unity and Separation: Contrasting Elements in the Thought and Practice of Robert and James Alexander Haldane. JOHN KENT, Anglican Evangelicalism in the West of England, 1858–1900. CLYDE BINFIELD, "We Claim Our Part in the Great Inheritance": The Message of Four Congregational Buildings. DAVID HEMPTON, "For God and Ulster": Evangelical Protestantism and the Home Rule Crisis of 1886. DAVID M. THOMPSON, The Emergence of the Nonconformist Social Gospel in England. KEITH ROBBINS, On Prophecy and Politics: Some Pragmatic Reflections. D. W. BEBBINGTON, Baptists and Fundamentalism in Inter-war Britain. HADDON WILLMER, The Justification of the Godless: Heinrich Vogel and German Guilt. ANNE ORDE and DAVID ROLLASON, Bibliography of the Writings of W. R. Ward.

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Communications

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

TO THE EDITOR:

It is a pity that Irwin M. Wall cannot review *Détruire le PCF: Archives de l'Etat français et de l'occupant hitlérien 1941-1944* (AHR, 97 [April 1992]: 566) without misrepresenting Roger Bourderon and myself. He asserts that "the German sources were not much used" in our monograph. As a matter of fact, 40 percent of the 891 notes refer the reader to German diplomatic, military, and police documents in American, British, German, and French archives, including the invaluable AJ 40 series (records of the Militärbefehlshaber in Frankreich) in the Archives Nationales.

Equally disappointing is his reliance on an old chestnut to "explain" French Communist resistance before the invasion of the Soviet Union. Faced with well-documented evidence of Communist-led strikes, hunger demonstrations, opposition to anti-Semitic measures, propaganda against Hitler's New Order and French collaborators, and anti-militarist work in the German army of occupation, Wall writes that "individual Communists may have resisted" before June 22, 1941; "the party as such did not."

Such statements contain three major flaws. To begin with, sustained subversive activity depended on the willingness of Parti Communiste Français leaders to provide cash, hideouts, forged papers, underground printing presses, and reliable contacts across France. Second, official PCF statements in *L'humanité*, the main party organ, called on Frenchmen to unite in a "Front for liberty, work and the independence of France" (July 7, 1940), denounced Hitler's annexation of Alsace and parts of Lorraine, condemned the exploitation of France by the victorious Nazis and their French accomplices, and accused Germany,

Italy, and Japan of planning "a tripartite world hegemony" (November 1940). Third, archival evidence confirms that, unlike Wall, the Sicherheitspolizei, the German military in France, and the Vichy authorities knew very well what the Communists were up to and did their best to smash the PCF apparatus. As part of the anticommunist drive, members of the central committee, Communist legislators, and prominent Communist labor organizers were arrested in the first year of the German occupation. According to the Kommandostab of the Militärbefehlshaber in Frankreich, in Paris alone 2,208 Communists were put behind bars between July 1, 1940, and May 1, 1941. In May 1941, Hitler ordered the stationing of at least one panzer company in Paris because of Communists and Gaullists. Forwarding the order, von Brauchitsch asked that the Panzer Brigade 100 be deployed in the center of the capital in order to intimidate "chauvinist and Communist elements."

IVAN AVAKOUMOVITCH
EMERITUS
University of British Columbia

IRWIN WALL REPLIES:

My assertion that German sources were not much used in *Détruire le PCF* was based on impression and not statistics; if it was erroneous, I apologize. The fact that the French Communist Party as such did not join the Resistance until June 1941, however, is not an "old chestnut" but rather a truism. The testimony of Resisters of the period, most of whom were later purged or demoted precisely for their disobedience (see my *French Communism in the Era of Stalin*) is virtually unanimous on this point. Ivan Avakoumovitch neglects to point out that Communist propaganda after the Nazi-Soviet pact castigated British imperialism and de Gaulle along with the Nazis as responsible for the war, and there is no getting around the party's application to German occupation authorities in June 1940 to permit the legal publication of *L'humanité*. That the Germans took precautions against PCF opposition is proof of German anticommunism and paranoia, not of genuine party resistance activity. This is a tired and old debate, which one would have thought would disappear with

the end of the Cold War; apparently Communism's destruction and the rewriting of a falsified history in the former USSR have yet to have an impact on movement historians in the West.

IRWIN M. WALL
University of California,
Riverside

TO THE EDITOR:

In her review (*AHR*, 97 [June 1992]: 859–60) of my book, *Paul Lafargue and the Founding of French Marxism, 1842–1882*, Patricia J. Hilden identifies Lafargue both as Marx's grandson and as his son-in-law. He was a son-in-law. More important, I gave about fifteen lines (of 285 pages, or 0.0013 percent) to Lafargue's views on women (because his chief writings on them came after the period covered in the book). Hilden devoted almost 20 percent of her review to the subject. I said that Lafargue "attacked the legacy of Proudhon," who had insisted on female inferiority, and that Lafargue considered men "in no way superior." Hilden nevertheless considers Lafargue as "misogynistic" and "reactionary." The proper comparison is between his views and those of most other men, including socialists, in the nineteenth century—few of whom could have lived up to feminist expectations of the late twentieth century. In any case, I will be treating the subject more thoroughly in my second volume.

Hilden denies that Proudhonism dominated all the French sections of the First International. I never used the word "all." Marx, Engels, Marxists, and anarchists thought that it dominated the International, even if some "articulate socialist women leaders in Switzerland, in parts of France, and in Belgium" did not (p. 860). I am charged with a "neglect of research on the constituency claimed by the Guesdists—the workers of the industrial north of France" (p. 860). Again, my book ends in 1882. Lafargue did not visit the Lille-Tourcoing-Roubaix complex until 1884, and the area did not become a Guesdist stronghold until later in the decade. My second volume will certainly make use of the excellent descriptive material contained in Hilden's book on the subject. Finally, Hilden is entitled to question Lafargue's competence as a theorist of Marxism. I do so myself. His importance, if not his correctness, as a theorist, however, was recognized by the leading socialist figures of the day and by the leading historian of the Guesdists.

LESLIE DERFLER
Florida Atlantic University

Patricia J. Hilden does not wish to respond.

THE EDITOR

TO THE EDITOR:

In her generally kind review of my book, *Egypt's Other Wars: Epidemics and the Politics of Public Health* (1990),

Amira El Azhary Sonbol states that "regarding cholera, since mosquitos do not discriminate, why is it that more of the poor died than the rich (if that was the real case)?" (*AHR*, 97 [June 1992]: 902). Since *AHR* readers may visit cholera-infected regions, I must hasten to correct this misstatement by quoting from my book: "Cholera . . . is caused by a vibrio, *Vibrio cholerae*, which is spread by the ingestion of water or food contaminated with the excrement of infected persons. The microbe cannot live outside the human host for more than a few hours, so its presence indicates a symptomatic or an asymptomatic cholera carrier in the vicinity" (Gallagher, p. 5). The 1947 cholera epidemic is one of the most studied in history; that a good standard of living was adequate protection is very well documented by Egyptian and foreign researchers (*ibid.*, pp. 116–39). Only the poor died during the 1947 cholera epidemic, largely because of the lack of basic sanitation, in particular the lack of potable water. In one account, "three men [were witnessed] defecating in the canal, others bathing nearby, and still others washing cooking utensils. When the Ministry of Health told the *umd*as (mayors) to prevent people from drinking from the canals, the *umd*as replied that the people would then die of thirst. They had no other source of water" (p. 120).

Lack of sanitation is again the problem in the cholera epidemic that has been spreading in Latin America during the past two years. Persons in cholera-infected regions can protect themselves by avoiding uncooked foods, by drinking boiled water, and by observing basic rules of personal hygiene.

But suppose that cholera were transmitted by mosquitos. The poor would indeed be more susceptible because of lack of access to such preventive measures as window screens, mosquito netting, protective clothing, and repellents (see my comments on malaria, p. 4). If infected, the poor are often more severely stricken because of lowered resistance due to malnutrition, the presence of other diseases, and lack of access to good medical care. Lack of information regarding methods of prevention and treatment may also disadvantage the poor. Finally, Sonbol states that "epidemics such as typhus were not new for Egypt and local methods [of treatment] were relatively effective for centuries before the introduction of modern medicine" (*AHR*, p. 902). This statement is simply not true, unless "relatively effective" means very, very relatively. While it is attractive to extol the benefits of traditional remedies, persons confronted with such epidemics as typhus or the three I dealt with in the book—malaria, relapsing fever, and cholera—had better rely on the preventive and curative methods of modern public health and medicine, at least until the threat passes.

NANCY E. GALLAGHER
University of California,
Santa Barbara

AMIRA SONBOL REPLIES:

It should be obvious that I really meant malaria rather than cholera when referring to mosquitos as the method for transmitting the disease. But my comments regarding mosquitos as well as my reference to the existence of traditional methods of cure had a purpose that should not be lost sight of. The problem I had with Nancy Gallagher's book is that it does not take historical continuity into consideration, does not present a class analysis, and presents no conceptualization of other than the elite as participants in history. While the strength of the book lies in its illustration of the connection between politics and disease, and thereby shows how health issues can be of use for historical research, the book is weak in its lack of conceptualization of the relationship that almost always exists between culture, social structure, and health. Traditional methods for treating disease existed and continue to do so in Egypt today, notwithstanding the widespread existence of modern medical facilities and doctors. Traditional medicine in all its forms, whether in the form of a *'attar's* (herbalist) concoction or *tibb-ilahi* (prophetic medicine), is the poor person's alternative to unaffordable modern medicine. Explaining that such methods existed has little to do with personal preference for such methods; raising such a question is curious and points to the use of modernization as an ideology rather than

as an ingredient in the historical process. At any rate, the existence of a variety of medical systems is a problem that few people today see as a big issue. Concerning the issue of typhus, one readily available case of the successful use of traditional methods for curing the disease was described by members of the French scientific mission that accompanied Napoleon in 1798 (see *La décade égyptienne*, vol. 6).

AMIRA EL AZHARY SONBOL
Georgetown University

ERRATUM

Evan M. Melhado's review of Joseph S. Fruton's *Contrasts in Scientific Style: Research Groups in the Chemical and Biochemical Sciences* (AHR, 97 [June 1992]: 842–43) contained a typographical error. On page 842, second column, the first full sentence correctly reads: "Fruton seems also to associate with liberality a greater breadth of vision for the discipline and greater success in seeing the leader's views realized in the accomplishments of the next generation, a perspective that he believes to offer an escape from the customary hagiography characterizing many studies of prominent scientists and a corrective to the failure of historians to assess the significance of the less-prominent scientists." The AHR regrets this error.

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION

(Required by 39 U.S.C. 3685)

1. A. Title of Publication:

American Historical Review

B. Publication No.: ISSN 0002-8762

2. Date of Filing: October 6, 1992

3. Frequency of Issue: Five times per year—February, April, June, October, December

A. Number of Issues Published

Annually: Five

B. Annual Subscription Price: Class I U.S. \$48.00

4. Complete Mailing Address of Known Office of Publication: American Historical Association, 400 A Street SE, Washington, DC 20003-3889

5. Complete Mailing Address of the Headquarters of General Business Offices of the Publisher: American Historical Association, 400 A Street SE, Washington, DC 20003

6. Full Names and Complete Mailing Address of Publisher, Editor, and Managing Editor:

Publisher: American Historical Association, 400 A Street SE, Washington, DC 20003

Editor: David L. Ransel, American Historical Review, 914 Atwater, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN 47405

Managing Editor: N/A

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A. TOTAL NO. COPIES PRINTED (Net Press Run)	17,894	18,360
B. PAID AND/OR REQUESTED CIRCULATION		
1. Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors, and counter sales	0	0
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C. TOTAL PAID AND/OR REQUESTED CIRCULATION (Sum of 10.B.1 and 10.B.2)	16,828	17,244
D. FREE DISTRIBUTION BY MAIL, CARRIER, OR OTHER MEANS SAMPLES, COMPLIMENTARY, AND OTHER FREE COPIES	201	275
E. TOTAL DISTRIBUTION (Sum of C and D)	17,029	17,519
F. COPIES NOT DISTRIBUTED		
1. Office use, left over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing	865	841
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G. TOTAL (Sum of E, F.1, and F.2—should equal net press run shown in A)	17,894	18,360

11. I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.



SAMUEL R. GAMMON, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Index to *American Historical Review*, Volume 97

The titles of articles and films in the *AHR* are printed in italics, and titles of books reviewed are in quotation marks. Books of collected essays are designated by (E). The reviewer of a book or film is designated by (R), the author of a letter for the communications section by (C).

- Abbott, Richard H. (R), 934
"Abe Fortas," by Kalman, 315
Abelove, Henry, "The Evangelist of Desire: John Wesley and the Methodists," 551
"Abraham Esau's War," by Nasson, 1261
Abrash, Barbara (R), 1150
"Abschied vom Klassenkampf," by Degen, 878
"Absolutism and Ruling Class," by LeDonne, 1565
"Absolutism in Seventeenth-Century Europe," edited by Miller (E), 1644
"Abstract Expressionism and the Modern Experience," by Polcari, 1491
Abu-Lughod, Ibrahim (R), 162
Acham, Karl, and Winfried Schulze, editors, "Teil und Ganzes: Zum Verhältnis von Einzel- und Gesamtanalyse in Geschichts- und Sozialwissenschaften" (E), 979
Ackerman, Evelyn Bernette, "Health Care in the Parisian Countryside, 1800–1914," 564
Adams, Michael C. C., "The Great Adventure: Male Desire and the Coming of World War I," 556
Adams, R. J. Q., editor, "The Great War, 1914–18: Essays on the Military, Political, and Social History of the First World War" (E), 977
Adams, R. J. Q. (R), 1527
Adamson, Walter L. (R), 577
Adelman, Jonathan R. (R), 897, 1182
Adjaye, Joseph K. (R), 594
Adler, Jeffrey S. (R), 1596
Adler, Jeffrey S., "Yankee Merchants and the Making of the Urban West: The Rise and Fall of Antebellum St. Louis," 1595
"The Administration of the County Palatine of Chester 1442–1485," by Clayton, 1508
"Admirals and Empire," by Yerxa, 1311
"Advertising and the Transformation of American Society, 1865–1920," by Norris, 293
"The African Experience," by Oliver, 1572
"After Marx, Before Lenin," by Steenson, 1207
"The Age of Doubt," by Graebner, 955
"Agesilaus and the Failure of Spartan Hegemony," by Hamilton, 827
Agnew, Jean-Christophe (R), 605
"Agrarian Capitalism and the World Market," by Sabato, 659
"Agrarian Society in History," edited by Lundahl and Svensson (E), 1325
"Agriculture and National Development," edited by Ferleger (E), 1335
Ainsworth, Peter F., "Jean Froissart and the Fabric of History: Truth, Myth, and Fiction in the *Chroniques*," 1201
"Air Power and Colonial Control," by Omissi, 557
Akenson, Donald Harman, "Half the World from Home: Perspectives on the Irish in New Zealand, 1860–1950," 273
Akenson, Donald Harman (R), 212
Albinski, Henry S. (R), 273, 1271
Albisetti, James C. (R), 1551
Alchon, Suzanne Austin, "Native Society and Disease in Colonial Ecuador," 1636
Aleksiev, Iu. G., "Osvobozhdenie Rusi ot ordynskogo iga" [The Liberation of Rus' from the Yoke of the Golden Horde], 181
Alexander, John K., "The Selling of the Constitutional Convention: A History of News Coverage," 611
Alexander, John T. (R), 1565
Alexander, June Granatir (R), 629
Alexander, R. S., "Bonapartism and Revolutionary Tradition in France: The *Fédérés* of 1815," 1534
"Alexander Crummell," by Moses, 937
"Al-Hind," by Wink, 910
"Alias Bill Arp," by Parker, 1290
"Alice Henry," by Kirkby, 1609
Allen, C. Leonard (R), 281
Allen, James Smith (C), 1003
Allen, Michael, "Western Rivermen, 1763–1861: Ohio and Mississippi Boatmen and the Myth of the Alligator Horse," 283
Allin, Craig W. (R), 1614
Allswang, John M. (R), 954
Al Rasheed, Madawi, "Politics in an Arabian Oasis: The Rashidi Tribal Dynasty," 1570
Altholz, Josef L. (R), 555, 1518
Altschul, Michael (R), 180, 1507
"Always among Us," by Wandel, 242
Amann, Peter H. (R), 861
Amato, Joseph A., "Victims and Values: A History of a Theory of Suffering," 518
Ambler, Charles (R), 595
Ambrosiani, Björn, and Helen Clarke, "Towns in the Viking Age," 828
Ambrosius, Lloyd E., editor, "A Crisis of Republicanism: American Politics in the Civil War Era" (E), 669
Ambrosius, Lloyd E., "Wilsonian Statecraft: Theory and Practice of Liberal Internationalism during World War I," 1312
Amdur, Kathryn E. (R), 218
"America Views China," edited by Goldstein *et al.* (E), 1652
"American Autobiography," edited by Eakin (E), 1649

- "American Constitutionalism Abroad," edited by Billias (E), 328
American Dream, directed by Barbara Kopple, 1170
 "An American Empire," edited by Ricard (E), 330
 "The American 'Empire,'" by Lundestad, 641
 "American Enterprise in South Africa," by Hull, 313
 "American Historians and the Atlantic Alliance," edited by Kaplan (E), 1653
 "American Indians and World War II," by Bernstein, 924
 "American Intellectuals and African Nationalists, 1955–1970," by Staniland, 644
 "American Literature, Culture, and Ideology," edited by Voloshin (E), 668
 "The American Political Nation, 1838–1893," by Silbey, 1594
 "America's Germany," by Schwartz, 958
 "America's Welfare State," by Berkowitz, 956
 Amussen, Susan Dwyer (R), 846
 "Anarchism and Chinese Political Culture," by Zarrow, 600
 "Anarchism and the Mexican Revolution," by MacLachlan, 1632
 "Anarchism in the Chinese Revolution," by Dirlik, 1265
Anarchism, Political Participation, and Illiteracy in Barcelona between 1934 and 1936, by Vilanova, 96–120
 "The Ancient Art of Northern Asia," by Martynov, 907
 "Ancient Youth," by Kleijwegt, 527
 Anderson, Eric, and Alfred A. Moss, Jr., editors, "The Facts of Reconstruction: Essays in Honor of John Hope Franklin" (E), 1651
 Anderson, Karen, "Chain Her by One Foot: The Subjugation of Women in Seventeenth-Century New France," 962
 Anderson, Margaret Lavinia (R), 249
 Anderson, Margo (R), 1293
 Anderson, Nancy Fix (R), 201, 850
 Anderson, Terry (R), 1625
 Anderson, Thomas P. (R), 1187
 Anderson, William L., editor, "Cherokee Removal: Before and After" (E), 1335
 Andrade-Watkins, Claire (R), 1143
 "Andrew Johnson and the Negro," by Bowen, 620
 "Andrew Johnson," by Trefousse, 285
 Andrews, Gregg, "Shoulder to Shoulder? The American Federation of Labor, the United States, and the Mexican Revolution, 1910–1924," 1615
 Andrews, Kenneth R., "Ships, Money and Politics: Seafaring and Naval Enterprise in the Reign of Charles I," 1213
 "Anfänge bürgerlicher Organisation," by Hauser, 227
 "Angelo Annaratone (1844–1922)," by Pacifici, 1561
 "The Angevin Legacy and the Hundred Years War 1250–1340," by Vale, 835
 Anglo, Sydney, editor, "Chivalry in the Renaissance" (E), 664
 "Anglo-Saxonism in U.S. Foreign Policy," edited by Ricard and Christol (E), 1652
 "Animals and Society," by Tester, 1180
 Ankarloo, Bengt, and Gustav Henningsen, editors, "Early Modern European Witchcraft: Centres and Peripheries" (E), 1644
 "Appalachian Frontiers," edited by Mitchell (E), 1335
 Aquarone, Alberto, "Dopo Adua: Politica e amministrazione coloniale," 887
 "Arabian Studies," edited by Serjeant and Bidwell (E), 668
 "Arbeitsverhältnisse und Arbeiterexistenzen," by Kocka, 228
 "Arbitrati e politica di potenza," by Baldelli, 935
 Archdeacon, Thomas J. (R), 1294
 Archer, Ian W., "The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London," 846
 "The Architect of Genocide," by Breitman, 882
 "Architectural Principles in the Age of Historicism," by van Pelt and Westfall, 1490
 "Archives of Memory," by Hoffman and Hoffman, 311
 "Argentine Unions, the State, and the Rise of Perón, 1930–1945," by Horowitz, 1638
 "Aristocrats of Color," by Gatewood, 301
 "Aristokraten und Tyrannen im archaischen Athen," by Stahl, 171
 "The Arkwrights," by Fitton, 198
 "Arming the Free World," by Pach, 640
 Armitage, Susan (R), 297
 "Arms, Politics, and the Economy," edited by Higgs (E), 1336
 Armstrong, Douglas V., "The Old Village and the Great House: An Archaeological and Historical Examination of Drax Hall Plantation, St. Ann's Bay, Jamaica," 319
 "Army Surveillance in America, 1775–1980," by Jensen, 1276
 Arnesen, Eric (R), 304
 Arnold, Benjamin, "Princes and Territories in Medieval Germany," 831
 Arnstein, Walter L., editor, "Recent Historians of Great Britain: Essays on the Post–1945 Generation" (E), 978
 Arnup, Katherine, *et al.*, editors, "Delivering Motherhood: Maternal Ideologies and Practices in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries" (E), 663
 Aronson, I. Michael, "Troubled Waters: The Origins of the 1881 Anti-Jewish Pogroms in Russia," 255
 "Ars et ratio," edited by Vigueur and Bagliani (E), 325
 Arsenault, Raymond (R), 1599
 "Art and Miracles in Medieval Byzantium," by Connor, 1195
 "Art and Politics in Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Italy, 1250–1500," edited by Rosenberg (E), 976
 "Arthur Berriedale Keith, 1879–1944," by Shinn, 856
 "Arthur Henderson," by Wrigley, 210
 Artibise, Alan F. J. (R), 1317
 "Die Ärzte auf dem Weg zu Prestige und Wohlstand," by Drees, 231
 "Asante and the Dutch, 1744–1873," by Yarak, 594
 Asher, Robert, and Charles Stephenson, editors, "Labor Divided: Race and Ethnicity in United States Labor Struggles, 1835–1960" (E), 329
 "Asia before Europe," by Chaudhuri, 910
 "Aspen," by Rohrbough, 624
 Assmann, Aleida, and Dietrich Harth, editors, "Mnemosyne: Formen und Funktionen der kulturellen Erinnerung" (E), 1640
 Astarita, Tommaso (R), 884
 "Astoria and Empire," by Ronda, 623
 "At Freedom's Edge," by Cohen, 935
 "At the Boundaries of Law," edited by Fineman and Thomadsen (E), 1325
 "Athens and Aigina in the Age of Imperial Colonization," by Figueira, 1494
 Atkin, Muriel (R), 588
 Atkins, Annette (R), 622
 Atsma, Hartmut, and André Burguière, editors, "Marc Bloch aujourd'hui: Histoire comparée et sciences sociales" (E), 326, 979
 "L'attesa della fine dei tempi nel Medioevo," edited by Capitani and Miethke (E), 325

- Auerbach, Jerold S., "Rabbis and Lawyers: The Journey from Torah to Constitution," 280
 "Aufstand der Bilder," by Paul, 575
 "August Bebel," by Herrmann *et al.*, 878
August 1991 as Seen by a Moscow Historian, by Bessmertny, 803–16
 Augustinos, Gerasimos, editor, "Diverse Paths to Modernity in Southeastern Europe: Essays in National Development" (E), 1332
 "Austria in the Age of the French Revolution, 1789–1815," edited by Brauer and Wright (E), 980
 "Austria-Hungary and the Origins of the First World War," by Williamson, 247
 "Auswanderungsagenturen und Auswanderungsvereine im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert," by Bretting and Bickelmann, 1556
 Avakoumovitch, Ivan (C), 1665
 Avakoumovitch, Ivan, and Roger Bourderon, "Détruire le PCF: Archives de l'Etat français et de l'occupant hitlérien 1940–1944," 566
 Avrich, Paul (R), 585
 Avrich, Paul, "Sacco and Vanzetti: The Anarchist Background," 303
 Axelrod, Paul, "Making a Middle Class: Student Life in English Canada during the Thirties," 964
 Ayers, Edward L., and John C. Willis, editors, "The Edge of the South: Life in Nineteenth-Century Virginia" (E), 983
 Azimi, Fakhreddin (R), 1256
- "Babel and Babylon," by Hansen, 631
 Bachrach, Bernard S., and David Nicholas, editors, "Law, Custom, and the Social Fabric in Medieval Europe: Essays in Honor of Bryce Lyon" (E), 1327
 Backes, Uwe, *et al.*, editors, "Die Schatten der Vergangenheit: Impulse zur Historisierung des Nationalsozialismus" (E), 979
 Badone, Ellen, editor, "Religious Orthodoxy and Popular Faith in European Society" (E), 325
 Bagge, Sverre, "Society and Politics in Snorri Sturluson's *Heimskringla*," 1501
 Bagliani, Agostino Paravicini, and Jean-Claude Maire Vigueur, editors, "Ars et ratio: Dalla torre di Babele al ponte di Rialto" (E), 325
 Baidukov, Georgiy, "Russian Lindbergh: The Life of Valery Chkalov," 1569
 Bailey, Beth (R), 1607
 Bailey, Paul J., "Reform the People: Changing Attitudes towards Popular Education in Early Twentieth-Century China," 599
 Bailyn, Bernard, and Philip D. Morgan, editors, "Strangers within the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire" (E), 1646
 Baird, Jay W. (R), 575
 Baird, Jay W., "To Die for Germany: Heroes in the Nazi Pantheon," 239
 Baker, Jean H. (R), 1594
 Baker, Paula, "The Moral Frameworks of Public Life: Gender, Politics, and the State in Rural New York, 1870–1930," 623
 Baker, William J. (R), 852
 "Baker and Botts in the Development of Modern Houston," by Lipartito and Pratt, 1306
 Bakewell, Peter (R), 966
 Bakhash, Shaul (C), 345
 Bakken, Gordon Morris, "Practicing Law in Frontier California," 925
 Balcer, Jack Martin (R), 1493
- Baldelli, Pia G. Celozzi, "Arbitrati e politica di potenza: Gli Stati Uniti dopo la guerra di secessione," 935
 Baldwin, Peter, "The Politics of Social Solidarity: Class Bases of the European Welfare State, 1875–1975," 185
 Ball, Douglas B., "Financial Failure and Confederate Defeat," 619
 Banac, Ivo, *Historiography of the Countries of Eastern Europe: Yugoslavia, 1084–1104*
 "Banking in the American West," by Doti and Schweikart, 1603
 Bannister, Robert C., "Jessie Bernard: The Making of a Feminist," 298
 Barahona, Renato (R), 1544
 Barbir, Karl K. (C), 1000
 Barclay, David E. (R), 873
 Barkan, Diana L. (R), 1157
 Barlow, Philip L., "Mormons and the Bible: The Place of the Latter-day Saints in American Religion," 1585
 Barman, Jean, "The West beyond the West: A History of British Columbia," 963
 Barnes, Kenneth C., "Nazism, Liberalism, and Christianity: Protestant Social Thought in Germany and Great Britain, 1925–1937," 548
 Barnes, Robin Bruce, "Prophecy and Gnosis: Apocalypticism in the Wake of the Lutheran Reformation," 222
 Barnes, T. D. (R), 529, 1188
 Barnett, Suzanne Wilson (R), 1578
 Barrell, John, "The Infection of Thomas De Quincey: A Psychopathology of Imperialism," 1216
 Barrett, James R. (R), 303
 Barros, James, "Trygve Lie and the Cold War: The UN Secretary-General Pursues Peace, 1946–1953," 163
 Barta, Gábor, *et al.*, "Kurze Geschichte Siebenbürgens" (E), 667
 Barth, Gunther, "Fleeting Moments: Nature and Culture in American History," 607
 Barth, Gunther (R), 1605
 Bartlett, Beatrice S., "Monarchs and Ministers: The Grand Council in Mid-Ch'ing China, 1723–1820," 1263
 Barton, H. Arnold (R), 1231
 Barton, Michael (R), 1598
 Bartov, Omer, "Hitler's Army: Soldiers, Nazis, and War in the Third Reich," 1242
 Bartov, Omer (R), 1155
 Bater, James H. (R), 893
 Bates, Robert H. (R), 258
 Batou, Jean, editor, "Between Development and Underdevelopment: The Precocious Attempts at Industrialization of the Periphery, 1800–1870/Entre développement et sous-développement: Les tentatives précoces d'industrialisation de la périphérie" (E), 1642
 "Battle for Batangas," by May, 1183
 "The Battle for Guatemala," by Jonas, 1187
 Bauer, Franz J., "Bürgerwege und Bürgerwelten: Familienbiographische Untersuchungen zum deutschen Bürgertum im 19. Jahrhundert," 1553
 "Die bauerliche Gesellschaft Ungarns in der Zeit zwischen den beiden Weltkriegen," by Gunst, 1248
 Baur, John E. (R), 1286
 Bauslaugh, Robert A., "The Concept of Neutrality in Classical Greece," 1187
 Baxter, P. T. W. (C), 1365
 Baxter, Stephen B. (R), 604, 1232
 Bayly, Susan, "Saints, Goddesses, and Kings: Muslims

- and Christians in South Indian Society, 1700–1900," 911
- Beard, Mary, and John North, editors, "Pagan Priests: Religion and Power in the Ancient World" (E), 324
- Beasley, Faith E., "Revising Memory: Women's Fiction and Memoirs in Seventeenth-Century France," 1225
- Beauchamp, Edward R., and Akira Iriye, editors, "Foreign Employees in Nineteenth-Century Japan" (E), 328
- Beck, Earl R. (R), 1243
- Becker, Seymour (R), 1568
- Beckett, J. V., "A History of Laxton: England's Last Open-Field Village," 550
- Bee, Robert L. (R), 923
- "Before Newton," edited by Feingold (E), 664
- "Before the Black Death," edited by Campbell (E), 1644
- "Before the Luddites," by Randall, 199
- "Before the Melting Pot," by Goodfriend, 1586
- "Before the Nickelodeon," by Musser, 1614
- Behar, Ruth (R), 655
- Beik, William (R), 214
- "Being Comanche," by Foster, 1274
- Beinin, Joel (R), 257
- Beinin, Joel, "Was the Red Flag Flying There? Marxist Politics and the Arab-Israeli Conflict in Egypt and Israel, 1948–1965," 591
- "Belief in History," edited by Kselman (E), 1324
- Belknap, Michal R. (R), 1306
- Bell, P. M. H., "John Bull and the Bear: British Public Opinion, Foreign Policy and the Soviet Union 1941–1945," 559
- Bellamy, Richard, editor, "Victorian Liberalism: Nineteenth-Century Political Thought and Practice" (E), 978
- Beller, Steven (C), 343
- Bellon, Bernard P., "Mercedes in Peace and War: German Automobile Workers, 1903–1945," 236
- Bellon, Bernard P. (R), 878
- "Beloved Community," by Blake, 306
- Belz, Herman (R), 1277
- Bender, John, and David E. Wellbery, editors, "Chronotypes: The Construction of Time" (E), 1640
- Bender, Thomas (R), 605
- Benedict, Michael Les (R), 933
- Ben-Horin, Yoav, and David M. Gordis, editors, "Jewish Identity in America" (E), 1334
- Benjamin, Thomas, and Mark Wasserman, editors, "Provinces of the Revolution: Essays on Regional Mexican History, 1910–1929" (E), 671
- "Benjamin Constant and the Post-Revolutionary Mind," by Fontana, 562
- Bennion, Sherilyn Cox, "Equal to the Occasion: Women Editors of the Nineteenth-Century West," 297
- Bensel, Richard Franklin, "Yankee Leviathan: The Origins of Central State Authority in America, 1859–1877," 940
- Benson, Linda, "The Ili Rebellion: The Moslem Challenge to Chinese Authority in Xinjiang, 1944–1949," 268
- "Benton, Pollock, and the Politics of Modernism," by Doss, 1617
- Bergeron, Paul H. (R), 1284
- Bergin, Joseph, "The Rise of Richelieu," 858
- Bergmann, Peter (R), 233
- Berk, Stephen M. (R), 255
- Berkowitz, Edward D., "America's Welfare State: From Roosevelt to Reagan," 956
- Berlanstein, Lenard R., "Big Business and Industrial Conflict in Nineteenth-Century France: A Social History of the Parisian Gas Company," 1228
- Berlanstein, Lenard R. (R), 219
- Bernard, Richard M., editor, "Snowbelt Cities: Metropolitan Politics in the Northeast and Midwest since World War II" (E), 329
- "Bernard Brodie and the Foundations of American Nuclear Strategy," by Steiner, 1316
- Bernstein, Alison R., "American Indians and World War II: Toward a New Era in Indian Affairs," 924
- Bernstein, Gail Lee, editor, "Recreating Japanese Women, 1600–1945" (E), 1648
- Bernstein, Irving, "Promises Kept: John F. Kennedy's New Frontier," 314
- Bernstein, Iver (R), 619
- Berriot-Salvadore, Evelyne, "Les femmes dans la société française de la Renaissance," 859
- "Bertie of Thame," by Hamilton, 850
- Bessmertny, Yuri L., *August 1991 as Seen by a Moscow Historian, or the Fate of Medieval Studies in the Soviet Era*, 803–16
- Bethell, Leslie, editor, "The Cambridge History of Latin America." Volume 7, "Latin America since 1930: Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean," 1629
- "Between Crown and Swastika," by Furlong, 906
- "Between Development and Underdevelopment/Entre développement et sous-développement," edited by Batou (E), 1642
- "Between Redemption and Revival," by Halper, 899
- "Between Silver and Guano," by Gootenberg, 657
- "Beyond History of Science," edited by Garber (E), 973
- "Beyond Nationalism," by Deák, 578
- "Beyond the Barrier," by Rodgers, 525
- Bezucha, Robert J. (R), 1533
- "The Bible in the Sixteenth Century," edited by Steinmetz (E), 1328
- Bickelmann, Hartmut, and Agnes Bretting, "Auswanderungsagenturen und Auswanderungsvereine im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert," 1556
- Biddick, Kathleen (R), 1152
- Bidwell, R. L., and R. B. Serjeant, editors, "Arabian Studies" (E), 668
- Bienvenu, Richard T., and Mordechai Feingold, editors, "In the Presence of the Past: Essays in Honor of Frank Manuel" (E), 1328
- Biersack, Aletta, editor, "Clio in Oceania: Toward a Historical Anthropology" (E), 1649
- "Big Business and Industrial Conflict in Nineteenth-Century France," by Berlanstein, 1228
- Bigazzi, Duccio, "Il portello: Operai, tecnici e imprenditori all'Alfa-Romeo 1906–1926," 888
- Bilinkoff, Jodi (R), 220
- Billias, George Athan, editor, "American Constitutionalism Abroad: Selected Essays in Comparative Constitutional History" (E), 328
- Billinger, Robert D., Jr., "Metternich and the German Question: States' Rights and Federal Duties, 1820–1834," 1235
- Billington, Monroe Lee, "New Mexico's Buffalo Soldiers, 1866–1900," 1287
- "Biondos *Italia illustrata*—Summa oder Neuschöpfung," by Clavuot, 883
- A Bipolar Balance of Power*, by Kraehe, 707–15
- Bird, Keith W. (R), 1208
- Bireley, Robert, "The Counter-Reformation Prince: Anti-Machiavellianism or Catholic Statecraft in Early Modern Europe," 182
- Birnbaum, Henrik (R), 540

- Bischof, Günter (R), 1314
 Biskupski, M. B. (R), 891, 1210
 "Bismarck and the Development of Germany," by Pflanze, 229
 Bitel, Lisa M., "Isle of the Saints: Monastic Settlement and Christian Community in Early Ireland," 532
 Bitel, Lisa M. (R), 534
 Bittner, Donald F. (R), 558
 Bjørkelo, Anders, "Prelude to the Mahdiyya: Peasants and Traders in the Shendi Region, 1821–1885," 258
 Black, Jeremy, and Jeremy Gregory, editors, "Culture, Politics and Society in Britain, 1660–1800" (E), 1330
 Black Athena 2: *History without Rules*, by Pounder, 461–64
 "Black Christians and White Missionaries," by Gray, 593
 "Black, French, and African," by Vaillant, 260
 "The Black Man's Burden," by Samarin, 260
 "'Black October,'" by Phillips, 263
Black Robe, directed by Bruce Beresford, 1168
 "Blackboard Unions," by Murphy, 291
 Blackburn, David (R), 229
 Blackburn, David, and Richard J. Evans, editors, "The German Bourgeoisie: Essays on the Social History of the German Middle Class from the Late Eighteenth to the Early Twentieth Century" (E), 1330
 "Blacks in Colonial Veracruz," by Carroll, 968
 Blaine, Martha Royce, "Pawnee Passage: 1870–1875," 615
 Blair, Ann, and Anthony Grafton, editors, "The Transmission of Culture in Early Modern Europe" (E), 665
 Blake, Casey Nelson, "Beloved Community: The Cultural Criticism of Randolph Bourne, Van Wyck Brooks, Waldo Frank, and Lewis Mumford," 306
 Blake, Stephen P., "Shahjahanabad: The Sovereign City in Mughal India, 1639–1739," 1581
 Blanchard, Robert O. (R), 1273
 Blanke, Richard (R), 580
 Blasius, Dirk, and Dan Diner, editors, "Zerbrochene Geschichte: Leben und Selbstverständnis der Juden in Deutschland" (E), 1646
 Bledstein, Burton J. (R), 964
 Blim, Michael L., "Made in Italy: Small-Scale Industrialization and Its Consequences," 1562
 Bliss, Robert M., "Revolution and Empire: English Politics and the American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century," 275
 Bloomfield, Maxwell (R), 925
 Bloomquist, Charly (R), 1166
 "The Blue and the Yellow Stars of David," by Porat, 900
 Bodde, Derk, "Chinese Thought, Society, and Science: The Intellectual and Social Background of Science and Technology in Pre-modern China," 1575
 Bödeker, Hans Erich, *et al.*, editors, "Le livre religieux et ses pratiques: Études sur l'histoire du livre religieux en Allemagne et en France à l'époque moderne/Der Umgang mit dem religiösen Buch: Studien zur Geschichte des religiösen Buches in Deutschland und Frankreich in der frühen Neuzeit" (E), 1645
 Bodnar, John (R), 1305
 "The Body and Surgery in the Middle Ages," by Pouchelle, 177
 Bogue, Allan G. (R), 940
 Bohachevsky-Chomiak, Martha (R), 250
 Bolloten, Burnett, "The Spanish Civil War: Revolution and Counterrevolution," 568
 "Bombenkrieg gegen Deutschland," by Groehler, 1243
 "Bonapartism and Revolutionary Tradition in France," by Alexander, 1534
 Bondanella, Peter (R), 843
 "Bonded Histories," by Prakash, 1269
 "Bonds of Community," by Osterud, 622
 Bonnassie, Pierre, "From Slavery to Feudalism in South-Western Europe," 1196
 Bonney, Margaret, "Lordship and the Urban Community: Durham and Its Overlords, 1250–1540," 538
 Boog, Horst, *et al.*, "Das Deutsche Reich und der Zweite Weltkrieg," Volume 6, "Der globale Krieg: Die Ausweitung zum Weltkrieg und der Wechsel der Initiative 1941–1943," 238
 Booth, John A. (R), 654
 Borah, Woodrow (R), 156
 Borgolte, Michael, "Petrusnachfolge und Kaiserimitation: Die Grablegen der Päpste, ihre Genese und Traditionsbildung," 823
 Boris, Eileen (R), 1303
 "Born a Child of Freedom, Yet a Slave," by Jones, 278
 Borreguero Beltrán, Christina, "El reclutamiento militar por quintas en la España del siglo XVIII: Orígenes del servicio militar obligatorio," 1544
 Borus, Daniel H. (R), 621
 Bose, Sugata, editor, "South Asia and World Capitalism" (E), 1333
 Bose, Sugata (R), 1269, 1583
 Boss, Valentin, "Milton and the Rise of Russian Satanism," 894
 Bossy, John, "Giordano Bruno and the Embassy Affair," 1517
 Bouchard, Constance B. (R), 1196
 Bourderon, Roger, and Ivan Avakoumovitch, "Détruire le PCF: Archives de l'Etat français et de l'occupant hitlérien 1940–1944," 566
 "The Bourgeois Epoch," by Hamilton, 1206
 Bourguignon, H. J. (R), 1590
 Bouvier, Beatrix W., "Zwischen Godesberg und Grosser Koalition: Der Weg der SPD in die Regierungsverantwortung: Aussen-, sicherheits- und deutschlandpolitische Umorientierung und gesellschaftliche Öffnung der SPD 1960–1966," 240
 Bowden, Henry Warner, "Church History in an Age of Uncertainty: Historiographical Patterns in the United States, 1906–1990," 1289
 Bowen, David Warren, "Andrew Johnson and the Negro," 620
 Bowles, Kate, and Mick Gidley, editors, "Locating the Shakers: Cultural Origins and Legacies of an American Religious Movement" (E), 1335
 Bowser, Eileen, "The Transformation of Cinema, 1907–1915," 1298
 Boyce, Robert W. D., "British Capitalism at the Crossroads, 1919–1932: A Study in Politics, Economics, and International Relations," 1222
 Boydston, Jeanne, "Home and Work: Housework, Wages, and the Ideology of Labor in the Early Republic," 1283
 Boyer, Paul (R), 276
 Brackett, John K., "Criminal Justice and Crime in Late Renaissance Florence, 1537–1609," 1560
 Brackett, John K. (R), 1511
 Brading, D. A., "The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots, and the Liberal State 1492–1867," 966
 Bradley, James E., "Religion, Revolution, and English

- Radicalism: Nonconformity in Eighteenth-Century Politics and Society," 196
- Bradley, Joseph, "Guns for the Tsar: American Technology and the Small Arms Industry in Nineteenth-Century Russia," 584
- Bradley, Keith R., "Discovering the Roman Family: Studies in Roman Social History," 527
- Brands, H. W., "Inside the Cold War: Loy Henderson and the Rise of the American Empire, 1918–1961," 1314
- Brands, H. W. (R), 639
- Brandt, Loren, "Commercialization and Agricultural Development: Central and Eastern China, 1870–1937," 908
- Brannon, Jeffery T., and Gilbert M. Joseph, editors, "Land, Labor, and Capital in Modern Yucatán: Essays in Regional History and Political Economy" (E), 984
- Brantlinger, Patrick (R), 1484
- Brantlinger, Patrick, "Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830–1914," 554
- Brantz, Rennie W. (R), 235
- Braude, Ann (R), 1607
- Brauer, Kinley, and William E. Wright, editors, "Austria in the Age of the French Revolution, 1789–1815" (E), 980
- Braunthal, Gerard (R), 240
- "Brazil and the Soviet Challenge, 1917–1947," by Hilton, 1634
- "The Bread of Affliction," by Moskoff, 587
- "Breaking the Barrier," by Goodwyn, 892
- Breines, Wini (R), 637
- Breitman, Richard (R), 880
- Breitman, Richard, "The Architect of Genocide: Himmler and the Final Solution," 882
- Brereton, Virginia Lieson, "From Sin to Salvation: Stories of Women's Conversions, 1800 to the Present," 920
- Brereton, Virginia Lieson, "Training God's Army: The American Bible School, 1880–1940," 282
- Breslauer, George W., and Philip E. Tetlock, editors, "Learning in U.S. and Soviet Foreign Policy" (E), 1643
- Bretting, Agnes, and Hartmut Bickelmann, "Auswanderungsagenturen und Auswanderungsvereine im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert," 1556
- Bridenthal, Renate (R), 241
- Bridge, F. R., "The Habsburg Monarchy among the Great Powers, 1815–1918," 247
- Brier, Stephen (R), 300
- "Bringing Class Back In," edited by McNall *et al.* (E), 1641
- "Britain, Poland, and the Eastern Front, 1939," by Prazmowska, 1210
- "Britain, the United States, and the End of the Palestine Mandate, 1942–1948," by Ovendale, 162
- "British Capitalism at the Crossroads, 1919–1932," by Boyce, 1222
- "The British Conquest and Dominion of India," by Moon, 912
- "British Counterinsurgency, 1919–60," by Mockaitis, 558
- "British Foreign Policy in the Age of the American Revolution," by Scott, 849
- "The British General Election of 1931," by Thorpe, 1223
- "The British Military Dilemma in Ireland," by Muenger, 1224
- "British Policy and European Reconstruction after the First World War," by Orde, 186
- "British Socialists and the Politics of Popular Culture, 1884–1914," by Waters, 852
- "British Technology and European Industrialization," by Bruland, 544
- "British Trade Union and Labour History," edited by Clarkson (E), 666
- "British Unemployment, 1919–1939," by Garside, 208
- Brix, Emil, *et al.*, editors, "Geschichte zwischen Freiheit und Ordnung: Gerald Stourzh zum 60. Geburtstag" (E), 1326
- Broadhead, Susan Herlin (R), 260
- Brock, Peter, "The Quaker Peace Testimony, 1660–1914," 840
- Brodman, James W. (R), 1197
- "Der Bromberger Blutsonntag," by Jastrzębski, 580
- Brooke, John L. (R), 276
- Brooks, Jeffrey, *Official Xenophobia and Popular Cosmopolitanism in Early Soviet Russia*, 1431–48
- Brose, Eric Dorn (R), 877
- "Brothers against the Raj," by Gordon, 270
- Brower, Daniel R., "The Russian City between Tradition and Modernity, 1850–1900," 254
- Brown, Ira V., "Mary Grew: Abolitionist and Feminist (1813–1896)," 1280
- Brown, JoAnne (R), 945
- Brown, JoAnne, and David K. van Keuren, editors, "The Estate of Social Knowledge" (E), 1642
- Brown, Jonathan C. (R), 659
- Brown, Jonathan, "The Golden Age of Painting in Spain," 866
- Browning, Reed S. (R), 195
- Brożek, Andrzej, "Niemcy zagraniczni w polityce kolonizacji pruskich prowincji wschodnich (1886–1918)" [Germans from Abroad in the Colonization Policy of the Eastern Prussian Provinces (1886–1918)], 580
- Bruckmüller, Ernst, *et al.*, editors, "Bürgertum in der Habsburgermonarchie" (E), 1332
- Bruland, Kristine, "British Technology and European Industrialization: The Norwegian Textile Industry in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," 544
- Brumfield, William Craft, "The Origins of Modernism in Russian Architecture," 584
- Brundage, James A. (R), 176, 1199
- Bryant, Keith L., Jr., "William Merritt Chase: A Genteel Bohemian," 950
- Buchanan, Tom, "The Spanish Civil War and the British Labour Movement," 1209
- Bucholz, Arden, "Moltke, Schlieffen, and Prussian War Planning," 874
- Buckler, John (R), 827
- Buenger, Walter L. (R), 1603
- Buenger, Walter L., and Robert A. Calvert, editors, "Texas through Time: Evolving Interpretations" (E), 1336
- Buitenhuis, Peter, "The Great War of Words: British, American, and Canadian Propaganda and Fiction, 1914–1933," 523
- Bukey, Evan B. (R), 578
- Bulkeley, Rip, "The Sputniks Crisis and Early United States Space Policy: A Critique of the Historiography of Space," 957
- Bull, Kinloch, Jr., "The Oligarchs in Colonial and Revolutionary Charleston: Lieutenant Governor William Bull II and His Family," 930
- Bullough, Vern L. (R), 177
- "Bunyan in England and Abroad," edited by van Os and Schutte (E), 1329

- Burchfield, Joe D. (R), 199
 "Bürgertum in der Habsburgermonarchie," edited by Bruckmüller *et al.* (E), 1332
 "Bürgerwege und Bürgerwelten," by Bauer, 1553
 Burguière, André, and Hartmut Atsma, editors, "Marc Bloch aujourd'hui: Histoire comparée et sciences sociales" (E), 326, 979
 Burke, Peter, "The French Historical Revolution: The Annales School, 1929–89," 862
 Burks, R. V. (R), 579
 Burleigh, Michael (R), 578
 Burnham, John C. (R), 1297
 Burns, E. Bradford, "Patriarch and Folk: The Emergence of Nicaragua, 1789–1858," 1631
 Burns, E. Bradford (R), 1164
 Burns, J. H., editor, "The Cambridge History of Political Thought, 1450–1700," 1509
 Burns, James MacGregor, and Stewart Burns, "A People's Charter: The Pursuit of Rights in America," 1584
 Burns, Robert I., editor, "Emperor of Culture: Alfonso X the Learned of Castile and His Thirteenth-Century Renaissance" (E), 325
 Burns, Stewart (R), 1606
 Burns, Stewart, and James MacGregor Burns, "A People's Charter: The Pursuit of Rights in America," 1584
 "Burnside," by Marvel, 1285
 Burrage, Michael, and Rolf Torstendahl, editors, "Professions in Theory and History: Rethinking the Study of the Professions" (E), 973
 Burridge, Trevor (R), 207
 Burt, Larry (R), 924
 Burton, Vernon (R), 951
 Burton, William L. (C), 1357
 Busch, Briton C. (R), 552
 Bush, Gregory W., "Lord of Attention: Gerald Stanley Lee and the Crowd Metaphor in Industrializing America," 294
 Bushnell, David (R), 967
 "Buy Now, Pay Later," by Olney, 1300
 Bynum, Caroline Walker (R), 1193
 "Byzantium in the Seventh Century," by Haldon, 829
 "Café con leche," by Wright, 658
 Caffrey, Margaret M. (R), 299
 Calabria, Antonio, "The Cost of Empire: The Finances of the Kingdom of Naples in the Time of Spanish Rule," 885
 Calabria, Antonio, and John A. Marino, editors and translators, "Good Government in Spanish Naples" (E), 327
 "Calculating Visions," by Stern, 1624
 Calder, William M. III, and Alexander Demandt, editors, "Eduard Meyer: Leben und Leistung eines Universalhistorikers" (E), 1331
 Callahan, Raymond (R), 854
 Calvert, Robert A., and Walter L. Buenger, editors, "Texas through Time: Evolving Interpretations" (E), 1336
 Calvert, Robert E., editor, "'The Constitution of the People': Reflections on Citizens and Civil Society" (E), 1650
 "The Cambridge Economic History of Europe." Volume 8, "The Industrial Economies," edited by Mathias and Pollard, 1513
 "The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia," edited by Sinor (E), 328
 "The Cambridge History of Latin America." Volume 7, "Latin America since 1930," edited by Bethell, 1629
 "The Cambridge History of Political Thought, 1450–1700," edited by Burns, 1509
 "The Cambridge Social History of Britain, 1750–1950." Volume 1, "Regions and Communities," edited by Thompson (E), 666
 "The Cambridge Social History of Britain, 1750–1950." Volume 2, "People and Their Environment," edited by Thompson (E), 666
 "The Cambridge Social History of Britain, 1750–1950." Volume 3, "Social Agencies and Institutions," edited by Thompson (E), 666
 Cameron, Averil, "Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire: The Development of Christian Discourse," 1188
 Campbell, Bruce M. S., editor, "Before the Black Death: Studies in the 'Crisis' of the Early Fourteenth Century" (E), 1644
 Campbell, Colin, "The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism," 824
 Campbell, John C. (R), 961
 Camp, Richard (R), 1245, 1561
 "The Canadian Army and the Normandy Campaign," by English, 1628
 "The Canadian Fur Trade in the Industrial Age," by Ray, 648
 "Cane Fires," by Okihiro, 942
 "Cane Ridge," by Conkin, 1591
 Canfield, Robert L., editor, "Turko-Persia in Historical Perspective" (E), 1648
 Cannadine, David, "The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy," 205
 Canning, Kathleen, *Gender and the Politics of Class Formation: Rethinking German Labor History*, 736–68
 Cannon, Garland, "The Life and Mind of Oriental Jones: Sir William Jones, the Father of Modern Linguistics," 1522
 Cantor, Norman F., "Inventing the Middle Ages: The Lives, Works, and Ideas of the Great Medievalists of the Twentieth Century," 1499
 Capitani, Ovidio, and Jürgen Miethke, editors, "L'attesa della fine dei tempi nel Medioevo" (E), 325
 Caracciolo, Francesco, "Sud, debiti e gabelle: Gravami, potere e società nel Mezzogiorno in età moderna," 884
 Cárcel Ortí, María Milagros, editor, "Relaciones sobre el estado de las diócesis valencianas." Volume 1, "Orihuela"; volume 2, "Valencia"; volume 3, "Segorbe," 567
 "Card Sharps, Dream Books, and Bucket Shops," by Fabian, 292
 Carlson, Alvar W., "The Spanish-American Homeland: Four Centuries in New Mexico's Río Arriba," 1632
 Carnes, Mark C., and Clyde Griffen, editors, "Meanings for Manhood: Constructions of Masculinity in Victorian America" (E), 1650
 Caron, Vicki (R), 159, 1239
 "Le carrefour javanais," by Lombard, 916
 Carroll, Patrick J., "Blacks in Colonial Veracruz: Race, Ethnicity, and Regional Development," 968
 Carter, John Marshall, and Arnd Krüger, editors, "Ritual and Record: Sports Records and Quantification in Pre-Modern Societies" (E), 1643
 Cashin, Joan E., "A Family Venture: Men and Women on the Southern Frontier," 1593
 Castells, Manuel, and John Hull Mollenkopf, editors, "Dual City: Restructuring New York" (E), 1650
 "Catherine the Great," by de Madariaga, 251
 "The Causes of the English Civil War," by Russell, 192

- Cavallo, Dominick (R), 290
 Cavanagh, John C. (R), 933
 Cecil, Lamar (R), 1237
 Censer, Jack R. (R), 562, 1225
 "Central America and the United States," by Leonard, 1186
 "Les cérémonies de l'information dans la France du XVI^e au XVIII^e siècle," by Fogel, 1529
 Cerutti, Simona, "La ville et les métiers: Naissance d'un langage corporatif (Turin, 17^e–18^e siècle)," 576
 "Chain Her by One Foot," by Anderson, 962
 "Challenge of the Big Trees," by Dilsaver and Tweed, 624
Challenging Sexual Discrimination in the Historical Profession, by Goggin, 769–802
 "Chamberlain and the Lost Peace," by Charmley, 210
 Chambers, John Whiteclay II (R), 1276
 "Champions of the Cherokees," by McLoughlin, 922
 Champlin, Edward, "Final Judgments: Duty and Emotion in Roman Wills, 200 B.C.–A.D. 250," 1190
 Chan, Wellington K. K. (R), 598
 Chandler, D. S., "Social Assistance and Bureaucratic Politics: The Montepios of Colonial Mexico, 1767–1821," 1320
 "Changing Gods in Medieval China, 1127–1276," by Hansen, 1574
 "A Changing of the Guard," by Woods, 161
 Chapman, Herrick, "State Capitalism and Working-Class Radicalism in the French Aircraft Industry," 566
 Chapman, Paul Davis, "Schools as Sorters: Lewis M. Terman, Applied Psychology, and the Intelligence Testing Movement, 1890–1930," 945
 "Charlemagne's Heir," edited by Godman and Collins (E), 975
 Charlip, Julie A. (R), 1166
 Charmley, John, "Chamberlain and the Lost Peace," 210
 Chartier, Roger, *et al.*, "La correspondance: Les usages de la lettre au XIX^e siècle" (E), 1330
 Chartier, Roger, "The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution," 1225
 Chartres, John, and David Hey, editors, "English Rural Society, 1500–1800: Essays in Honour of Joan Thirsk" (E), 977
 Chastain, James G. (R), 1515
 Chaudhuri, K. N., "Asia before Europe: Economy and Civilisation of the Indian Ocean from the Rise of Islam to 1750," 910
 "Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640," by Watt, 1521
 "Cherokee Removal," edited by Anderson (E), 1335
 Chesnutt, David R., and Clyde N. Wilson, editors, "The Meaning of South Carolina History: Essays in Honor of George C. Rogers, Jr." (E), 1650
 Cheyette, Fredric L. (R), 836
 Chibiriae, S. A., "Velikii russkii reformator: Zhizn', deiatel'nost', politicheskie vzgliady M. M. Speranskogo" [The Great Russian Reformer: The Life, Work, and Political Views of M. M. Speranskii], 582
 "Chicano Workers and the Politics of Fairness," by Daniel, 1616
 Chickering, Roger (R), 230
 "Children, Culture, and Controversy," by West, 290
 "Children in Historical and Comparative Perspective," edited by Hawes and Hiner (E), 1641
 "Children of Colonial Despotism," by Jensen, 652
 "Children of Ham," by Morton, 595
 "Children with a Star," by Dwork, 547
 "Chile and the United States," by Sater, 646
 "China in the International System, 1918–20," by Yongjin, 1264
 "Chinese Local Elites and Patterns of Dominance," edited by Esherick and Rankin (E), 668
 "The Chinese Revolution in Historical Perspective," by Schrecker, 264
 "Chinese Thought, Society, and Science," by Bodde, 1575
 "Chinese Village, Socialist State," by Friedman *et al.*, 1579
 "Chivalry in the Renaissance," edited by Anglo (E), 664
 "The Chosen One," by Fisher, 265
 Christian, David, "'Living Water': Vodka and Russian Society on the Eve of Emancipation," 253
 "Christianity and the Renaissance," edited by Verdon and Henderson (E), 664
 "Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire," by Cameron, 1188
 "Christianizing Death," by Paxton, 530
 Christianson, Gale E. (R), 947
 Christianson, P. (R), 190
 "Die christliche Arbeiterbewegung in Bayern vom Ersten Weltkrieg bis 1933," by Krenn, 1557
 Christol, Hélène, and Serge Ricard, editors, "Anglo-Saxonism in U.S. Foreign Policy: The Diplomacy of Imperialism, 1899–1919" (E), 1652
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 "Church and State in Early Modern England, 1509–1640," by Solt, 190
 "Church Fathers, Independent Virgins," by Salisbury, 1498
 "Church History in an Age of Uncertainty," by Bowden, 1289
 "The CIA and the Marshall Plan," by Pisani, 1624
 "Cicero, the Senior Statesman," by Mitchell, 173
 Cioc, Mark (R), 239
 Citino, Robert, "Germany and the Union of South Africa in the Nazi Period," 1558
 Citino, Robert (R), 906
 "City and Country in the Ancient World," edited by Rich and Wallace-Hadrill (E), 975
 "City and Countryside in Late Medieval and Renaissance Italy," edited by Dean and Wickham (E), 1327
 "The Civil War in the American West," by Josephy, 1286
 Claeys, Gregory (R), 199
 Clark, Christopher (R), 938
 Clark, Dennis, "Erin's Heirs: Irish Bonds of Community," 1612
 Clarke, Helen, and Björn Ambrosiani, "Towns in the Viking Age," 828
 Clarke, J. Calvitt III, "Russia and Italy against Hitler: The Bolshevik-Fascist Rapprochement of the 1930s," 187
 Clarke, Paula C., "The Soderini and the Medici: Power and Patronage in Fifteenth-Century Florence," 1506
 Clarkson, L. A., editor, "British Trade Union and Labour History: A Compendium" (E), 666
 Clarkson, L. A., editor, "The Industrial Revolution: A Compendium" (E), 665
 "Classicism, Politics, and Kinship," by Elman, 265
 Clavuot, Ottavio, "Biondos *Italia illustrata*—Summa oder Neuschöpfung: Über die Arbeitsmethoden eines Humanisten," 883

- Clayton, Bruce, "W. J. Cash: A Life," 951
 Clayton, Dorothy J., "The Administration of the County Palatine of Chester 1442–1485," 1508
 Clement, Priscilla Ferguson (R), 1296
 Clements, Barbara Evans (R), 583
 "El clero navarro (1900–1936)," by Pazos, 867
 Clifford, Geraldine Joncich (R), 290
 Clifford, Nicholas (R), 1264
 Clifford, Nicholas R., "Spoilt Children of Empire: Westerners in Shanghai and the Chinese Revolution of the 1920s," 1578
 Cline, Catherine Ann (R), 210
 "Clio in Oceania," edited by Biersack (E), 1649
 "Clio's Consort," by Tucker, 1588
 Clogan, Paul Maurice, editor, "Medievalia et humanistica: Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Culture" (E), 1327
 "Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method," by Ginzburg, 1176
 Cmiel, Kenneth (R), 617
 "Coal, Class, and Color," by Trotter, 301
 "Coal, Steel, and the Rebirth of Europe, 1945–1955," by Gillingham, 1212
 "Coal Towns," by Shifflett, 1292
 Coats, Catherine Randall, "Subverting the System: D'Aubigné and Calvinism," 561
 Cobble, Dorothy Sue, "Dishing It Out: Waitresses and Their Unions in the Twentieth Century," 1610
 Coben, Stanley, "Rebellion against Victorianism: The Impetus for Cultural Change in 1920s America," 1301
 "Coca-Colonisation und Kalter Krieg," by Wagnleitner, 959
 "Cochise," by Sweeney, 922
 Cocks, Geoffrey (R), 1177, 1554
 Coclanis, Peter A. (R), 951
 Coetzee, Frans, "For Party or Country: Nationalism and the Dilemmas of Popular Conservatism in Edwardian England," 206
 Coetzee, Marilyn Shevin (R), 874
 "Coffee, Contention, and Change in the Making of Modern Brazil," by Font, 1635
 Cogan, Frances B. (R), 296
 Cohen, Jeremy, editor, "Essential Papers on Judaism and Christianity in Conflict: From Late Antiquity to the Reformation" (E), 1325
 Cohen, Jeremy (R), 1500
 Cohen, Elizabeth (R), 952
 Cohen, Michael J., "Truman and Israel," 642
 Cohen, Naomi W. (R), 280
 Cohen, Paul A., and Merle Goldman, editors, "Ideas across Cultures: Essays on Chinese Thought in Honor of Benjamin I. Schwartz" (E), 982
 Cohen, William, "At Freedom's Edge: Black Mobility and the Southern White Quest for Racial Control, 1861–1915," 935
 Cohn, Samuel, Jr. (R), 576
 Cole, D. C. (R), 922
 Cole, Penny J., "The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095–1270," 176
 Cole, Robert (R), 559
 Colcutt, Martin (R), 1267
 Collier, David, and Ruth Berins Collier, "Shaping the Political Arena: Critical Junctures, the Labor Movement, and Regime Dynamics in Latin America," 1630
 Collier, Ruth Berins, and David Collier, "Shaping the Political Arena: Critical Junctures, the Labor Movement, and Regime Dynamics in Latin America," 1630
 Collini, Stefan, "Public Moralists: Political Thought and Intellectual Life in Britain, 1850–1930," 1524
 Collins, John J. (C), 1359
 Collins, Martin J., and Sylvia D. Fries, editors, "A Spacefaring Nation: Perspectives on American Space History and Policy" (E), 1652
 Collins, Robert M. (R), 636, 941
 Collins, Roger, and Peter Godman, editors, "Charlemagne's Heir: New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious, 814–840" (E), 975
 "The Colonial Elite of Early Caracas," by Ferry, 1637
 "The Colonial Origins of Korean Enterprises, 1910–1945," by McNamara, 601
 Colton, Joel (R), 566
 "Columbian Consequences." Volume 2, "Archaeological and Historical Perspectives on the Spanish Borderlands East," edited by Thomas (E), 669
 "Columbian Consequences." Volume 3, "The Spanish Borderlands in Pan-American Perspective," edited by Thomas (E), 670
 "The Comforts of Home," by White, 1259
 "Coming Out of the Middle Ages," by Zhu, 1577
 "Commercialization and Agricultural Development," by Brandt, 908
 "The Commodity Culture of Victorian England," by Richards, 555
 "The Communist Movement in Egypt, 1920–1988," by Ismael and El-Sa'id, 257
 "The Communist Party of the United States," by Ottanelli, 305
 "Communities of Saint Martin," by Farmer, 1195
 "Community of Suffering and Struggle," by Faue, 952
 "A Company of Scientists," by Stroup, 215
 "Competitive Advantage on the Shop Floor," by Lazonick, 166
 "The Concept of Neutrality in Classical Greece," by Bauslaugh, 1187
 "Concepts of Free Labor in Antebellum America," by Glickstein, 1594
 Congdon, Lee, "Exile and Social Thought: Hungarian Intellectuals in Germany and Austria, 1919–1933," 843
 Conkin, Paul K., "Cane Ridge: America's Pentecost," 1591
 Conley, Carolyn A. (R), 203
 Conley, Carolyn A., "The Unwritten Law: Criminal Justice in Victorian Kent," 850
 Conniff, Michael L. (R), 521
 Connor, Carolyn L., "Art and Miracles in Medieval Byzantium: The Crypt at Hosios Loukas and Its Frescoes," 1195
 "The Conquest of Paradise," by Sale, 156
 "Consciousness in New England," by Hoopes, 605
 Constantine, Stephen, editor, "Emigrants and Empire: British Settlement in the Dominions between the Wars" (E), 978
 "The Constitution in the Supreme Court," by Currie, 279
 "The Constitution of the People," edited by Calvert (E), 1650
 "Constitutionalist Insurgency in Finland," by Huxley, 570
 "The Construction of Communalism in Colonial North India," by Pandey, 913
 "Consumer Cooperation in France," by Furlough, 1537
 "The Contested Country," by Djilas, 890
 "Contrasts in Scientific Style," by Fruton, 842
 "Convergent Forces," by Jones, 193
 "Convicts, Coal, and the Banner Mine Tragedy," by Ward and Rogers, 300

- Cook, Alexandra Parma, and Noble David Cook, "Good Faith and Truthful Ignorance: A Case of Transatlantic Bigamy," 520
- Cook, Noble David, and Alexandra Parma Cook, "Good Faith and Truthful Ignorance: A Case of Transatlantic Bigamy," 520
- Cooper, Carolyn C., "Shaping Invention: Thomas Blanchard's Machinery and Patent Management in Nineteenth-Century America," 1593
- Cooper, John Milton, Jr. (R), 629
- Cooper, John Milton, Jr., and Charles E. Neu, editors, "The Wilson Era: Essays in Honor of Arthur S. Link" (E), 1336
- "Cooperstown Symposium on Baseball and the American Culture (1989)," edited by Hall (E), 1652
- Corbin, David A. (R), 1292
- Corfield, Penelope J., and Derek Keene, editors, "Work in Towns, 850–1850" (E), 976
- Cornelius, Janet Duitsman, "'When I Can Read My Title Clear': Literacy, Slavery, and Religion in the Antebellum South," 1281
- "The Corporation under Russian Law, 1800–1917," by Owen, 1250
- "La correspondance," by Chartier *et al.* (E), 1330
- "The Cost of Empire," by Calabria, 885
- Costello, John, "Ten Days to Destiny: The Secret Story of the Hess Peace Initiative and British Efforts to Strike a Deal with Hitler," 1516
- Côte, Jane McL., "Fanny and Anna Parnell: Ireland's Patriot Sisters," 1223
- Coultrap-McQuin, Susan, "Doing Literary Business: American Women Writers in the Nineteenth Century," 296
- "Council and Hierarchy," by Fasolt, 1199
- "The Counter-Reformation Prince," by Bireley, 182
- "Court Patronage and Corruption in Early Stuart England," by Peck, 550
- "Cowtown Lawyers," by Haywood, 1599
- Cox, Jeffrey (R), 200, 1215
- Cox, Thomas R. (R), 287
- "Cradle to Grave," by Lankton, 628
- Crane, John O., and Sylvia Crane, "Czechoslovakia: Anvil of the Cold War," 890
- Crane, Sylvia, and John O. Crane, "Czechoslovakia: Anvil of the Cold War," 890
- Cranston, Maurice, "The Noble Savage: Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 1754–1762," 839
- Craton, Michael (R), 319
- Crawford, Michael J., "Seasons of Grace: Colonial New England's Revival Tradition in Its British Context," 931
- Cray, Robert E., Jr. (R), 929
- "Creating a Dignified Past," edited by Rossano (E), 1649
- "Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform, 1890–1935," by Muncy, 297
- "Creating a World Economy," by Smith, 1182
- Creese, Walter L., "TVA's Public Planning: The Vision, the Reality," 310
- Cresswell, Stephen, "Mormons and Cowboys, Moonshiners and Klansmen: Federal Law Enforcement in the South and West, 1870–1893," 1291
- Crew, David F. (R), 1557
- "Crime and Justice in American History," edited by Monkkonen (E), 1334
- "Crime, Police, and the Courts in British History," edited by Knafla (E), 665
- "Criminal Justice and Crime in Late Renaissance Florence, 1537–1609," by Brackett, 1560
- "A Crisis of Republicanism," edited by Ambrosius (E), 669
- Critchett, Jan, "A 'Distant Field of Murder': Western District Frontiers, 1834–1848," 914
- "Critical Crossings," by Jumonville, 307
- "Criticism in Action," by Goodman, 840
- Crocker, Ruth Hutchinson (R), 297
- Cronon, William, "Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West," 939
- Crooks, James B., "Jacksonville after the Fire, 1901–1919: A New South City," 1616
- Crosby, Travis L. (R), 202
- Cross, Gary, "A Quest for Time: The Reduction of Work in Britain and France, 1840–1940," 184
- Crossley, Pamela Kyle, *The Rulerships of China*, 1468–83
- Crummey, Robert O. (R), 250
- Crush, Jonathan, *et al.*, "South Africa's Labor Empire: A History of Black Migrancy to the Gold Mines," 1574
- Cruz, Anne J., and Mary Elizabeth Perry, editors, "Cultural Encounters: The Impact of the Inquisition in Spain and the New World" (E), 1328
- "Cultural Encounters," edited by Perry and Cruz (E), 1328
- "The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution," by Chartier, 1225
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- "The Culture of English Antislavery, 1780–1860," by Turley, 1523
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- "Culture through Time," edited by Ohnuki-Tierney (E), 1324
- Cummings, Bruce, "The Origins of the Korean War," 164
- Cunningham, Andrew, and Roger French, editors, "The Medical Enlightenment of the Eighteenth Century" (E), 1641
- Currie, David P., "The Constitution in the Supreme Court: The Second Century, 1888–1986," 279
- Curry, Leonard P. (R), 1595
- Curtin, Philip D., "The Rise and Fall of the Plantation Complex: Essays in Atlantic History," 519
- "Czechoslovakia," by Crane and Crane, 890
- Czubiński, Antoni, and Zbigniew Kulak, editors, "Stosunki polsko-niemieckie 1919–1932" [Polish-German Relations, 1919–32] (E), 1648
- Dahan, Gilbert, "Les intellectuels chrétiens et les Juifs au Moyen Age," 535
- D'Allaire, Micheline (R), 1319
- Daly, M. W., "Imperial Sudan: The Anglo-Egyptian Condominium, 1934–1956," 1257
- Dameron, George W., "Episcopal Power and Florentine Society, 1000–1320," 177
- Danahay, Martin A. (R), 1216
- "Dancing in Chains," by Olsen, 621
- Daniel, Clete, "Chicano Workers and the Politics of Fairness: The FEPC in the Southwest, 1941–1945," 1616
- Daniel, E. Randolph (R), 832
- "Den danske revolution 1500–1800" [The Danish Revolution, 1500–1800], by Kjærgaard, 1231
- Dardess, John (R), 265, 1263
- "Dark Age Naval Power," by Haywood, 1495
- Darnton, Robert, "Édition et sédition: L'univers de la littérature clandestine au XVIII^e siècle," 1533

- "Darwin in Italy," by Pancaldi, 1562
 "David Joris and Dutch Anabaptism, 1524–1543," by Waite, 869
 Davidson, Abraham A. (R), 950
 Davidson, Alastair, "The Invisible State: The Formation of the Australian State 1788–1901," 1271
 Davis, Natalie Zemon, *Toward Mixtures and Margins*, 1409–16
 Davis, Robert C., "Shipbuilders of the Venetian Arsenal: Workers and Workplace in the Preindustrial City," 885
 Davis, Whitney (R), 907, 1492
 Davis, William C., "Jefferson Davis: The Man and His Hour," 1597
 Dawn, C. Ernest (R), 589
 "Dawning of the Cold War," by Woods and Jones, 312
 Dawson, Philip (R), 563
 "Deadly Dust," by Rosner and Markowitz, 1600
 Deák, István, "Beyond Nationalism: A Social and Political History of the Habsburg Officer Corps, 1848–1918," 578
 Deák, István, *Historiography of the Countries of Eastern Europe: Hungary*, 1041–63
 Dean, D. M., and N. L. Jones, editors, "The Parliaments of Elizabethan England" (E), 978
 Dean, Trevor, and Chris Wickham, editors, "City and Countryside in Late Medieval and Renaissance Italy: Essays Presented to Philip Jones" (E), 1327
 "Death and the Future Life in Victorian Literature and Theology," by Wheeler, 555
 DeBerg, Betty (R), 920
 DeBerg, Betty A., "Ungodly Women: Gender and the First Wave of American Fundamentalism," 1607
 De Blomac, Nicole "La gloire et le jeu: Des hommes et des chevaux (1766–1866)," 1533
 "The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy," by Cannadine, 205
 "The Decline of Authority," by Gunn, 282
 "Deep Woods Frontier," by Karamanski, 287
 "Defending the Empire," by Williams, 1527
 DeFronzo, James, "Revolutions and Revolutionary Movements," 1182
 Degen, Bernard, "Abschied vom Klassenkampf: Die partielle Integration der schweizerischen Gewerkschaftsbewegung zwischen Landesstreik und Weltwirtschaftskrise (1918–1929)," 878
 Degler, Carl N., "In Search of Human Nature: The Decline and Revival of Darwinism in American Social Thought," 608
 De Hart, Jane S. (R), 1310
 Deighton, Anne, "The Impossible Peace: Britain, the Division of Germany, and the Origins of the Cold War," 188
 Delbanco, Andrew (R), 607
 De Leon, Arnoldo, "Ethnicity in the Sunbelt: A History of Mexican Americans in Houston," 1307
 Delia, Diana, *From Romance to Rhetoric: The Alexandrian Library in Classical and Islamic Traditions*, 1449–67
 "Delivering Motherhood," edited by Arnup *et al.* (E), 663
 Delzell, Charles F. (R), 1563
 Demand, Nancy (R), 826
 Demandt, Alexander, and William M. Calder III, editors, "Eduard Meyer: Leben und Leistung eines Universalhistorikers" (E), 1331
 Dembowski, Peter F. (R), 1201
 D'Emilio, John (R), 621
 Demm, Eberhard, "Ein Liberaler in Kaiserreich und Republik: Der politische Weg Alfred Webers bis 1920," 235
 "Democratizing France," by Schmidt, 1226
 "The Depression and the Urban West Coast, 1929–1933," by Mullins, 627
 Derfler, Leslie (C), 1666
 Derfler, Leslie, "Paul Lafargue and the Founding of French Marxism, 1842–1882," 859
 Derickson, Alan (R), 299
 Desan, Suzanne, "Reclaiming the Sacred: Lay Religion and Popular Politics in Revolutionary France," 216
 Despalatović, Elinor Murray (R), 580
 Dessertine, Dominique, "La Société Lyonnaise pour le Sauvetage de l'Enfance (1890–1960): Face à l'enfance en danger, un siècle d'expérience de l'internat et du placement familial," 565
 d'Este, Carlo, "Fatal Decision: Anzio and the Battle for Rome," 1304
 "The Destructive War," by Royster, 1598
 "Détruire le PCF," by Bourderon and Avakoumovitch, 566
 Deutsch, Sarah, *Learning to Talk More Like a Man: Boston Women's Class-Bridging Organizations, 1870–1940*, 379–404
 Deutsch, Sarah (R), 1593
 "Die deutsche Frage als internationales Problem," edited by Schröder (E), 666
 "Deutsche Geschichte 1866–1918." Volume 1, "Arbeitswelt und Bürgergeist," by Nipperdey, 230
 "Das Deutsche Historische Institut in Rom 1888–1988," edited by Elze and Esch (E), 662
 "Das Deutsche Reich und der Zweite Weltkrieg." Volume 6, "Der globale Krieg," by Boog *et al.*, 238
 "Ein Deutschland wird es sein," edited by Venohr (E), 327
 DeVault, Ileen A. (R), 291
 De Ville, Kenneth Allen, "Medical Malpractice in Nineteenth-Century America: Origins and Legacy," 943
 Dewey, Clive, "The Passing of Barchester," 1215
 DeWindt, Anne Reiber (R), 174
 Diamant, Alfred (R), 959
 "The Diamond Ring," by Newbury, 262
 Dick, Bernard F. (R), 1614
 Dickason, Olive Patricia (R), 962, 1168
 Dicken-Garcia, Hazel, "To Western Woods: The Breckinridge Family Moves to Kentucky in 1793," 1282
 Dickman, Howard, and Ellen Frankel Paul, editors, "Liberty, Property, and the Future of Constitutional Development" (E), 1334
 Dickson, David, and Hugh Gough, editors, "Ireland and the French Revolution" (E), 326
Did the Vienna Settlement Rest on a Balance of Power? by Schroeder, 683–706
 Diefendorf, Jeffry M., editor, "Rebuilding Europe's Bombed Cities" (E), 323
 Dien, Albert E., editor, "State and Society in Early Medieval China" (E), 328
 "Dien Bien Phu and the Crisis of Franco-American Relations, 1954–1955," edited by Kaplan *et al.* (E), 324
 Diephouse, David J. (R), 548
 Dierenfield, Bruce J. (R), 955
 "Dieux et hommes en Égypte, 3000 av. J.-C.–395 apr. J.-C.," by Dunand and Zivie-Coche, 1492
 "The Dilemma of Arnulf of Lisieux," by Schriber, 178
 "The Dilemmas of Internationalism," by Milner, 860
 Dillon, Merton L., "Slavery Attacked: Southern Slaves and Their Allies, 1619–1865," 277
 Dilsaver, Lary M., and William C. Tweed, "Challenge

- of the Big Trees: A Resource History of Sequoia and Kings Canyon National Parks," 624
- Din, Gilbert C. (R), 931
- Diner, Dan, and Dirk Blasius, editors, "Zerbrochene Geschichte: Leben und Selbstverständnis der Juden in Deutschland" (E), 1646
- Dinnerstein, Leonard (R), 280
- Dinnerstein, Myra, "Women between Two Worlds: Midlife Reflections on Work and Family," 1611
- "The Diocesan Seminary in the United States," by White, 1288
- "Diodorus Siculus and the First Century," by Sacks, 528
- "Dionysius and *The History of Archaic Rome*," by Gabba, 828
- "Diplomatic Ramifications of Unrestricted Submarine Warfare, 1939–1941," by Manson, 548
- "Los diputados americanos en las Cortes de Cádiz (Igualdad o independencia)," by Rieu-Millan, 967
- Dirlik, Arif, "Anarchism in the Chinese Revolution," 1265
- Dirlik, Arif (R), 264, 1579; (C) 1007
- "Dirt Roads to Dixie," by Preston, 625
- "Disappearance of the Dowry," by Nazzari, 1633
- Di Scala, Spencer M. (R), 897
- "Discovering the Roman Family," by Bradley, 527
- "Disfigured Images," by Morton, 1585
- "Dishing It Out," by Cobble, 1610
- "The Dispossession of the American Indian, 1887–1934," by McDonnell, 923
- "Disputed Waters," by Doherty, 288
- "Distant Companions," by Hansen, 1258
- "A 'Distant Field of Murder,'" by Critchett, 914
- "Distant Friends," by Saul, 638
- "Distant Neighbours," by Kapur, 268
- "Diverse Paths to Modernity in Southeastern Europe," edited by Augustinos (E), 1332
- Divine, Robert A. (R), 962
- "Divorce," by Riley, 1272
- Djilas, Aleksa, "The Contested Country: Yugoslav Unity and Communist Revolution, 1919–1953," 890
- Dmitriev, M. V., "Pravoslaviie i Reformatsiia: Reformatsionnye dvizheniia v vostochnoslavianskikh zemliakh Rechii Pospolitoi vo vtoroi polovine XVI v." [Orthodoxy and the Reformation: Reformation Movements in the Eastern Slavic Lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century], 246
- Doan, Ruth Alden (R), 1591
- Doe, Norman, "Fundamental Authority in Late Medieval English Law," 180
- Doering-Manteuffel, Anselm, "Vom Wiener Kongress zur Pariser Konferenz: England, die deutsche Frage und das Mächtesystem 1815–1856," 1515
- Doherty, Robert, "Disputed Waters: Native Americans and the Great Lakes Fishery," 288
- "Doing Literary Business," by Coultrap-McQuin, 296
- Dominick, Raymond H. (R), 878, 1550
- Donner, Frank, "Protectors of Privilege: Red Squads and Police Repression in Urban America," 307
- "Dopo Adua," by Aquarone, 887
- Dormans, E. H. M., "Het tekort: Staatsschuld in de Tijd der Republiek" [The Deficit: Public Debt in the Dutch Republic], 1232
- Dorn, Harold, "The Geography of Science," 819
- Dorwart, Jeffery M., "Eberstadt and Forrestal: A National Security Partnership, 1909–1949," 1315
- Doss, Erika, "Benton, Pollock, and the Politics of Modernism: From Regionalism to Abstract Expressionism," 1617
- Doti, Lynne Pierson, and Larry Schweikart, "Banking in the American West: From the Gold Rush to Deregulation," 1603
- Doucet, Michael, and John Weaver, "Housing the North American City," 1317
- Doughty, Robin W. (R), 289
- Dowbiggin, Ian R., "Inheriting Madness: Professionalization and Psychiatric Knowledge in Nineteenth-Century France," 1538
- Downey Dennis B., and Raymond M. Hyser, "No Crooked Death: Coatesville, Pennsylvania, and the Lynching of Zachariah Walker," 302
- Drabek, Anna M., *et al.*, editors, "Das Parteienwesen Österreichs und Ungarns in der Zwischenkriegszeit" (E), 667
- Drake, Paul W. (R), 646
- Drees, Annette, "Die Ärzte auf dem Weg zu Prestige und Wohlstand: Sozialgeschichte der württembergischen Ärzte im 19. Jahrhundert," 231
- Dreifort, John E., "Myopic Grandeur: The Ambivalence of French Foreign Policy toward the Far East, 1919–1945," 1543
- Dreyfus, François-Georges, "Histoire de Vichy," 219
- Druks, H. (R), 642
- "Dual City," edited by Mollenkopf and Castells (E), 1650
- Dubnov-Erich, Sophie, "The Life and Work of S. M. Dubnov: Diaspora Nationalism and Jewish History," 546
- DuBois, Ellen Carol, and Vicki L. Ruiz, editors, "Unequal Sisters: A Multicultural Reader in U.S. Women's History" (E), 330
- Duby, Georges, and Michelle Perrot, editors, "Histoire des femmes en occident." Volume 2, "Le Moyen Age," 1193
- Dufays, Jean-Michel, and Chantal Grell, editors, "Pratiques et concepts de l'histoire en Europe XVI^e–XVIII^e siècles" (E), 665
- Duffy, Christopher, "Red Storm on the Reich: The Soviet March on Germany, 1945," 1210
- Dufournet, Jean, *et al.*, editors, "Le pouvoir monarchique et ses supports idéologiques aux XIV^e–XVII^e siècles" (E), 1328
- Duiker, William J. (R), 1268, 1580
- Dukes, Jack (R), 844
- Dukes, Paul, "The Last Great Game: USA versus USSR; Events, Conjunctures, Structures," 825
- Dukes, Paul, and John Dunkley, editors, "Culture and Revolution" (E), 661
- Dulaney, W. Marvin (C), 1354
- Dülmen, Richard van, "Frauen vor Gericht: Kindsmord in der frühen Neuzeit," 872
- Dunand, Françoise, and Christiane Zivie-Coche, "Dieux et hommes en Égypte, 3000 av. J.-C.–395 apr. J.-C.: Anthropologie religieuse," 1492
- Dunkley, John, and Paul Dukes, editors, "Culture and Revolution" (E), 661
- Dunn, Joe P., and Howard L. Preston, editors, "The Future South: A Historical Perspective for the Twenty-first Century" (E), 1336
- Dunn, Richard S. (R), 611
- Dunstan, G. R., editor, "The Human Embryo: Aristotle and the Arabic and European Traditions" (E), 661
- DuPlessis, Robert S., "Lille and the Dutch Revolt: Urban Stability in an Era of Revolution, 1500–1582," 868
- DuPlessis, Robert S. (R), 183
- "A Dutch Family in the Middle Colonies, 1660–1800," by Fabend, 929

- "The Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1600–1815," by Postma, 183
- Dwork, Debórah, "Children with a Star: Jewish Youth in Nazi Europe," 547
- Dykstra, Robert R. (R), 1281
- Dzuback, Mary Ann, "Robert M. Hutchins: Portrait of an Educator," 1620
- Eakin, Paul John, editor, "American Autobiography: Retrospect and Prospect" (E), 1649
- Earle, Peter, "The Making of the English Middle Class: Business, Society, and Family Life in London, 1660–1730," 194
- "Early Modern European Witchcraft," edited by Ankarloo and Henningsen (E), 1644
- "Early Stages," edited by Saddlemyer (E), 984
- "The East Asian Region," edited by Rozman (E), 982
- "Eastern Europe in the Postwar World," by Simons, 1250
- "Eberstadt and Forrestal," by Dorwart, 1315
- Ebrey, Patricia Buckley, and Rubie S. Watson, editors, "Marriage and Inequality in Chinese Society" (E), 1333
- "Echoes of the Marseillaise," by Hobsbawm, 215
- "The Ecology of the Ancient Greek World," by Sallares, 826
- "The Economic Diplomacy of the Suez Crisis," by Kunz, 1185
- "Economic Origins of Antisemitism," by Levine, 1246
- "Ecstasies," by Ginzburg, 837
- Edbury, Peter W., "The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191–1374," 1200
- Eder, Walter, editor, "Staat und Staatlichkeit in der frühen römischen Republik: Akten eines Symposiums, 12.–15. Juli 1988, Freie Universität Berlin" (E), 324
- "The Edge of the South," edited by Ayers and Willis (E), 983
- Edgerton, Samuel Y., Jr., "The Heritage of Giotto's Geometry: Art and Science on the Eve of the Scientific Revolution," 1203
- Edie, Carlene J. (R), 970
- "Édition et sédition," by Darnton, 1533
- Edmonds, W. D., "Jacobinism and the Revolt of Lyon, 1789–1793," 217
- "Edmund Blunden," by Webb, 852
- "Eduard Meyer," edited by Calder and Demandt (E), 1331
- "E. Franklin Frazier Reconsidered," by Platt, 950
- "Egypt's Other Wars," by Gallagher, 902
- Ehret, Christopher (R), 592
- Eickelman, Dale F. (R), 1255
- Einhorn, Robin L., "Property Rules: Political Economy in Chicago, 1833–1872," 1596
- "Eisenhower and the Management of Prosperity," by Sloan, 1309
- Ekechi, Felix K. (R), 1258
- Eklof, Ben, and Stephen Frank, editors, "The World of the Russian Peasant: Post-Emancipation Culture and Society" (E), 667
- "The Electric City," by Platt, 626
- "Electrifying Finland," by Myllyntaus, 1547
- Eley, Geoff (R), 1553
- Elliot, Marianne, "Wolfe Tone: Prophet of Irish Independence," 211
- Ellis, Jack D., "The Physician-Legislators of France: Medicine and Politics in the Early Third Republic, 1870–1914," 564
- Elman, Benjamin A., "Classicism, Politics, and Kinship: The Ch'ang-chou School of New Text Confucianism in Late Imperial China," 265
- El-Sa'id, Rifa'at, and Tareq Y. Ismael, "The Communist Movement in Egypt, 1920–1988," 257
- Elze, Reinhard, and Arnold Esch, editors, "Das Deutsche Historische Institut in Rom 1888–1988" (E), 662
- "Emancipating the Female Sex," by Hahner, 321
- "The Emancipation of the Jews of Alsace," by Hyman, 1540
- Embree, Ainslie T. (R), 910
- "The Emergence of Cinema," by Musser, 1298
- "The Emergence of Jewish Scholarship in America," by Schwartz, 927
- "Emergence of the Modern Mexican Woman," by Soto, 969
- "Emigrants and Empire," edited by Constantine (E), 978
- "Emperor of Culture," edited by Burns (E), 325
- "Empire and Sexuality," by Hyam, 201
- "Das Ende der Kolonialreiche," edited by Mommsen (E), 323
- "The End of Ancient Christianity," by Markus, 530
- "The End of History and the Last Man," by Fukuyama, 817
- Eng, Robert Y. (R), 908
- Engels, Donald, "Roman Corinth: An Alternative Model for the Classical City," 172
- "Engendering Culture," by Melosh, 1302
- English, John (R), 318
- English, John, "Shadow of Heaven: The Life of Lester Pearson." Volume 1, "1897–1948," 648
- English, John A., "The Canadian Army and the Normandy Campaign: A Study of Failure in High Command," 1628
- "English Rural Society, 1500–1800," edited by Chartres and Hey (E), 977
- "Enlightened Absolutism," edited by Scott (E), 665
- "The Enlightenment and Its Shadows," edited by Hulme and Jordanova (E), 1328
- "Enter the Physician," by Murphy, 1275
- "Enterprise and American Law, 1836–1937," by Hovenkamp, 1601
- "L'envers du tableau," by Greilsammer, 1194
- "Episcopal Power and Florentine Society, 1000–1320," by Dameron, 177
- Epstein, Barbara, "Political Protest and Cultural Revolution: Nonviolent Direct Action in the 1970s and 1980s," 637
- "Equal to the Occasion," by Bennion, 297
- Erbar, Ralph, "Ein 'Platz an der Sonne'? Die Verwaltungs- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der deutschen Kolonie Togo 1884–1914," 903
- Eribon, Didier, "Michel Foucault," 1485
- "Eric Voegelin's Significance for the Modern Mind," edited by Sandoz (E), 1324
- "Erin's Heirs," by Clark, 1612
- Ernst, Robert, "Weakness is a Crime: The Life of Bernarr Macfadden," 295
- "Escape into War?" edited by Schöllgen (E), 1331
- "Escaping the Holocaust," by Ofer, 900
- Esch, Arnold, and Reinhard Elze, editors, "Das Deutsche Historische Institut in Rom 1888–1988" (E), 662
- Esherick, Joseph W., and Mary Backus Rankin, editors, "Chinese Local Elites and Patterns of Dominance" (E), 668
- "Espace urbain et habitat à Rome du X^e siècle à la fin du XIII^e siècle," by Hubert, 534

- Esposito, Nicholas J. (R), 1244
 "Essays on Sunbelt Cities and Recent Urban America," edited by Mohl *et al.* (E), 329
 "Essays on the Price History of Eighteenth-Century Latin America," edited by Johnson and Tandeter (E), 331
 "Essential Papers on Judaism and Christianity in Conflict," edited by Cohen (E), 1325
 "The Estate of Social Knowledge," edited by Brown and van Keuren (E), 1642
 "Esthetic Recognition of Ancient Amerindian Art," by Kubler, 650
 "Estranged Bedfellows," by Roshwald, 161
 "The Estrangement of the Past," by Kemp, 515
 "Estratégias da ilusão," by Pinheiro, 1635
 "L'état, les finances et l'économie," by Margairaz, 1211
 "Ethnicity in the Sunbelt," by De Leon, 1307
 "Europäischer Adel, 1750–1950," edited by Wehler (E), 1329
 "European and American Constitutionalism in the Eighteenth Century," edited by Rozbicki (E), 662
 "European Cinemas, European Societies, 1939–1990," by Sorlin, 843
 "The European Discovery of the World and Its Economic Effects on Pre-Industrial Society, 1500–1800," edited by Pohl (E), 976
 "European Women and the Second British Empire," by Strobel, 1216
 "The Evangelical Century," by Gauvreau, 647
 "The Evangelist of Desire," by Abelove, 551
 Evans, Ellen L. (R), 1557
 Evans, J. A. S., "Herodotus, Explorer of the Past: Three Essays," 526
 Evans, J. A. S. (R), 828
 Evans, John K., "War, Women and Children in Ancient Rome," 1190
 Evans, John Karl (R), 172
 Evans, John Whitney (R), 1288
 Evans, Richard J., "Proletarians and Politics: Socialism, Protest, and the Working Class in Germany before the First World War," 234
 Evans, Richard J., and David Blackburn, editors, "The German Bourgeoisie: Essays on the Social History of the German Middle Class from the Late Eighteenth to the Early Twentieth Century" (E), 1330
 Evans, Sara M., and Barbara J. Nelson, "Wage Justice: Comparable Worth and the Paradox of Technocratic Reform," 953
 "An Evening's Entertainment," by Koszarski, 1298
 Ewald, Janet J., *Slavery in Africa and the Slave Trades from Africa*, 465–85
 Ewald, Janet J., "Soldiers, Traders, and Slaves: State Formation and Economic Transformation in the Greater Nile Valley, 1700–1885," 593
 "Exile and Social Thought," by Congdon, 843
 "Exile in Mid-Qing China," by Waley-Cohen, 1576
 "Exploring the Sun," by Hufbauer, 524
 "Exporting Democracy," edited by Lowenthal (E), 1337
 "The Expulsion of Mexico's Spaniards, 1821–1836," by Sims, 657
 Eyck, Frank (R), 1551
 Fabend, Firth Haring, "A Dutch Family in the Middle Colonies, 1660–1800," 929
 Fabian, Ann, "Card Sharps, Dream Books, and Bucket Shops: Gambling in Nineteenth-Century America," 292
 "Factory Girls," by Tsurumi, 269
 "The Facts of Reconstruction," edited by Anderson and Moss (E), 1651
 Fair, John D. (R), 206
 "A Family Venture," by Cashin, 1593
 Fanning, Steven (R), 1495
 "Fanny and Anna Parnell," by Côté, 1223
 "Fantasy and Politics," by Fisher, 1240
 "Far from the Church Bells," by Galt, 1244
 Faragher, John Mack (R), 283
 Farber, David (R), 314, 1491
 Farmer, Sharon, "Communities of Saint Martin: Legend and Ritual in Medieval Tours," 1195
 Farnes, Patricia, and G. Kass-Simon, editors, "Women of Science: Righting the Record" (E), 323
 Farnsworth, Beatrice (R), 254
 Faroqhi, Suraiya, "Men of Modest Substance: House Owners and House Property in Seventeenth-Century Ankara and Kayseri," 589
 Farr, James R. (R), 213
 Farrar, Marjorie M. (R), 1542
 "Fascism and the Working Class in Austria, 1918–1934," by Lewis, 879
 Fasolt, Constantin, "Council and Hierarchy: The Political Thought of William Durant the Younger," 1199
 "Fatal Decision," by d'Este, 1304
 "Fatal Years," by Preston and Haines, 289
 "The Fate of Liberty," by Neely, 619
 Faue, Elizabeth, "Community of Suffering and Struggle: Women, Men, and the Labor Movement in Minneapolis, 1915–1945," 952
 Faure, David (R), 596
 "FDR and the News Media," by Winfield, 309
 "A Feast of Words," by Jeanneret, 1511
 "Federal Justice in California," by Fritz, 925
 "Feeding African Cities," edited by Guyer, 258
 Feierman, Steven, "Peasant Intellectuals: Anthropology and History in Tanzania," 904
 Feingold, Mordechai, editor, "Before Newton: The Life and Times of Isaac Barrow" (E), 664
 Feingold, Mordechai, and Richard T. Bienvenu, editors, "In the Presence of the Past: Essays in Honor of Frank Manuel" (E), 1328
 "Felix Frankfurter," by Urofsky, 1621
 "Feminism without Illusions," by Fox-Genovese, 1175
 "Feminist Lives in Victorian England," by Levine, 201
 "Les Femmes dans la société française de la Renaissance," by Berriot-Salvadore, 859
 Ferleger, Lou, editor, "Agriculture and National Development: Views on the Nineteenth Century" (E), 1335
 Ferling, John (C), 348
 Fernea, Robert A., and Wm. Roger Louis, editors, "The Iraqi Revolution of 1958: The Old Social Classes Revisited" (E), 1333
 Ferrari, Liliana, "Una storia dell'Azione cattolica: Gli ordinamenti statutari da Pio XI a Pio XII," 245
 Ferrary, Jean-Louis, "Philhellenisme et imperialisme: Aspects idéologiques de la conquête romaine du monde hellénistique, de la seconde guerre de Macédoine à la guerre contre Mithridate," 1495
 Ferry, Robert J., "The Colonial Elite of Early Caracas: Formation and Crisis, 1567–1767," 1637
 Fick, Carolyn E., "The Making of Haiti: The Saint Domingue Revolution from Below," 651
 "Fideles Crucis," by Schein, 536
 Fields, Virginia M., and Merle Greene Robertson, editors, "Sixth Palenque Round Table, 1986" (E), 1336

- Fifer, J. Valerie, "United States Perceptions of Latin America, 1850–1930: A 'New West' South of Capricorn?" 645
- "Fifteen Generations of Bretons," by Segalen, 1532
- Figueira, Thomas J., "Athens and Aigina in the Age of Imperial Colonization," 1494
- Figueira, Thomas (R), 1187
- Fildes, Valerie, editor, "Women as Mothers in Pre-Industrial England: Essays in Memory of Dorothy McLaren" (E), 665
- Filippelli, Ronald L. (R), 935, 1295
- "*Fin de siècle* and Its Legacy," edited by Teich and Porter (E), 1642
- "Final Judgments," by Champlin, 1190
- "Financial Failure and Confederate Defeat," by Ball, 619
- "Finansy srednevekovoi Rusi" [The Finances of Medieval Rus'], by Kashtanov, 541
- Findlay, John M. (R), 292
- Findley, Carter V. (C), 680
- Finegold, Kenneth (R), 954
- Fineman, Martha Albertson, and Nancy Sweet Thomadsen, editors, "At the Boundaries of Law: Feminism and Legal Theory" (E), 1325
- Finger, Seymour Maxwell (R), 1317
- Fink, Leon (R), 941
- Finlay, John L. (R), 965
- Finzsch, Norbert, "Obrigkeit und Unterschichten: Zur Geschichte der rheinischen Unterschichten gegen Ende des 18. und zu Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts," 225
- Fiori, Gabriella, "Simone Weil: An Intellectual Biography," 218
- "The First Air War, 1914–1918," by Kennett, 1208
- "The First America," by Brading, 966
- Fischer, Conan, "The German Communists and the Rise of Nazism," 880
- Fishbein, Leslie (R), 631
- Fisher, Carney T., "The Chosen One: Succession and Adoption in the Court of Ming Shizong," 265
- Fisher, Michael H. (R), 910, 1270
- Fisher, Peter S., "Fantasy and Politics: Visions of the Future in the Weimar Republic," 1240
- Fitch, Nancy, *Mass Culture, Mass Parliamentary Politics, and Modern Anti-Semitism: The Dreyfus Affair in Rural France*, 55–95
- Fitch, Nancy (R), 1539
- Fite, Gilbert C., "Richard B. Russell, Jr., Senator from Georgia," 955
- Fitton, R. S., "The Arkwrights: Spinners of Fortune," 198
- Fitzgerald, Michael W. (R), 285
- Fitzpatrick, Ellen (R), 1609
- Fix, Andrew C., "Prophecy and Reason: The Dutch Collegiants in the Early Enlightenment," 870
- "Fleeting Moments," by Barth, 607
- Fleischhauer, Ingeborg, "Der Pakt: Hitler, Stalin und die Initiative der deutschen Diplomatie 1938–1939," 237
- Fleming, James Rodger, "Meteorology in America, 1800–1870," 947
- Flint, Valerie I. J., "The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe," 830
- "The Florentine Magnates," by Lansing, 1505
- Flores, Marcello, "L'immagine dell'URSS: L'Occidente e la Russia di Stalin (1927–1956)," 897
- Flory, Stewart (R), 526
- Fogarty, Robert S. (R), 937
- Fogel, Michèle, "Les Cérémonies de l'information dans la France du XVI^e au XVIII^e siècle," 1529
- The Folklore of Industrial Society*, by L. Levine, 1369–99
- Foner, Eric, editor, "The New American History," 917
- Font, Mauricio A., "Coffee, Contention, and Change in the Making of Modern Brazil," 1635
- Fontana, Biancamaria, "Benjamin Constant and the Post-Revolutionary Mind," 562
- "Food for Rome," by Sirks, 1496
- "Fool for Christ," by Mills, 964
- "For Democracy, Workers, and God," by Halker, 941
- "For Party or Country," by Coetzee, 206
- Forbes, Joseph (C), 1365
- Ford, Linda G., "Iron-Jawed Angels: The Suffrage Militancy of the National Woman's Party, 1912–1920," 1609
- Ford, Trowbridge H. (R), 856
- "Foreign Employees in Nineteenth-Century Japan," edited by Beauchamp and Iriye (E), 328
- Forey, Alan, "The Military Orders: From the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Centuries," 1502
- "Forges et forêts," edited by Woronoff (E), 979
- Forgie, George B. (R), 1284
- "Forging the Military-Industrial Complex," by Hooks, 1622
- "The Formation of a Society on Virginia's Eastern Shore, 1615–1655," by Perry, 929
- Forsythe, W. J., "Penal Discipline, Reformatory Projects and the English Prison Commission 1895–1939," 204
- Foster, Morris W., "Being Comanche: A Social History of an American Indian Community," 1274
- Foster, Stephen, "The Long Argument: English Puritanism and the Shaping of New England Culture, 1570–1700," 607
- "1492," by Vincent, 1487
- Fowler, Robert Booth (R), 312
- Fox, Thomas (R), 540
- Fox-Genovese, Elizabeth, "Feminism without Illusions: A Critique of Individualism," 1175
- Frader, Laura Levine, "Peasants and Protest: Agricultural Workers, Politics, and Unions in the Aude, 1850–1914," 861
- Frank, Stephen, and Ben Eklof, editors, "The World of the Russian Peasant: Post-Emancipation Culture and Society" (E), 667
- Frank, Stephen P. (R), 1251
- Franklin, Jimmie Lewis (R), 635
- Franklin, V. P. (R), 950
- "Franklin D. Roosevelt," by Freidel, 309
- "Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Future of Liberalism," edited by Sears (E), 669
- Fraser, Steven, "Labor Will Rule: Sidney Hillman and the Rise of American Labor," 1294
- Fraser, Steve (R), 1280
- Fraser, Walter J., Jr. (R), 1616
- "Frauen in der Ständegesellschaft," edited by Vogel and Weckel (E), 1647
- "Frauen und Dissens," by Paetschek, 1551
- "Frauen vor Gericht," by Dülmen, 872
- "Frauenalltag und Männerpolitik," by Hagemann, 235
- "Frederick Douglass," edited by Sundquist (E), 982
- "Frederick the Great, William Pitt, and Lord Bute," by Schweizer, 1514
- Freed, John B. (R), 831
- Freedman, Paul, "The Origins of Peasant Servitude in Medieval Catalonia," 1197
- "Freedom," by Treadgold, 512
- "Freedom." Volume 1, "Freedom in the Making of Western Culture," by Patterson, 512
- "Freedom by Degrees," by Nash and Soderlund, 611
- Frei, Henry P., "Japan's Southward Advance and

- Australia: From the Sixteenth Century to World War II," 914
- Freidel, Frank, "Franklin D. Roosevelt: A Rendezvous with Destiny," 309
- Freidenreich, Harriet Pass, "Jewish Politics in Vienna, 1918–1938," 578
- French, John D. (R), 1321
- French, Roger, and Andrew Cunningham, editors, "The Medical Enlightenment of the Eighteenth Century" (E), 1641
- "French Canadians in Massachusetts Politics, 1885–1915," by Petrin, 1294
- "The French Historical Revolution," by Burke, 862
- "French Jews, Turkish Jews," by Rodrigue, 898
- "The French Revolution in Culture and Society," edited by Troyansky *et al.* (E), 1330
- "Freud's Moses," by Yerushalmi, 1178
- Frey, Sylvia R., "Water from the Rock: Black Resistance in a Revolutionary Age," 1278
- Freyer, Tony (R), 1601
- Friedgut, Theodore H., "Iuzovka and Revolution." Volume 1, "Life and Work in Russia's Dohbass, 1869–1924," 895
- Friedman, Edward, *et al.*, "Chinese Village, Socialist State," 1579
- "Friedrich Wilhelm IV. und das Staatsdenken der deutschen Romantik," by Kroll, 873
- Frier, Bruce W. (C), 682; (R), 1496
- Fries, Sylvia D., and Martin J. Collins, editors, "A Spacefaring Nation: Perspectives on American Space History and Policy" (E), 1652
- Friguglietti, James (R), 1206
- Frijhoff, Willem, and Marijke Gijswijt-Hofstra, editors, "Witchcraft in the Netherlands from the Fourteenth to the Twentieth Century" (E), 1645
- Fritz, Christian G., "Federal Justice in California: The Court of Ogden Hoffman, 1851–1891," 925
- Fritzsche, Peter (R), 239, 817
- "From *Ad Hoc* to Routine," by Kittell, 1504
- "From Asylum to Community," by Grob, 1297
- "From Birth to Old Age," by Goodich, 834
- "From Cotton Belt to Sunbelt," by Schulman, 951
- "From East and West," edited by Malino and Sorkin (E), 1329
- "From New Day to New Deal," by Hamilton, 954
- "From Provinces into Nations," by Watkins, 544
- From Romance to Rhetoric*, by Delia, 1449–67
- "From Serf to Russian Soldier," by Wirtschafter, 1251
- "From Sin to Salvation," by Brereton, 920
- "From Slavery to Feudalism in South-Western Europe," by Bonnassie, 1196
- "From TB to AIDS," by McBride, 948
- "Frontiers of Heresy," by Monter, 866
- Frost, Lionel, "The New Urban Frontier: Urbanisation and City-Building in Australasia and the American West," 825
- Fruton, Joseph S., "Contrasts in Scientific Style: Research Groups in the Chemical and Biochemical Sciences," 842
- Frykenberg, Robert Eric (R), 272
- Fuchs, Rachel G. (R), 565, 1541
- Fugita, Stephen S., and David J. O'Brien, "Japanese American Ethnicity: The Persistence of Community," 1612
- Fugita, Stephen S., and David J. O'Brien, "The Japanese American Experience," 1612
- Fukuyama, Francis, "The End of History and the Last Man," 817
- "Fundamental Authority in Late Medieval English Law," by Doe, 180
- "Fundamentos ideológicos del poder real en Castilla (siglos XIII–XVI)," by Nieto Soria, 538
- Funigiello, Philip J. (R), 626
- Furgol, Edward M. (R), 1213
- Furlong, Patrick J., "Between Crown and Swastika: The Impact of the Radical Right on the Afrikaner Nationalist Movement in the Fascist Era," 906
- Furlough, Ellen, "Consumer Cooperation in France: The Politics of Consumption, 1834–1930," 1537
- Furner, Mary O., and Barry Supple, editors, "The State and Economic Knowledge: The American and British Experiences" (E), 974
- "The Future South," edited by Dunn and Preston (E), 1336
- Gabba, Emilio, "Dionysius and *The History of Archaic Rome*," 828
- Gadd, Carl-Johan, "Själhvushåll eller arbetsdelning? Svenskt lant- och stadshantverk ca. 1400–1860" [Self-Sufficiency or Division of Labor? Rural and Urban Crafts in Sweden, ca. 1400–1860], 1232
- Gaddis, John Lewis (R), 312
- "Gajeva 'Još Horvatska ni propala' iz 1832–33" [Gaj's "Croatia is Not Yet Lost," 1832–33], by Stančić, 580
- Galatariotou, Catia, "The Making of a Saint: The Life, Times and Sanctification of Neophytos the Recluse," 1503
- Gallagher, Lowell, "Medusa's Gaze: Casuistry and Conscience in the Renaissance," 1519
- Gallagher, Nancy E. (C), 1666
- Gallagher, Nancy Elizabeth, "Egypt's Other Wars: Epidemics and the Politics of Public Health," 902
- Gallant, Thomas W. (R), 1494
- Gallant, Thomas W., "Risk and Survival in Ancient Greece: Reconstructing the Rural Domestic Economy," 1189
- Galt, Anthony H., "Far from the Church Bells: Settlement and Society in an Apulian Town," 1244
- "Gandhi, Pan-Islamism, Imperialism, and Nationalism in India," by Nanda, 1583
- Gara, Larry, "The Presidency of Franklin Pierce," 1284
- Garber, Elizabeth (C), 1005
- Garber, Elizabeth, editor, "Beyond History of Science: Essays in Honor of Robert E. Schofield" (E), 973
- Garcia, Ignacio M., "United We Win: The Rise and Fall of La Raza Unida Party," 1308
- García, Mario T. (R), 1632
- García, Richard A., "Rise of the Mexican-American Middle Class: San Antonio, 1929–1941," 626
- Garland, Robert (R), 1189
- Garnett, Robert S., Jr., "Lion, Eagle, and Swastika: Bavarian Monarchism in Weimar Germany, 1918–1933," 1241
- "The Garotte," by Jensen, 646
- Garrett, Clarke (R), 244
- Garrow, David J. (R), 315
- Garside, W. R., "British Unemployment, 1919–1939: A Study in Public Policy," 208
- Gasiorowski, Mark J., "U.S. Foreign Policy and the Shah: Building a Client State in Iran," 1627
- Gaskell, S. Martin, editor, "Slums" (E), 1330
- Gatwood, Willard B., "Aristocrats of Color: The Black Elite, 1880–1920," 301
- Gauvreau, Michael, "The Evangelical Century: College and Creed in English Canada from the Great Revival to the Great Depression," 647
- Geary, James W., "We Need Men: The Union Draft in the Civil War," 1598

- Gehler, Michael, "Studenten und Politik: Der Kampf um die Vorherrschaft an der Universität Innsbruck 1918–1938," 243
- "Geldumlauf und Wirtschaftskonjunktur im südlichen Ostseeraum an der Wende zur Neuzeit (1440–1570)," by North, 540
- Gelfand, Mark I. (R), 308
- Gellately, Robert, "The Gestapo and German Society: Enforcing Racial Policy 1933–1945," 575
- "Gender and Disorder in Early Modern Seville," by Perry, 1230
- Gender and the Politics of Class Formation*, by Canning, 736–68
- "A General View of the Rural Economy of England, 1538–1840," by Kussmaul, 191
- "Generations of Settlers," by Samper, 653
- Genicot, Leopold, "Rural Communities in the Medieval West," 174
- Gent, Lucy, and Nigel Llewellyn, editors, "Renaissance Bodies: The Human Figure in English Culture, c. 1540–1660" (E), 977
- "A Gentlemanly and Honorable Profession," by McKee, 612
- "Gentlemen and Barristers," by Lemmings, 847
- "The Geography of Science," by Dorn, 819
- "George Lansbury," by Schneer, 209
- Georgescu, Vlad, "The Romanians: A History," 1246
- Gerbet, Pierre, "Le Relèvement 1944–1949," 864
- Gerevich, László, editor, "Towns in Medieval Hungary" (E), 1644
- "The German Bourgeoisie," edited by Blackbourn and Evans (E), 1330
- "The German Communists and the Rise of Nazism," by Fischer, 880
- "German Encounters with Modernity," by Roper, 876
- "The German Experience of Professionalization," by McClelland, 1554
- "The German Peasants' War and Anabaptist Community of Goods," by Stayer, 1549
- "German-Speaking Entrepreneurs," by Pinsdorf, 1322
- "Germans against Nazism," edited by Nicosia and Stokes (E), 1331
- "Germany and the Union of South Africa in the Nazi Period," by Citino, 1558
- Gerstner, Jonathan Neil, "The Thousand Generation Covenant: Dutch Reformed Covenant Theology and Group Identity in Colonial South Africa, 1652–1814," 1260
- "Die Gesamtdeutsche Volkspartei," by Müller, 239
- "Geschichte zwischen Freiheit und Ordnung," edited by Brix *et al.* (E), 1326
- "Geschichtswissenschaft im Humanismus und in der Aufklärung," by Muhlack, 1202
- "The Gestapo and German Society," by Gellately, 575
- "Getting an Heir," by Waltner, 1261
- "Gewerkschaftskartell und Sozialpolitik in Frankfurt am Main," by Roth, 1557
- Gibson, Wendy, "Women in Seventeenth-Century France," 1531
- Gidley, Mick, and Kate Bowles, editors, "Locating the Shakers: Cultural Origins and Legacies of an American Religious Movement" (E), 1335
- Gijswijt-Hofstra, Marijke, and Willem Frijhoff, editors, "Witchcraft in the Netherlands from the Fourteenth to the Twentieth Century" (E), 1645
- Gilbert, Felix, "History: Politics or Culture? Reflections on Ranke and Burckhardt," 517
- Gilbert, James, "Perfect Cities: Chicago's Utopias of 1893," 1605
- Gilje, Paul A. (R), 1586
- Gillespie, Richard, "Manufacturing Knowledge: A History of the Hawthorne Experiments," 1301
- Gillingham, John, "Coal, Steel, and the Rebirth of Europe, 1945–1955: The Germans and French from Ruhr Conflict to Economic Community," 1212
- Gillis, John R. (R), 1489
- Gilman, Sander L. (R), 518, 1178
- Gingras, Yves, "Physics and the Rise of Scientific Research in Canada," 1628
- Ginter, Donald E. (R), 550
- Ginzburg, Carlo, "Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method," 1176
- Ginzburg, Carlo, "Ecstasies: Deciphering the Witches' Sabbath," 837
- "Giordano Bruno and the Embassy Affair," by Bossy, 1517
- Giraud, Marcel, "A History of French Louisiana." Volume 5, "The Company of the Indies, 1723–1731," 931
- Glass, Joseph B., and Ruth Kark, "Sephardi Entrepreneurs in Eretz Israel: The Amzalak Family 1816–1918," 1570
- Glen, Robert (R), 544
- Glickman, Rose L. (R), 586
- Glickstein, Jonathan A., "Concepts of Free Labor in Antebellum America," 1594
- "La gloire et le jeu," by De Blomac, 1533
- Gluck, Sherna Berger, and Daphne Patai, editors, "Women's Words: The Feminist Practice of Oral History" (E), 1641
- Godman, Peter, and Roger Collins, editors, "Charlemagne's Heir: New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious, 814–840" (E), 975
- Goeckel, Robert F., "The Lutheran Church and the East German State: Political Conflict and Change under Ulbricht and Honecker," 241
- Goff, James R., Jr. (R), 282
- Goffart, Walter (R), 174
- Goggin, Jacqueline, *Challenging Sexual Discrimination in the Historical Profession: Women Historians and the American Historical Association, 1890–1940*, 769–802
- Goings, Kenneth W., "'The NAACP Comes of Age': The Defeat of Judge John J. Parker," 635
- Goings, Kenneth W. (R), 302
- Golan, Galia, "Soviet Policies in the Middle East from World War Two to Gorbachev," 588
- Goldberg, Alfred (C), 1357
- "The Golden Age of Painting in Spain," by Brown, 866
- Goldenberg, Joseph (R), 1275
- Goldman, Merle, and Paul A. Cohen, editors, "Ideas across Cultures: Essays on Chinese Thought in Honor of Benjamin I. Schwartz" (E), 982
- Goldstein, Jonathan, *et al.*, editors, "America Views China: American Images of China Then and Now" (E), 1652
- Goldstone, Jack A., "Revolution and Rebellion in the Early Modern World," 1488
- Gollin, Alfred, "The Impact of Air Power on the British People and Their Government, 1909–14," 207
- Gonzales, Michael J. (R), 1637
- "Good Faith and Truthful Ignorance," by Cook and Cook, 520
- "Good Government in Spanish Naples," edited and translated by Calabria and Marino (E), 327
- "The Good Regiment," by Verney, 1319
- Goode, James F. (R), 642
- Goodfriend, Joyce D., "Before the Melting Pot: Society and Culture in Colonial New York City, 1664–1730," 1586

- Goodheart, Lawrence B. (R), 1279
- Goodich, Michael E., "From Birth to Old Age: The Human Life Cycle in Medieval Thought, 1250-1350," 834
- Goodman, Dena, "Criticism in Action: Enlightenment Experiments in Political Writing," 840
- Goodman, Dena (R), 839
- Goodman, Grant K. (R), 914
- Goodsell, James Nelson (R), 652
- Goodwyn, Lawrence, "Breaking the Barrier: The Rise of Solidarity in Poland," 892
- Gootenberg, Paul, "Between Silver and Guano: Commercial Policy and the State in Postindependence Peru," 657
- Gordis, David M., and Yoav Ben-Horin, editors, "Jewish Identity in America" (E), 1334
- Gordon, Andrew, "Labor and Imperial Democracy in Prewar Japan," 270
- Gordon, Bertram M. (R), 863, 1229
- Gordon, Leonard A., "Brothers against the Raj: A Biography of Indian Nationalists Sarat and Subhas Chandra Bose," 270
- Gordon, Leonard A. (C), 1008
- Gordon, Linda, *Social Insurance and Public Assistance: The Influence of Gender in Welfare Thought in the United States, 1890-1935*, 19-54
- Gordon, Lynn D. (R), 927
- Gordon, Scott, "The History and Philosophy of Social Science," 1176
- Gosner, Kevin (R), 321
- Gosselin, Edward A. (R), 1203
- Gottlieb, Peter (R), 935
- Goubert, Pierre, "Mazarin," 214
- Gough, Barry Morton (R), 914
- Gough, Hugh, and David Dickson, editors, "Ireland and the French Revolution" (E), 326
- Gould, Jeffrey L., "To Lead as Equals: Rural Protest and Political Consciousness in Chinandega, Nicaragua, 1912-1979," 654
- Gould, Karen (R), 537
- Gould, Lewis L. (R), 309
- Gould, Lewis L., "The Presidency of Theodore Roosevelt," 629
- Gowen, Robert J. (R), 942
- Graber, Mark A., "Transforming Free Speech: The Ambiguous Legacy of Civil Libertarianism," 926
- Graebner, William, "The Age of Doubt: American Thought and Culture in the 1940s," 955
- Grafton, Anthony, and Ann Blair, editors, "The Transmission of Culture in Early Modern Europe" (E), 665
- Gragg, Larry, "A Quest for Security: The Life of Samuel Parris, 1653-1720," 276
- Graham, Kenneth W., and Neal Johnson, editors, "Man and Nature/L'homme et la nature" (E), 324
- Graham, Lawrence S., and Robert H. Wilson, editors, "The Political Economy of Brazil: Public Policies in an Era of Transition" (E), 984
- Graham, Loren R., editor, "Science and the Soviet Social Order" (E), 981
- Graham, Richard, editor, "The Idea of Race in Latin America, 1870-1940" (E), 331
- "Le Grand-duché de Toscane sous les derniers Médicis," by Waquet, 1244
- Grant, Shelagh D., "Sovereignty or Security? Government Policy in the Canadian North, 1936-1950," 318
- The Grass-Roots Right*, by Kazin, 136-55
- Gray, Marion W. (R), 872
- Gray, Obika, "Radicalism and Social Change in Jamaica, 1960-1972," 970
- Gray, Richard, "Black Christians and White Missionaries," 593
- "The Great Adventure," by Adams, 556
- "The Great War, 1914-18," edited by Adams (E), 977
- "The Great War of Words," by Buitenhuis, 523
- "Greek Virginity," by Sissa, 169
- Greenberg, Cheryl Lynn, "'Or Does It Explode?' Black Harlem in the Great Depression," 1618
- Greenberg, Kenneth S. (R), 1613
- Greene, John C. (R), 516
- Greene, Nathanael (R), 185, 1226
- "The Greening of Dublin Castle," by McBride, 1528
- Gregory, Jeremy, and Jeremy Black, editors, "Culture, Politics and Society in Britain, 1660-1800" (E), 1330
- Greilsammer, Myriam, "L'envers du tableau: Mariage et maternité en Flandre médiévale," 1194
- Grell, Chantal, and Jean-Michel Dufays, editors, "Pratiques et concepts de l'histoire en Europe XVI^e-XVIII^e siècles" (E), 665
- Grewal, J. S., "The New Cambridge History of India." Volume 2, part 3, "The Sikhs of the Punjab," 1581
- Griffen, Clyde, and Mark C. Carnes, editors, "Meanings for Manhood: Constructions of Masculinity in Victorian America" (E), 1650
- Griffin, William D. (R), 560
- Griffiths, Ralph A., "King and Country: England and Wales in the Fifteenth Century," 1507
- Griffiths, Richard, "The Use of Abuse: The Polemics of the Dreyfus Affair and Its Aftermath," 1539
- Grill, Johnpeter Horst (R), 575, 1241
- Grob, Gerald N., "From Asylum to Community: Mental Health Policy in Modern America," 1297
- Groehler, Olaf, "Bombenkrieg gegen Deutschland," 1243
- Gross, David (R), 1240
- Gross, Hanns (R), 226
- Gross, Hanns, "Rome in the Age of Enlightenment: The Post-Tridentine Syndrome and the Ancien Régime," 244
- Gruen, Erich S. (R), 173
- "Grüne Utopien in Deutschland," by Hermand, 1550
- Gruner, Wolf D., *Was There a Reformed Balance of Power System or Cooperative Great Power Hegemony?* 725-32
- Gruzinski, Serge, "Man-Gods in the Mexican Highlands: Indian Power and Colonial Society, 1520-1800," 655
- Guarneri, Carl J., "The Utopian Alternative: Fourierism in Nineteenth-Century America," 937
- Gudmundson, Lowell (R), 1631
- Guilbaut, Serge (R), 1491
- Gunn, L. Ray, "The Decline of Authority: Public Economic Policy and Political Development in New York, 1800-1860," 282
- "Guns for the Tsar," by Bradley, 584
- Gunst, Péter, "Die bäuerliche Gesellschaft Ungarns in der Zeit zwischen den beiden Weltkriegen," 1248
- Gurin, Patricia, and Louise A. Tilly, editors, "Women, Politics, and Change" (E), 668
- Gutiérrez, Ramon A., "When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500-1846," 967
- Gutsche, Willibald, "Wilhelm II: Der letzte Kaiser des Deutschen Reiches; Eine Biographie," 1237
- Guttmann, Allen, "Women's Sports: A History," 823
- Gutzke, David W., "Protecting the Pub: Brewers and Publicans against Temperance," 203
- Guyer, Jane I., editor, "Feeding African Cities: Studies in Regional Social History," 258

- Habermas, Jürgen, "The New Conservatism: Cultural Criticism and the Historians' Debate," 871
- "The Habsburg Monarchy among the Great Powers, 1815–1918," by Bridge, 247
- Hachey, Thomas E. (R), 1224
- Hachtmann, Rüdiger, "Industriearbeit im 'Dritten Reich': Untersuchungen zu den Lohn- und Arbeitsbedingungen in Deutschland 1933–1945," 574
- Hackett, David G., "The Rude Hand of Innovation: Religion and Social Order in Albany, New York, 1652–1836," 1586
- Hacking, Ian, "The Taming of Chance," 157
- Hagemann, Karen, "Frauenalltag und Männerpolitik: Alltagsleben und gesellschaftliches Handeln von Arbeiterfrauen in der Weimarer Republik," 235
- Hagen, William W. (R), 225, 1233
- "Hagiography and the Cult of Saints," by Head, 175
- Hahn, Peter L. (R), 1184
- Hahn, Peter L., "The United States, Great Britain, and Egypt, 1945–1956: Strategy and Diplomacy in the Early Cold War," 642
- Hahner, June E., "Emancipating the Female Sex: The Struggle for Women's Rights in Brazil, 1850–1940," 321
- Haines, Michael R., and Samuel H. Preston, "Fatal Years: Child Mortality in Late Nineteenth-Century America," 289
- Hair, William Ivy, "The Kingfish and His Realm: The Life and Times of Huey P. Long," 1619
- Haldon, J. F., "Byzantium in the Seventh Century: The Transformation of a Culture," 829
- "Half the World from Home," by Akenson, 273
- Halicz, Emanuel, "Russia and Denmark, 1856–1864: A Chapter of Russian Policy towards the Scandinavian Countries," 1566
- Halker, Clark D., "For Democracy, Workers, and God: Labor Song-Poems and Labor Protest, 1865–95," 941
- Hall, Alvin L., editor, "Cooperstown Symposium on Baseball and the American Culture (1989)" (E), 1652
- Hall, David J. (R), 963
- Hall, Kermit L. (R), 279
- Hall, Michael G. (R), 609
- Halper, Jeff, "Between Redemption and Revival: The Jewish Yishuv of Jerusalem in the Nineteenth Century," 899
- Halpern, Martin (R), 301
- Halstrick, Christoph, "Das Recht des Papiermacherhandwerkes im deutschsprachigen Raum in der Zeit von 1400 bis 1800: Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Organisation der Papiermacher," 1548
- Hambly, Gavin R. G. (R), 602
- Hamburger, Jeffrey F., "The Rothschild Canticles: Art and Mysticism in Flanders and the Rhineland circa 1300," 537
- Hamilton, Charles D., "Agesilaus and the Failure of Spartan Hegemony," 827
- Hamilton, David E., "From New Day to New Deal: American Farm Policy from Hoover to Roosevelt, 1928–1933," 954
- Hamilton, Keith, "Bertie of Thame: Edwardian Ambassador," 850
- Hamilton, Richard F. (R), 881
- Hamilton, Richard F., "The Bourgeois Epoch: Marx and Engels on Britain, France, and Germany," 1206
- Hamlin, Christopher, "A Science of Impurity: Water Analysis in Nineteenth-Century Britain," 204
- "Hammer and Hoe," by Kelley, 304
- Hanawalt, Barbara A. (R), 1194
- Handlin, Lilian, and Oscar Handlin, "Liberty in America: 1600 to the Present." Volume 3, "Liberty in Peril, 1850–1920," 1606
- Handlin, Oscar, and Lilian Handlin, "Liberty in America: 1600 to the Present." Volume 3, "Liberty in Peril, 1850–1920," 1606
- Haney, Kristine E. (R), 1198
- "Hanging by a Thread," edited by Leiter *et al.* (E), 1651
- Hankins, James, "Plato in the Italian Renaissance," 1559
- Hankinson, R. J. (R), 168
- Hanley, Sarah (R), 1529
- "Hans J. Morgenthau and the Ethics of American Statecraft," by Russell, 640
- Hansen, Karen Tranberg, "Distant Companions: Servants and Employers in Zambia, 1900–1985," 1258
- Hansen, Miriam, "Babel and Babylon: Spectatorship in American Silent Film," 631
- Hansen, Valerie, "Changing Gods in Medieval China, 1127–1276," 1574
- Hanson, Ann Ellis (R), 169
- Hanson, Carl A. (R), 221
- Hanson, Paul R. (R), 217
- Hard Times and Culture*—Part 1, "Vienna, Fin-de-Siècle," directed by Juan Downey, 1159
- Harley, C. Knick (R), 1513
- Harline, Craig (R), 222
- Harrell, David Edwin, Jr. (R), 633
- Harrell, Stevan (R), 1261
- Harries, Karsten (R), 1205, 1490
- Harris, Brice (R), 1627
- Harris, James F. (R), 571
- Harris, Katherine (R), 644
- Harris, Robert L., Jr. (R), 620
- Harris, Tim (R), 1519
- Harris, Tim, *et al.*, editors, "The Politics of Religion in Restoration England" (E), 1329
- Harris, William V. (R), 1189
- Harth, Dietrich, and Aleida Assmann, editors, "Mnemosyne: Formen und Funktionen der kulturellen Erinnerung" (E), 1640
- Hartog, Hendrik (R), 920
- Harvey, H. R., editor, "Land and Politics in the Valley of Mexico: A Two Thousand Year Perspective" (E), 1653
- Hassen, Mohammed (C), 1364
- Hassen, Mohammed, "The Oromo of Ethiopia: A History, 1570–1860," 259
- Hassler, Warren W., Jr. (R), 1285
- Hauptman, Laurence M. (R), 1274
- Hauptman, Laurence M., and James D. Wherry, editors, "The Pequots in Southern New England: The Fall and Rise of an American Indian Nation" (E), 982
- Hauser, Christoph, "Anfänge bürgerlicher Organisation: Philhellenismus und Frühliberalismus in Südwestdeutschland," 227
- Hauser, Walter (R), 1269
- Hawes, Joseph M., and N. Ray Hiner, editors, "Children in Historical and Comparative Perspective: An International Handbook and Research Guide" (E), 1641
- Hawthorn, Geoffrey, "Plausible Worlds: Possibility and Understanding in History and the Social Sciences," 1486
- Hay, Carla H. (R), 848
- Hayes, Peter (R), 574
- Haynes, Richard F. (R), 1622

- Haywood, C. Robert, "Cowtown Lawyers: Dodge City and Its Attorneys, 1876-1886," 1599
- Haywood, C. Robert, "Victorian West: Class and Culture in Kansas Cattle Towns," 939
- Haywood, John, "Dark Age Naval Power: A Re-assessment of Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Seafaring Activity," 1495
- Heacock, Roger, and Jamal R. Nassar, editors, "Intifada: Palestine at the Crossroads" (E), 327
- Head, Thomas, "Hagiography and the Cult of Saints: The Diocese of Orléans, 800-1200," 175
- Head, Thomas (R), 530
- Headrick, Daniel R. (R), 557
- "Health and Society in Revolutionary Russia," edited by Solomon and Hutchinson (E), 327
- "Health Care in the Parisian Countryside, 1800-1914," by Ackerman, 564
- Healy, David (R), 1311
- Hefner, Robert (R), 916
- Heick, W. H., "A Propensity to Protect: Butter, Margarine and the Rise of Urban Culture in Canada," 649
- Helg, Aline (R), 968
- Heller, Henry, "Iron and Blood: Civil Wars in Sixteenth-Century France," 213
- Heller, Henry (R), 561
- Hellman, John (R), 218
- Hellmuth, Eckhart, editor, "The Transformation of Political Culture: England and Germany in the Late Eighteenth Century" (E), 977
- Helly, Dorothy O. (R), 1216
- Henderson, John, and Timothy Verdon, editors, "Christianity and the Renaissance: Image and Religious Imagination in the Quattrocento" (E), 664
- Henderson, John B. (R), 265
- Henggeler, Paul R., "In His Steps: Lyndon Johnson and the Kennedy Mystique," 315
- Henige, David, "In Search of Columbus: The Sources for the First Voyage," 1181
- Henningsen, Gustav, and Bengt Ankarloo, editors, "Early Modern European Witchcraft: Centres and Peripheries" (E), 1644
- Henretta, James A., *et al.*, editors, "The Transformation of Early American History: Society, Authority, and Ideology" (E), 1650
- Henriot, Christian, "Shanghai 1927-1937: Elites locales et modernisation dans la Chine nationaliste," 1265
- "Henry Clay," by Remini, 1283
- Herbert, Ulrich, "A History of Foreign Labor in Germany, 1880-1980: Seasonal Workers/Forced Laborers/Guest Workers," 573
- Herbst, Jürgen (R), 1620
- "Heritage of China," edited by Ropp (E), 328
- "The Heritage of Giotto's Geometry," by Edgerton, 1203
- "The Heritage of the Conquistadors," by Stone, 653
- Herlihy, Patricia (R), 254
- Hermand, Jost, "Grüne Utopien in Deutschland: Zur Geschichte des ökologischen Bewusstseins," 1550
- Hermann, Janet Sharp, "Joseph E. Davis: Pioneer Patriarch," 617
- "Herodotus, Explorer of the Past," by Evans, 526
- Herrmann, Ursula, *et al.*, "August Bebel: Eine Biographie," 878
- "Herrschaft und Alltag," by Mallmann and Paul, 1559
- Herwig, Holger H. (R), 874
- Hespanha, Antonio M., "Visperas del Leviatán: Instituciones y poder político, Portugal, siglo XVII," 221
- Hess, Klaus, "Junker und bürgerliche Grossgrundbesitzer im Kaiserreich: Landwirtschaftlicher Grossbetrieb, Grossgrundbesitz und Familienfideikommiss in Preussen (1867/71-1914)," 875
- Hey, David, and John Chartres, editors, "English Rural Society, 1500-1800: Essays in Honour of Joan Thirsk" (E), 977
- Heyn, Udo (R), 1552
- Hickey, Donald R. (R), 612
- Hickey, Donald R., "The War of 1812: A Forgotten Conflict," 613
- Higgs, Robert, editor, "Arms, Politics, and the Economy: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives" (E), 1336
- "High-Class Moving Pictures," by Musser, 1298
- Hildebrand, Klaus, *et al.*, editors, "1939: An der Schwelle zum Weltkrieg: Die Entfesselung des Zweiten Weltkrieges und das internationale System" (E), 1326
- Hilden, Patricia J. (R), 859
- Hilderbrand, Robert (R), 309
- Hill, Alan G., and Ian Ker, editors, "Newman after a Hundred Years" (E), 978
- Hill, Bennett D. (R), 1499
- Hill, Bridget, "Women, Work, and Sexual Politics in Eighteenth-Century England," 195
- Hill, L. M. (R), 1508
- Hill, Patricia R. (R), 1608
- Hilton, Stanley E., "Brazil and the Soviet Challenge, 1917-1947," 1634
- Himmelfarb, Gertrude, "Poverty and Compassion: The Moral Imagination of the Late Victorians," 1219
- Hiner, N. Ray, and Joseph M. Hawes, editors, "Children in Historical and Comparative Perspective: An International Handbook and Research Guide" (E), 1641
- Hinojosa, Gilberto M. (R), 656
- Hinojosa, Gilberto M., and Gerald E. Poyo, editors, "Tejano Origins in Eighteenth-Century San Antonio" (E), 1651
- Hirai, Atsuko (R), 269
- Hirst, Derek (R), 192
- "Histoire de la propagande en France de 1940 à 1944," by Rossignol, 863
- "Histoire des femmes en occident." Volume 2, "Le Moyen Age," edited by Duby and Perrot, 1193
- "Histoire de Vichy," by Dreyfus, 219
- "Histoire et médias," edited by Martin (E), 1646
- The Historian and the Public Realm*, by Leuchtenburg, 1-18
- Historiography of the Countries of Eastern Europe: Bulgaria*, by Todorova, 1105-17
- Historiography of the Countries of Eastern Europe: Czechoslovakia*, by Kořalka, 1026-40
- Historiography of the Countries of Eastern Europe: Hungary*, by Deák, 1041-63
- Historiography of the Countries of Eastern Europe: Poland*, by Wandycz, 1011-25
- Historiography of the Countries of Eastern Europe: Romania*, by Hitchins, 1064-83
- Historiography of the Countries of Eastern Europe: Yugoslavia*, by Banac, 1084-1104
- "History," by Gilbert, 517
- "History and Communications," by Patterson, 965
- "The History and Philosophy of Social Science," by Gordon, 1176
- "History and Strategy," by Trachtenberg, 958
- "History as a Visual Art in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance," by Morrison, 832

- "A History of Foreign Labor in Germany, 1880–1980," by Herbert, 573
- "A History of French Louisiana." Volume 5, "The Company of the Indies, 1723–1731," by Giraud, 931
- "A History of Hungary," edited by Sugar *et al.* (E), 980
- "A History of Laxton," by Beckett, 550
- "A History of Music and Dance in Florida, 1565–1865," by Housewright, 928
- "A History of Private Life." Volume 5, "Riddles of Identity in Modern Times," edited by Vincent and Prost, 1489
- "The History of Siberia," edited by Wood (E), 1333
- "A History of the Anglo-American Common Law of Contract," by Teeven, 522
- "A History of the Arab Peoples," by Hourani, 589
- "The History of the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation." Volume 1, "The Hongkong Bank in Late Imperial China, 1864–1902," by King *et al.*, 598
- "History of the Supreme Court of the United States." Volumes 3 and 4, "The Marshall Court and Cultural Change, 1815–35," by White, 1590
- "A History of Women Philosophers." Volume 3, "Modern Women Philosophers, 1600–1900," edited by Waithe (E), 1324
- Hitchins, Keith, *Historiography of the Countries of Eastern Europe: Romania*, 1064–83
- Hitchins, Keith (R), 247, 1247
- "Hitler," by Steinert, 880
- "Hitler's Army," by Bartov, 1242
- "Hitler's Followers," by Mühlberger, 881
- Hoberman, John M. (R), 1546
- Hobsbawm, E. J., "Echoes of the Marseillaise: Two Centuries Look Back on the French Revolution," 215
- Hoch, Steven (R), 253
- Hochstadt, Steve (R), 224
- Hodder, Ian, "The Domestication of Europe: Structure and Contingency in Neolithic Societies," 166
- Hoff, Joan, "Law, Gender, and Injustice: A Legal History of U.S. Women," 920
- Hoffer, Peter Charles, "The Law's Conscience: Equitable Constitutionalism in America," 279
- Hoffman, Alice M., and Howard S. Hoffman, "Archives of Memory: A Soldier Recalls World War II," 311
- Hoffman, Howard S., and Alice M. Hoffman, "Archives of Memory: A Soldier Recalls World War II," 311
- Hoffmann, Hilmar, and Dieter Kramer, editors, "Der Umbau Europas: Deutsche Einheit und europäische Integration" (E), 1647
- Hoffmann, Joachim, "Kaukasien 1942/43: Das deutsche Heer und die Orientvölker der Sowjetunion," 1515
- Hogan, Michael J. (R), 161
- "Holland under Habsburg Rule, 1506–1566," by Tracy, 222
- Hollander, Anne, "Moving Pictures," 1205
- Holley, I. B., Jr. (R), 286
- Holt, Mack P., editor, "Society and Institutions in Early Modern France" (E), 1646
- Holtman, Robert B. (R), 1534
- "Holy City, Holy Places?" by Walker, 167
- Home, R. W., and Sally Gregory Kohlstedt, editors, "International Science and National Scientific Identity: Australia between Britain and America" (E), 1642
- "Home and Work," by Boydston, 1283
- "Homer and the Origin of the Greek Alphabet," by Powell, 526
- "Homosexuelle unter dem Hakenkreuz," by Jellonnek, 1242
- Homze, Edward L. (R), 573
- Honhart, Michael (R), 875
- Hooks, Gregory, "Forging the Military-Industrial Complex: World War II's Battle of the Potomac," 1622
- Hoopes, James, "Consciousness in New England: From Puritanism and Ideas to Psychoanalysis and Semiotic," 605
- Hopkins, Eric, "The Rise and Decline of the English Working Classes 1918–1990: A Social History," 853
- Horn, Michiel (R), 964
- Horn, Pamela, "Victorian Countrywomen," 1526
- Horne, Gerald (C), 1000
- Horne, John N., "Labour at War: France and Britain 1914–1918," 1209
- Horowitz, Daniel (R), 824
- Horowitz, Joel, "Argentine Unions, the State, and the Rise of Perón, 1930–1945," 1638
- Horowitz, Roger (R), 1170
- Horwitz, Henry (R), 196, 1214
- Hourani, Albert, "A History of the Arab Peoples," 589
- Housewright, Wiley L., "A History of Music and Dance in Florida, 1565–1865," 928
- "Housing the North American City," by Doucet and Weaver, 1317
- Hovenkamp, Herbert, "Enterprise and American Law, 1836–1937," 1601
- Howard, Victor B. (C), 680
- Howe, Barbara J. (R), 311
- Huang, Pei (R), 597
- Huang, Philip C. C., "The Peasant Family and Rural Development in the Yangzi Delta, 1350–1988," 596
- Hubert, Étienne, "Espace urbain et habitat à Rome du X^e siècle à la fin du XIII^e siècle," 534
- Hufbauer, Karl, "Exploring the Sun: Solar Science since Galileo," 524
- Hughes, Agatha C., and Thomas P. Hughes, editors, "Lewis Mumford: Public Intellectual" (E), 983
- Hughes, Lindsey, "Sophia, Regent of Russia, 1657–1704," 250
- Hughes, Thomas P., and Agatha C. Hughes, editors, "Lewis Mumford: Public Intellectual" (E), 983
- Hull, Isabel V. (R), 1238
- Hull, Richard W., "American Enterprise in South Africa: Historical Dimensions of Engagement and Disengagement," 313
- Hulliung, Mark (R), 1509
- Hulme, Peter, and Ludmilla Jordanova, editors, "The Enlightenment and Its Shadows" (E), 1328
- "The Human Embryo," edited by Dunstan (E), 661
- Humphreys, R. Stephen, "Islamic History: A Framework for Inquiry," 1254
- Hundert, Gershon David (R), 1246
- "Hunger in History," edited by Newman *et al.* (E), 662
- Hunley, J. D. (R), 1206
- Hunter, Michael, and Simon Schaffer, editors, "Robert Hooke: New Studies" (E), 666
- Hurst, G. Cameron III (R), 1266
- Hurtado, Albert L. (R), 1632
- Hurtig, Christiane, "Les Maharajahs et la politique dans l'Inde contemporaine," 603
- Husband, William B., "Revolution in the Factory: The Birth of the Soviet Textile Industry, 1917–1920," 586
- Huskey, Eugene (R), 1253
- Huston, James A., "Logistics of Liberty: American Services of Supply in the Revolutionary War and After," 933
- Hutchinson, John F., and Susan Gross Solomon,

- editors, "Health and Society in Revolutionary Russia" (E), 327
- Hutton, Sarah, editor, "Of Mysticism and Mechanism: Henry More (1614–1687) Tercentenary Studies" (E), 666
- Huxley, Steven Duncan, "Constitutionalist Insurgency in Finland: Finnish 'Passive Resistance' against Russification as a Case of Nonmilitary Struggle in the European Resistance Tradition," 570
- Huzar, Eleanor G. (R), 1495
- Hyam, Ronald, "Empire and Sexuality: The British Experience," 201
- Hyde, Charles K. (R), 166
- "Hyderabad and British Paramountcy, 1858–1883," by Ray, 271
- Hyman, Harold M., "Oleander Odyssey: The Kempners of Galveston, Texas, 1854–1980s," 287
- Hyman, Michael R., "The Anti-Redeemers: Hill-Country Political Dissenters in the Lower South from Redemption to Populism," 285
- Hyman, Paula E., "The Emancipation of the Jews of Alsace: Acculturation and Tradition in the Nineteenth Century," 1540
- Hyser, Raymond M., and Dennis B. Downey, "No Crooked Death: Coatesville, Pennsylvania, and the Lynching of Zachariah Walker," 302
- Ibrahim, Mahmood, "Merchant Capital and Islam," 257
- "The Idea of Race in Latin America, 1870–1940," edited by Graham (E), 331
- "The Idea of Wilderness," by Oelschlaeger, 1179
- "The Ideal of the Self-Governing Church," by Williams, 200
- "Ideas across Cultures," edited by Cohen and Goldman (E), 982
- "The Ideologies of Class," by McKibbin, 556
- "If Eight Hours Seem Too Few," by Zappi, 1245
- Iggers, Georg G. (R), 517, 871
- Ikwe*, directed by Norma Bailey, 1168
- "The Ili Rebellion," by Benson, 268
- "Image as Artifact," by O'Connor, 630
- "Images of Faith," by Lepovitz, 841
- "Imagining India," by Inden, 601
- Imhof, Arthur E., "Lebenserwartungen in Deutschland vom 17. bis 19. Jahrhundert," 224
- "L'immagine dell'URSS," by Flores, 897
- Immerman, Richard H., editor, "John Foster Dulles and the Diplomacy of the Cold War" (E), 330
- "Immigration Reconsidered," edited by Yans-McLaughlin (E), 1325
- "Immigration to New York," edited by Pencak *et al.* (E), 1651
- "The Impact of Air Power on the British People and Their Government, 1909–14," by Gollin, 207
- "Imperial Power and Development," edited by Rowney (E), 667
- "Imperial Simla," by Kanwar, 1583
- "Imperial Sudan," by Daly, 1257
- "An Imperial Vision," by Metcalf, 602
- "Imperialism and Its Legacy," edited by Kline and Payne (E), 973
- "Imperialistische Kontinuität und nationale Ungeduld im 19. Jahrhundert," edited by Reinhard (E), 1642
- "The Impossible Peace," by Deighton, 188
- "In Defence of the Church Catholic," by Redworth, 549
- "In His Image and Likeness," by Zapalac, 223
- "In His Steps," by Henggeler, 315
- "In Search of a Liberal Germany," edited by Jarausch and Jones (E), 980
- "In Search of Columbus," by Henige, 1181
- "In Search of Human Nature," by Degler, 608
- "In Tal und Einsamkeit," Volume 3, "Kolloquium," edited by Wollenberg (E), 1327
- "In the Cause of True Education," by MacMullen, 290
- "In the Lion's Den," by Tec, 160
- "In the Presence of the Past," edited by Bienvenu and Feingold (E), 1328
- "In the Service of the Emperor," by Sondhaus, 543
- "In Their Own Interests," by Lewis, 949
- Inden, Ronald, "Imagining India," 601
- "Indigenous Migration and Social Change," by Wightman, 321
- "The Industrial Revolution," edited by Clarkson (E), 665
- "Industriearbeit im 'Dritten Reich,'" by Hachtmann, 574
- "The Infection of Thomas De Quincey," by Barrell, 1216
- Ingham, John N., "Making Iron and Steel: Independent Mills in Pittsburgh, 1820–1920," 1291
- Ingram, Edward (R), 271
- "Inheriting Madness," by Dowbiggin, 1538
- Inkster, Ian, "Science and Technology in History: An Approach to Industrial Development," 822
- Inoue, Kyoko, "MacArthur's Japanese Constitution: A Linguistic and Cultural Study of Its Making," 909
- "Inside the Cold War," by Brands, 1314
- "Integrativer Sozialismus und nationale Befreiung," by Woggon, 560
- Intellectual History and Its Ways*, by LaCapra, 425–39
- "Les intellectuels chrétiens et les Juifs au Moyen Age," by Dahan, 535
- "International Science and National Scientific Identity," edited by Home and Kohlstedt (E), 1642
- "Interpretation and Cultural History," edited by Pittock and Wear (E), 1640
- "Interpreting the Past, Understanding the Present," edited by Kendrick *et al.* (E), 661
- "Intifada," edited by Nassar and Heacock (E), 327
- "Inventing the Middle Ages," by Cantor, 1499
- "The Invention of Argentina," by Shumway, 971
- "The Invention of Scotland," by Pittock, 1521
- "Investigating Gunpowder Plot," by Nicholls, 1214
- "The Invisible State," by Davidson, 1271
- "The Iraqi Revolution of 1958," edited by Fernea and Louis (E), 1333
- "Ireland after the Union: Proceedings of the Second Joint Meeting of the Royal Irish Academy and the British Academy, London, 1986" (E), 326
- "Ireland and the Federal Solution," by Kendle, 855
- "Ireland and the French Revolution," edited by Gough and Dickson (E), 326
- Iriye, Akira (R), 909
- Iriye, Akira, and Edward R. Beauchamp, editors, "Foreign Employees in Nineteenth-Century Japan" (E), 328
- "Iron and Blood," by Heller, 213
- "Iron-Jawed Angels," by Ford, 1609
- Irvine, William D. (R), 865, 1319
- Irving, Terence H. (R), 915
- Isenberg, Michael T. (R), 630
- "Islamic History," by Humphreys, 1254
- "Isle of the Saints," by Bitel, 532
- Ismael, Tareq Y., and Rifa'at El-Sa'id, "The Communist Movement in Egypt, 1920–1988," 257
- Israel, Jonathan I. (R), 868

- Issel, William (R), 627
 "L'Italia alla vigilia della Rivoluzione francese" (E), 1332
 "Iuzovka and Revolution." Volume 1, "Life and Work in Russia's Dohbass, 1869–1924," by Friedgut, 895
 "Two Jima," by Marling and Wetenhall, 1305
- Jackson, Charles O. (R), 1600
 "Jacksonville after the Fire, 1901–1919," by Crooks, 1616
- Jacob, Margaret C. (R), 820
 "Jacobinism and the Revolt of Lyon, 1789–1793," by Edmonds, 217
 "Jacobitism and the English People, 1688–1788," by Monod, 195
- Jacoby, Russell (C), 1352
 Jacoby, Russell, *A New Intellectual History?* 405–24
 Jacoby, Sanford M., editor, "Masters to Managers: Historical and Comparative Perspectives on American Employers" (E), 1335
- Jaffe, Lorna S. (R), 207
 "The Jakhanke Muslim Clerics," by Sanneh, 1573
- Jaksić, Iván (R), 971
- James, Daniel, "Resistance and Integration: Peronism and the Argentine Working Class, 1946–1976," 659
 "James Milton Turner and the Promise of America," by Kremer, 936
 "James Ramsay MacDonald," by Ward, 207
 "James II," by McGladdery, 1520
- Jancar-Webster, Barbara, "Women and Revolution in Yugoslavia, 1941–1945," 250
- "Jane Austen," by MacDonagh, 1221
- "Japanese American Ethnicity," by Fugita and O'Brien, 1612
 "The Japanese American Experience," by O'Brien and Fugita, 1612
 "Japan's Southward Advance and Australia," by Frei, 914
- Jarausch, Konrad H., and Larry Eugene Jones, editors, "In Search of a Liberal Germany: Studies in the History of German Liberalism from 1789 to the Present" (E), 980
- Jastrzębski, Włodzimierz, "Der bromberger Blutsontag: Legende und Wirklichkeit," 580
- "Jean Froissart and the Fabric of History," by Ainsworth, 1201
- Jeanneret, Michel, "A Feast of Words: Banquets and Table Talk in the Renaissance," 1511
- "Jefferson Davis," by Davis, 1597
- Jelavich, Barbara (R), 890
- Jelavich, Charles (R), 889
- Jelavich, Charles, "South Slav Nationalisms: Textbooks and Yugoslav Union before 1914," 1247
- Jellonnek, Burkhard, "Homosexuelle unter dem Hakenkreuz: Die Verfolgung von Homosexuellen im Dritten Reich," 1242
- Jensen, Joan M., "Army Surveillance in America, 1775–1980," 1276
- Jensen, Larry R., "Children of Colonial Despotism: Press, Politics, and Culture in Cuba, 1790–1840," 652
- Jensen, Poul, "The Garotte: The United States and Chile, 1970–1973," 646
- Jensen, Ronald J. (R), 638
- Jenson, Carol E. (R), 1272
- Jervis, Robert, *A Political Science Perspective on the Balance of Power and the Concert*, 716–24
- Jessen, Ralph, "Polizei im Industrievier: Modernisierung und Herrschaftspraxis im westfälischen Ruhrgebiet 1848–1914," 1237
 "Jessie Bernard," by Bannister, 298
 "Les Jeux au royaume de France du XIII^e au début du XVI^e siècle," by Mehl, 212
 "Jewish Identity in America," edited by Gordis and Ben-Horin (E), 1334
 "Jewish Memories," by Valensi and Wachtel, 159
 "Jewish Politics in Vienna, 1918–1938," by Freidenreich, 578
 "Jews in the American Academy, 1900–1940," by Klingenstein, 1289
 JFK: *Historical Fact/Historical Film*, by Rosenstone, 506–11
 JFK: *The Movie*, by Rogin, 500–05
 JFK and the Culture of Violence, by Raskin, 487–99
 "Joachim of Fiore and Monastic Reform," by Wessley, 832
- Jodelet, Denise, "Madness and Social Representations: Living with the Mad in One French Community," 1539
- Johannsen, Robert W., "Lincoln, the South, and Slavery: The Political Dimension," 1284
- Johannsen, Robert W. (R), 1592
 "John Blake Dillon, Young Irishman," by O'Cathaoir, 212
 "John Bull and the Bear," by Bell, 559
 "John Bunyan and His England, 1628–88," edited by Laurence *et al.* (E), 1329
 "John Charles Frémont," by Rolle, 1286
 "John Dewey and American Democracy," by Westbrook, 919
 "John Foster Dulles and the Diplomacy of the Cold War," edited by Immerman (E), 330
 "John L. Lewis," by Zieger, 1295
 "John Nelson, Merchant Adventurer," by Johnson, 609
- Johnson, David A. (R), 1599
- Johnson, G. Wesley (R), 260
- Johnson, Herbert A. (R), 1589
- Johnson, Lyman L., editor, "The Problem of Order in Changing Societies: Essays on Crime and Policing in Argentina and Uruguay" (E), 671
- Johnson, Lyman L., and Enrique Tandeter, editors, "Essays on the Price History of Eighteenth-Century Latin America" (E), 331
- Johnson, Neal, and Kenneth W. Graham, editors, "Man and Nature/L'homme et la nature" (E), 324
- Johnson, Richard R., "John Nelson, Merchant Adventurer: A Life between Empires," 609
- Jonas, Manfred (R), 548
- Jonas, Susanne, "The Battle for Guatemala: Rebels, Death Squads, and U.S. Power," 1187
- Jones, George Hilton, "Convergent Forces: Immediate Causes of the Revolution of 1688 in England," 193
- Jones, Howard (R), 640
- Jones, Howard, and Randall B. Woods, "Dawning of the Cold War: The United States' Quest for Order," 312
- Jones, James H. (R), 948
- Jones, Larry Eugene, and Konrad H. Jarausch, editors, "In Search of a Liberal Germany: Studies in the History of German Liberalism from 1789 to the Present" (E), 980
- Jones, N. L., and D. M. Dean, editors, "The Parliaments of Elizabethan England" (E), 978
- Jones, Norrece T., Jr., "Born a Child of Freedom, Yet a Slave: Mechanisms of Control and Strategies of Resistance in Antebellum South Carolina," 278
- Jones, Peter d'A. (R), 555
- Jones, Raymond A. (R), 850

- Jordan, Constance, "Renaissance Feminism: Literary Texts and Political Models," 183
- Jordan, David P. (R), 215
- Jordan, William Chester (R), 536, 838
- Jordanova, Ludmilla, and Peter Hulme, editors, "The Enlightenment and Its Shadows" (E), 1328
- Jordanova, Ludmilla, "Sexual Visions: Images of Gender in Science and Medicine between the Eighteenth and Twentieth Centuries," 821
- Joseph, Gilbert M., and Jeffery T. Brannon, editors, "Land, Labor, and Capital in Modern Yucatán: Essays in Regional History and Political Economy" (E), 984
- "Joseph E. Davis," by Hermann, 617
- Josephy, Alvin M., Jr., "The Civil War in the American West," 1286
- "Journalists for Empire," by Startt, 1527
- Joyce, Davis D. (R), 921
- Joyce, Patrick, "Visions of the People: Industrial England and the Question of Class 1848–1914," 1217
- Ju Dou*, directed by Zhang Yimou and Yang Fengliang, 1146
- Judd, Richard W., "Socialist Cities: Municipal Politics and the Grass Roots of American Socialism," 304
- "Juden in Böhmen," by Wlaschek, 572
- "The Juggler," by Kimball, 639
- Jui-Te, Chang, "Chung-kuo chin-tai t'ieh-lu shih-yeh kuan-li te yen-chiu: Cheng-chih ts'eng-mien te fen-hsi, 1876–1937" (Railroads in Modern China: Political Aspects of Railroad Administration, 1876–1937), 1263
- Jumonville, Neil, "Critical Crossings: The New York Intellectuals in Postwar America," 307
- "Junker und bürgerliche Grossgrundbesitzer im Kaiserreich," by Hess, 875
- Just, Roger, "Women in Athenian Law and Life," 170
- "Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes," by Pohlman, 926
- Kaba, Lansiné (R), 1573
- Kaestle, Carl F., *et al.*, "Literacy in the United States: Readers and Reading since 1880" (E), 1649
- Kaeuper, Richard W. (R), 1201
- Kafker, Frank A. (R), 1533
- Kagan, Richard L., "Lucrecia's Dreams: Politics and Prophecy in Sixteenth-Century Spain," 220
- Kaiser, David (C), 1359
- Kalman, Laura, "Abe Fortas: A Biography," 315
- Kamen, Henry (R), 866
- Kamphoefner, Walter D. (R), 1556
- Kang, Min Soo (R), 1159
- Kann, Mark E., "On the Man Question: Gender and Civic Virtue in America," 1272
- Kanwar, Pamela, "Imperial Simla: The Political Culture of the Raj," 1583
- Kaplan, Lawrence, *et al.*, editors, "NATO after Forty Years" (E), 975
- Kaplan, Lawrence S., editor, "American Historians and the Atlantic Alliance" (E), 1653
- Kaplan, Lawrence S., *et al.*, editors, "Dien Bien Phu and the Crisis of Franco-American Relations, 1954–1955" (E), 324
- Kaplan, Lawrence S., "NATO and the United States: The Enduring Alliance," 643
- Kaplan, Marion A., "The Making of the Jewish Middle Class: Women, Family, and Identity in Imperial Germany," 1239
- Kapur, Harish, "Distant Neighbours: China and Europe," 268
- Karamanski, Theodore J., "Deep Woods Frontier: A History of Logging in Northern Michigan," 287
- Kark, Ruth, editor, "The Land That Became Israel: Studies in Historical Geography" (E), 327
- Kark, Ruth, and Joseph B. Glass, "Sephardi Entrepreneurs in Eretz Israel: The Amzalak Family 1816–1918," 1570
- Karnes, Thomas L. (R), 653
- Karpat, Kemal (R), 898
- Kashtanov, S. M., "Finansy srednevekovoi Rusi" [The Finances of Medieval Rus'], 541
- Kass-Simon, G., and Patricia Farnes, editors, "Women of Science: Righting the Record" (E), 323
- Kasson, Joy S. (R), 607
- Katz, Stanley N. (R), 1584
- Kaufman, Martin (R), 943
- "Kaukasien 1942/43," by Hoffmann, 1515
- Kauppi, Niilo (R), 1546
- Kawashima, Fujiya (R), 601
- Kazin, Michael (C), 1351
- Kazin, Michael, *The Grass-Roots Right: New Histories of U.S. Conservatism in the Twentieth Century*, 136–55
- Keddie, Nikki (C), 345
- Kedourie, Elie (C), 1006
- Keene, Derek, and Penelope J. Corfield, editors, "Work in Towns, 850–1850" (E), 976
- "Keepers of Our Past," by Russo, 921
- "Keepers of the Keys," by Prados, 962
- Keita, S. O. Y. (C), 1355
- Kelley, Donald R. (C), 681
- Kelley, Donald R., "Renaissance Humanism," 1510
- Kelley, Robin D. G., "Hammer and Hoe: Alabama Communists during the Great Depression," 304
- Kelley, Robin D. G., *Notes on Deconstructing "The Folk,"* 1400–08
- Kelley, Robin D. G. (R), 305
- Kelly, Alfred (R), 1562
- "The Kelmscott Press," by Peterson, 1221
- Kemerer, Frank R., "William Wayne Justice: A Judicial Biography," 1625
- Kemp, Anthony, "The Estrangement of the Past: A Study in the Origins of Modern Historical Consciousness," 515
- Kendle, John, "Ireland and the Federal Solution: The Debate over the United Kingdom Constitution, 1870–1921," 855
- Kendle, John (R), 916, 1528
- Kendrick, Stephen, *et al.*, editors, "Interpreting the Past, Understanding the Present" (E), 661
- Kenez, Peter (R), 1253
- Kennedy, Dane (R), 1258
- Kennedy, R. Emmet, Jr. (R), 216
- Kennedy, Thomas C. (R), 1209
- Kennett, Lee, "The First Air War, 1914–1918," 1208
- Kent, Peter C. (R), 245
- Ker, Ian, and Alan G. Hill, editors, "Newman after a Hundred Years" (E), 978
- Kerber, Linda K., *The Paradox of Women's Citizenship in the Early Republic: The Case of Martin vs. Massachusetts, 1805*, 349–78
- Kershaw, Ian, editor, "Weimar: Why Did German Democracy Fail?" (E), 327
- Kesselman, Amy (R), 1610
- Ketelaar, James Edward, "Of Heretics and Martyrs in Meiji Japan: Buddhism and Its Persecution," 1267
- Kett, Joseph F. (R), 1275
- Khalidi, Rashid (C), 345
- Khoury, Philip S., and Joseph Kostiner, editors,

- "Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East" (E), 981
- Kibbey, Ann (R), 515
- Kicza, John E. (R), 1320
- Kieckhefer, Richard (R), 837
- "Kierkegaard in Golden Age Denmark," by Kirmmse, 1546
- Kiernan, Ben, *The Vietnam War: Alternative Endings*, 1118–37
- Kilander, Svenbjörn, "Den nya staten och den gamla: En studie i ideologisk förändring" [The New State and the Old: A Study in Ideological Change], 1546
- Kilar, Jeremy W., "Michigan's Lumbertowns: Lumbermen and Laborers in Saginaw, Bay City, and Muskegon, 1870–1905," 287
- Kimambo, Isaria N., "Penetration and Protest in Tanzania: The Impact of the World Economy on the Pare 1860–1960," 904
- Kimball, Warren F., "The Juggler: Franklin Roosevelt as Wartime Statesman," 639
- "Kindsmord und Aufklärung in Deutschland," by Ulbricht, 872
- King, Frank H. H., *et al.*, "The History of the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation." Volume 1, "The Hongkong Bank in Late Imperial China, 1864–1902: On An Even Keel," 598
- King, John, "Magical Reels: A History of Cinema in Latin America," 971
- King, Lester S., "Transformations in American Medicine: From Benjamin Rush to William Osler," 943
- King, Robert J., "The Secret History of the Convict Colony: Alexandro Malaspina's Report on the British Settlement of New South Wales," 604
- "King Abdullah, Britain, and the Making of Jordan," by Wilson, 590
- "King and Country," by Griffiths, 1507
- "The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191–1374," by Edbury, 1200
- Kingdon, Robert M. (R), 242
- "The Kingfish and His Realm," by Hair, 1619
- "Kingston," by Osborne and Swainson, 1318
- Kingston-Mann, Esther, and Timothy Mixter, editors, "Peasant Economy, Culture, and Politics of European Russia, 1800–1921" (E), 1333
- Kinser, Samuel (R), 212
- Kinzer, Bruce L. (R), 1525
- Kirkby, Diane, "Alice Henry: The Power of Pen and Voice; The Life of an Australian-American Labor Reformer," 1609
- Kirmmse, Bruce H., "Kierkegaard in Golden Age Denmark," 1546
- Kirshner, Julius (R), 1505
- Kitchen, Martin (R), 187
- Kittell, Ellen E., "From *Ad Hoc* to Routine: A Case Study in Medieval Bureaucracy," 1504
- Kittelson, James M. (R), 222
- Kjærgaard, Thorkild, "Den danske revolution 1500–1800: En pøkohistorisk tolkning" [The Danish Revolution, 1500–1800: An Ecohistoric Interpretation], 1231
- Kleijwegt, Marc, "Ancient Youth: The Ambiguity of Youth and the Absence of Adolescence in Greco-Roman Society," 527
- Kleimola, A. M. (R), 541
- Klein, Martin A. (R), 593
- Klemperer, Klemens von (R), 517
- Kline, Benjamin, and Stephen Payne, editors, "Imperialism and Its Legacy: Issues and Perspectives" (E), 973
- Klingenstein, Susanne, "Jews in the American Academy, 1900–1940: The Dynamics of Intellectual Assimilation," 1289
- Kloppenbergh, James T. (R), 919
- Knafila, Louis A., editor, "Crime, Police, and the Courts in British History" (E), 665
- Knight, Franklin W. (R), 320
- Knight, Thomas (R), 822
- Knights, Peter R., "Yankee Destinies: The Lives of Ordinary Nineteenth-Century Bostonians," 1293
- "Knights of the Plow," by Woods, 1599
- Knobel, Dale T. (R), 1612
- Knopke, Harry J., *et al.*, editors, "Opening Doors: Perspectives on Race Relations in Contemporary America" (E), 1651
- Knox, Dilwyn (R), 1559
- Knopfer, Peter B., "The Union as It Is: Constitutional Unionism and Sectional Compromise, 1787–1861," 1592
- Kocka, Jürgen, "Arbeitsverhältnisse und Arbeiterexistenzen: Grundlagen der Klassenbildung im 19. Jahrhundert," 228
- Kocka, Jürgen, "Weder Stand noch Klasse: Unterschichten um 1800," 228
- Koditschek, Theodore (R), 1217
- Kofman, Jan, "Lewiatan a podstawowe zagadnienia ekonomiczno-polityczne Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej: Z dziejów ideologii kół wielokapitalistycznych w Polsce" [Leviathan and the Fundamental Economic and Political Problems of the Second Republic: On the History of the Ideology of Great Capitalists in Poland], 891
- Kohler, Robert E., "Partners in Science: Foundations and Natural Scientists, 1900–1945," 295
- Kohler, Robert E. (R), 945
- Kohlstedt, Sally Gregory, and R. W. Home, editors, "International Science and National Scientific Identity: Australia between Britain and America" (E), 1642
- Kohut, Thomas A., "Wilhelm II and the Germans: A Study in Leadership," 1238
- Koistinen, Paul A. C. (R), 1622
- Kolb, Eberhard, "Der Weg aus dem Krieg: Bismarcks Politik im Krieg und die Friedensanbahnung 1870/71," 1555
- Komlos, John (R), 1248
- "Kommerz und Klüngel," by Schnurmann, 1549
- König, David Thomas (R), 1590
- Koot, Gerard M. (R), 208
- Kopf, David (R), 270; (C) 1009
- Kotálka, Jiří, *Historiography of the Countries of Eastern Europe: Czechoslovakia*, 1026–40
- Korbonski, Andrzej (R), 892
- Kornweibel, Theodore, Jr. (R), 949
- Koropeczyk, I. S., editor, "Ukrainian Economic History: Interpretive Essays" (E), 981
- Koshar, Rudy, editor, "Splintered Classes: Politics and the Lower Middle Classes in Interwar Europe" (E), 977
- Koshar, Rudy (R), 1559
- Kostiner, Joseph, and Philip S. Khoury, editors, "Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East" (E), 981
- Koszarski, Richard, "An Evening's Entertainment: The Age of the Silent Feature Picture, 1915–1928," 1298
- Kovrig, Bennett, "Of Walls and Bridges: The United States and Eastern Europe," 961
- Kowaleski, Maryanne (R), 538
- Kraehe, Enno E., *A Bipolar Balance of Power*, 707–15
- Kraig, Bruce (R), 166

- Kramer, Dieter, and Hilmar Hoffmann, editors, "Der Umbau Europas: Deutsche Einheit und europäische Integration" (E), 1647
- Krasuski, Jerzy, *et al.*, editors, "Stosunki polsko-niemieckie w historiografii." Volume 3, "Studia z dziejów historiografii polskiej i niemieckiej" [Polish-German Relations in Historiography. Volume 3, Essays in Polish and German Historiography] (E), 1648
- Kraut, Benny (R), 927
- Kremer, Gary R., "James Milton Turner and the Promise of America," 936
- Kren, George M. (R), 1242
- Krenn, Dorit-Maria, "Die christliche Arbeiterbewegung in Bayern vom Ersten Weltkrieg bis 1933," 1557
- Krenn, Michael L. (R), 645
- Kriedte, Peter, "Eine Stadt am seidenen Faden: Haushalt, Hausindustrie und soziale Bewegung in Krefeld in der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts," 1552
- "Der Krieg gegen die Hexen," by Schormann, 1233
- "Kroatische Nationalpolitik und 'Jugoslavenstvo,'" by Schödl, 889
- Kroll, Frank-Lothar, "Friedrich Wilhelm IV. und das Staatsdenken der deutschen Romantik," 873
- Krüger, Arnd, and John Marshall Carter, editors, "Ritual and Record: Sports Records and Quantification in Pre-Modern Societies" (E), 1643
- Krupp, R. A. (R), 530
- Kselman, Thomas, editor, "Belief in History: Innovative Approaches to European and American Religion" (E), 1324
- Kubicek, Robert (R), 1574
- Kubler, George, "Esthetic Recognition of Ancient Amerindian Art," 650
- Kuehn, Thomas (R), 1560
- Kuhn, Philip A., "Soulstealers: The Chinese Sorcery Scare of 1768," 597
- Kuisel, Richard F. (R), 1211
- Kuklick, Bruce (R), 157
- Kuklick, Bruce, "To Every Thing a Season: Shibe Park and Urban Philadelphia, 1909–1976," 634
- Kulak, Zbigniew, and Antoni Czubiński, editors, "Stosunki polsko-niemieckie 1919–1932" [Polish-German Relations, 1919–32] (E), 1648
- "The Kulturkampf in Prussian Poland," by Trzeciakowski, 249
- Kumar, Nita (R), 911
- Kunz, Diane B., "The Economic Diplomacy of the Suez Crisis," 1185
- Kuropas, Myron B., "The Ukrainian Americans: Roots and Aspirations, 1884–1954," 629
- "Kurze Geschichte Siebenbürgens," by Barta *et al.* (E), 667
- Kushner, Howard I. (R), 189
- Kushner, Tony, and Kenneth Lunn, editors, "The Politics of Marginality: Race, the Radical Right, and Minorities in Twentieth-Century Britain" (E), 1330
- Kussmaul, Ann, "A General View of the Rural Economy of England, 1538–1840," 191
- Kuznesof, Elizabeth Anne (R), 1633
- Kyle, Keith, "Suez," 1184
- Kyvig, David E., editor, "Reagan and the World" (E), 669
- "Labor and Imperial Democracy in Prewar Japan," by Gordon, 270
- "Labor Divided," edited by Asher and Stephenson (E), 329
- "Labor Will Rule," by Fraser, 1294
- "Labour at War," by Horne, 1209
- LaCapra, Dominick (C), 1003
- LaCapra, Dominick, *Intellectual History and Its Ways*, 425–39
- Lacorne, Denis, *et al.*, editors, "The Rise and Fall of Anti-Americanism: A Century of French Perception" (E), 666
- "Lady Bountiful Revisited," edited by McCarthy (E), 323
- LaFollette, Marcel C., "Making Science Our Own: Public Images of Science, 1910–1955," 158
- LaFollette, Marcel C. (R), 1628
- Lamon, Lester C. (R), 936
- "Lancelot Andrewes, the Preacher (1555–1626)," by Lossky, 846
- "Land and Politics in the Valley of Mexico," edited by Harvey (E), 1653
- "Land, Labor, and Capital in Modern Yucatán," edited by Brannon and Joseph (E), 984
- "The Land That Became Israel," edited by Kark (E), 327
- Landau, Jacob M., "The Politics of Pan-Islam: Ideology and Organization," 1255
- Langford, Paul, "Public Life and the Propertied Englishman, 1689–1798," 1214
- Langmuir, Gavin I. (R), 535
- Langmuir, Gavin I., "Toward a Definition of Antisemitism," 838
- Lankton, Larry, "Cradle to Grave: Life, Work, and Death at the Lake Superior Copper Mines," 628
- Lansing, Carol, "The Florentine Magnates: Lineage and Faction in a Medieval Commune," 1505
- Lapidus, Ira M. (R), 257
- Larson, John Lauritz (R), 1604
- Lasch, Christopher, "The True and Only Heaven: Progress and Its Critics," 605
- "The Last Great Game," by Dukes, 825
- "The Last Great Necessity," by Sloane, 274
- Laurence, Anne, *et al.*, editors, "John Bunyan and His England, 1628–88" (E), 1329
- Laurence, Anne, "Parliamentary Army Chaplains, 1642–1651," 847
- Lavrin, Asunción (R), 321
- "Law and Modernization in the Church of England," by Rodes, Jr., 1518
- "Law, Custom, and the Social Fabric in Medieval Europe," edited by Bachrach and Nicholas (E), 1327
- "Law, Gender, and Injustice," by Hoff, 920
- "Law in Colonial Africa," edited by Mann and Roberts (E), 981
- "The Law's Conscience," by Hoffer, 279
- Lawson, Steven F. (R), 1620
- Lazonick, William, "Competitive Advantage on the Shop Floor," 166
- "The Leader, the Led, and the Psyche," by Mazlish, 1177
- "Learning in U.S. and Soviet Foreign Policy," edited by Breslauer and Tetlock (E), 1643
- Learning to Talk More Like a Man*, by Deutsch, 379–404
- Lears, T. J. Jackson, *Making Fun of Popular Culture*, 1417–26
- "Lebenserwartungen in Deutschland vom 17. bis 19. Jahrhundert," by Imhof, 224
- LeBlanc, Lawrence J., "The United States and the Genocide Convention," 1317
- Laba, Roman, "The Roots of Solidarity: A Political Sociology of Poland's Working-Class Democratization," 892
- "Labor and Desire," by Rabinowitz, 1303

- LeDonne, John P., "Absolutism and Ruling Class: The Formation of the Russian Political Order 1700–1825," 1565
- Lee, Loyd E. (R), 227, 1553
- Lee, Maurice, Jr. (R), 550
- "Lee Considered," by Nolan, 618
- Leed, Eric (R), 523
- Leffler, Melvyn P. (R), 960
- "Left-Wing Nietzscheans," by Taylor, 573
- "The Legacy," edited by Shafer (E), 669
- "The Legacy of Roman Law in the German Romantic Era," by Whitman, 226
- LeGrand, Catherine (R), 653
- Lehmberg, Stanford E. (R), 549
- Lehning, James R. (R), 1532
- Leiberov, I. P., and S. D. Rudachenko, "Revoliutsiia i khleb" [Revolution and Bread], 587
- Leibo, Steven A. (R), 268, 1576
- Leiter, Jeffrey, *et al.*, editors, "Hanging by a Thread: Social Change in Southern Textiles" (E), 1651
- Leith, James A. (R), 1536
- LeMahieu, D. L. (R), 1221
- Lemann, Nicholas, "The Promised Land: The Great Black Migration and How It Changed America," 635
- Lemmings, David, "Gentlemen and Barristers: The Inns of Court and the English Bar, 1680–1730," 847
- "Lenin." Volume 2, "Worlds in Collision," by Service, 583
- "Lenin, Trotsky, and Stalin," by Pomper, 583
- Leonard, Thomas C. (R), 611
- Leonard, Thomas M., "Central America and the United States: The Search for Stability," 1186
- Lepore, Amedeo, "La questione meridionale prima dell'intervento straordinario," 886
- Lepovitz, Helena Waddy, "Images of Faith: Expressionism, Catholic Folk Art, and the Industrial Revolution," 841
- "Let Us Have Peace," by Simpson, 934
- Leuchtenburg, William E. (C), 1001
- Leuchtenburg, William E., *The Historian and the Public Realm*, 1–18
- Levack, Brian P. (R), 847
- Levenstein, Harvey (R), 1615
- Leventhal, F. M. (R), 210
- Levering, Ralph B. (R), 311
- Levin, N. Gordon, Jr. (R), 1312
- Levine, Hillel, "Economic Origins of Antisemitism: Poland and Its Jews in the Early Modern Period," 1246
- Levine, Lawrence W., *Levine Responds*, 1427–30
- Levine, Lawrence W., *The Folklore of Industrial Society: Popular Culture and Its Audiences*, 1369–99
- Levine, Molly M. (C), 1354
- Levine, Molly Myerowitz, *The Use and Abuse of Black Athena*, 440–60
- Levine, Philippa, "Feminist Lives in Victorian England: Private Roles and Public Commitment," 201
- Levine, Robert M. (R), 1635
- Levine Responds*, by L. Levine, 1427–30
- Levy, Darline Gay (R), 840
- "Lewiatan a podstawowe zagadnienia ekonomiczno-polityczne Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej" [Leviathan and the Fundamental Economic and Political Problems of the Second Republic], by Kofman, 891
- Lewis, Anthony, "Make No Law: The Sullivan Case and the First Amendment," 1310
- Lewis, Beth Irwin (R), 233
- Lewis, Earl, "In Their Own Interests: Race, Class, and Power in Twentieth-Century Norfolk, Virginia," 949
- Lewis, Jane, "Women and Social Action in Victorian and Edwardian England," 1220
- Lewis, Jill, "Fascism and the Working Class in Austria, 1918–1934: The Failure of Labour in the First Republic," 879
- Lewis, Judith Schneid (R), 195
- Lewis, Mark Edward, "Sanctioned Violence in Early China," 907
- "Lewis M. Terman," by Minton, 945
- "Lewis Mumford," edited by Hughes and Hughes (E), 983
- Leyendecker, Liston Edgington, "Palace Car Prince: A Biography of George Mortimer Pullman," 1604
- "Liberal Journalism and American Education, 1914–1941," by Wallace, 927
- "Ein Liberaler in Kaiserreich und Republik," by Demm, 235
- "Liberty in America." Volume 3, "Liberty in Peril, 1850–1920," by Handlin and Handlin, 1606
- "Liberty, Property, and the Future of Constitutional Development," edited by Paul and Dickman (E), 1334
- Liebel-Weckowicz, Helen (R), 570, 1202
- Liebersohn, Harry (R), 1236
- "The Life and Mind of Oriental Jones," by Cannon, 1522
- "The Life and Work of S. M. Dubnov," by Dubnov-Erich, 546
- Lih, Lars T. (R), 587
- "Lille and the Dutch Revolt," by DuPlessis, 868
- Limerick, Patricia Nelson, *The Multicultural Islands*, 121–35
- "The Limited Raj," by Yang, 1269
- "Lincoln, Douglas, and Slavery," by Zarefsky, 617
- "Lincoln, the South, and Slavery," by Johannsen, 1284
- Lindberg, David C., and Robert S. Westman, editors, "Reappraisals of the Scientific Revolution" (E), 973
- Lindemann, Mary, "Patriots and Paupers: Hamburg, 1712–1830," 570
- Lindemann, Mary (R), 1234
- Linden-Ward, Blanche (R), 274
- Lindenfeld, David (R), 542
- Lindner, Rudi Paul (R), 589
- Lindstrom, Diane (R), 1291
- Linton, Derek S., "'Who Has the Youth, Has the Future': The Campaign to Save Young Workers in Imperial Germany," 877
- "Lion, Eagle, and Swastika," by Garnett, 1241
- Lipartito, Kenneth, and Joseph Pratt, "Baker and Botts in the Development of Modern Houston," 1306
- Lipstadt, Deborah E. (R), 160, 547
- Litchfield, R. Burr (R), 1244
- "Literacy in the United States," by Kaestle *et al.* (E), 1649
- Littlefield, Daniel C. (R), 278
- "Livelihood and Resistance," by Smith, 1637
- "Lives in Between," by Spitzer, 521
- "Living Water," by Christian, 253
- "Le livre religieux et ses pratiques/Der Umgang mit dem religiösen Buch," edited by Bödeker *et al.* (E), 1645
- Llewellyn, Nigel, and Lucy Gent, editors, "Renaissance Bodies: The Human Figure in English Culture, c. 1540–1660" (E), 977
- Lloyd, Trevor (R), 1223
- "Lloyd George and the Challenge of Labour," by Wrigley, 208
- "Locating the Shakers," edited by Gidley and Bowles (E), 1335
- Lockard, Craig A. (R), 266

- "Logistics of Liberty," by Huston, 933
 Lombard, Denys, "Le carrefour javanais: Essai d'histoire globale," 916
 Lombard-Jourdan, Anne, "'Montjoie et saint Denis': Le centre de la Gaule aux origines de Paris et de Saint-Denis," 533
 Long, Diana E. (R), 821
 "The Long Argument," by Foster, 607
 Longfield, Bradley J., "The Presbyterian Controversy: Fundamentalists, Modernists, and Moderates," 633
 Longstreth, Richard, editor, "The Mall in Washington, 1791-1991" (E), 1649
 "Lord of Attention," by Bush, 294
 "Lordship and the Urban Community," by Bonney, 538
 Lorimer, Douglas A. (R), 554
 Lossky, Nicholas, "Lancelot Andrewes, the Preacher (1555-1626): The Origins of the Mystical Theology of the Church of England," 846
 Lotchin, Roger W. (R), 825
 Loubère, Leo A. (R), 1204
 Lougee, Carolyn C. (R), 1531
 Louis, Wm. Roger, and Robert A. Fernea, editors, "The Iraqi Revolution of 1958: The Old Social Classes Revisited" (E), 1333
 Lowe, Donald M. (R), 267
 Lowe, Richard, "Republicans and Reconstruction in Virginia, 1856-70," 933
 Lowenthal, Abraham F., editor, "Exporting Democracy: The United States and Latin America" (E), 1337
 Luckin, Bill (C), 1004
 "Lucrecia's Dreams," by Kagan, 220
 Luebke, Frederick C. (R), 1322
 Lund, Niels, and Ian Wood, editors, "People and Places in Northern Europe, 500-1600: Essays in Honour of Peter Hayes Sawyer" (E), 1326
 Lundahl, Mats, and Thommy Svensson, editors, "Agrarian Society in History: Essays in Honour of Magnus Mörner" (E), 1325
 Lundestad, Geir, "The American 'Empire': And Other Studies of U.S. Foreign Policy in a Comparative Perspective," 641
 Lunenfeld, Marvin (R), 539
 Lungu, Dov B. (R), 1250
 Lunn, Kenneth, and Tony Kushner, editors, "The Politics of Marginality: Race, the Radical Right, and Minorities in Twentieth-Century Britain" (E), 1330
 "The Lutheran Church and the East German State," by Goeckel, 241
 Lutz, Jessie G. (R), 599
 Lynch, Joseph H. (R), 531, 1498
 Lynch, Katherine A. (R), 289
 Lynn, John A., editor, "Tools of War: Instruments, Ideas, and Institutions of Warfare, 1445-1871" (E), 323
 Lyon, Bryce (R), 180, 1504
 Maas, Michael (R), 167
 "MacArthur's Japanese Constitution," by Inoue, 909
 McCormack, Sabine (R), 650
 MacDonagh, Oliver, "Jane Austen: Real and Imagined Worlds," 1221
 MacDonald, Michael, and Terence R. Murphy, "Sleepless Souls: Suicide in Early Modern England," 189
 MacGaffey, Wyatt (R), 593
 Maciel, David R. (R), 1308
 Macintyre, Stuart, "The Oxford History of Australia," 915
 MacLachlan, Colin M., "Anarchism and the Mexican Revolution: The Political Trials of Ricardo Flores Magón in the United States," 1632
 MacLeod, Murdo J. (R), 1636
 MacMaster, Neil, "Spanish Fighters: An Oral History of Civil War and Exile," 867
 MacMullen, Edith Nye, "In the Cause of True Education: Henry Barnard and Nineteenth-Century School Reform," 290
 Macpherson, Robin, "Rome in Involution: Cassiodorus' *Variae* in Their Literary and Historical Setting," 174
 "Madame le Professeur," by Margadant, 861
 Madariaga, Isabel de, "Catherine the Great: A Short History," 251
 Maddox, Robert James (R), 163
 "Made in Italy," by Blim, 1562
 "Madness and Social Representations," by Jodelet, 1539
 "Madness in Late Imperial China," by Ng, 1262
 "Magical Reels," by King, 971
 Magner, Lois N. (R), 295
 "Les Maharajahs et la politique dans l'Inde contemporaine," by Hurtig, 603
 Maienschein, Jane, "Transforming Traditions in American Biology, 1880-1915," 945
 Maier, Charles S., editor, "The Marshall Plan and Germany: West German Development within the Framework of the European Recovery Program" (E), 1647
 Main, Gloria L. (R), 929
 "Majestic Failure," by Zonis, 1256
 "Major Robert Farmer of Mobile," by Rea, 932
 Makela, Maria, "The Munich Secession: Art and Artists in Turn-of-the-Century Munich," 233
 "Make No Law," by Lewis, 1310
 "Making America Corporate, 1870-1920," by Zunz, 293
 "Making a Middle Class," by Axelrod, 964
Making Fun of Popular Culture, by Lears, 1417-26
 "Making Imperial Mentalities," edited by Mangan (E), 978
 "Making Iron and Steel," by Ingham, 1291
 "The Making of a Saint," by Galatariotou, 1503
 "The Making of Haiti," by Fick, 651
 "The Making of the English Middle Class," by Earle, 194
 "The Making of the Jewish Middle Class," by Kaplan, 1239
 "Making Science Our Own," by LaFollette, 158
 Malchow, H. L. (R), 203
 Malino, Frances, and David Sorkin, editors, "From East and West: Jews in a Changing Europe, 1750-1870" (E), 1329
 "The Mall in Washington, 1791-1991," edited by Longstreth (E), 1649
 Mallmann, Klaus-Michael, and Gerhard Paul, "Herrschaft und Alltag: Ein Industrieviertel im Dritten Reich," 1559
 Maltby, William S. (R), 1487
 "Man and Nature/L'homme et la nature," edited by Graham and Johnson (E), 324
 "Man-Gods in the Mexican Highlands," by Gruzinski, 655
 Mancall, Peter C. (R), 1587
 Mandala, Elias C., "Work and Control in a Peasant Economy: A History of the Lower Tchiri Valley in Malawi, 1859-1960," 261
 Mandler, Peter, editor, "The Uses of Charity: The

- Poor on Relief in the Nineteenth-Century Metropolis" (E), 974
- Mangan, J. A., editor, "Making Imperial Mentalities: Socialisation and British Imperialism" (E), 978
- Manning, Roger B. (R), 846, 1214
- Mann, Kristin, and Richard Roberts, editors, "Law in Colonial Africa" (E), 981
- Mansergh, Nicholas, "The Unresolved Question: The Anglo-Irish Settlement and Its Undoing, 1912-72," 1528
- Mansfield, Harvey C., Jr. (R), 182
- Manson, Janet M., "Diplomatic Ramifications of Unrestricted Submarine Warfare, 1939-1941," 548
- "Manufacturing Knowledge," by Gillespie, 1301
- Mapantsula*, written and directed by Thomas Mogotlane and Oliver Schmitz, 1141
- "Marc Bloch aujourd'hui," edited by Burguière and Atsma (E), 326, 979
- Marcus, Harold G. (R), 259; (C), 1365
- Marcus, Jacob Rader, "United States Jewry, 1776-1985," 280
- Marder, Arthur J., *et al.*, "Old Friends, New Enemies: The Royal Navy and the Imperial Japanese Navy," 854
- Margadant, Jo Burr, "Madame le Professeur: Women Educators in the Third Republic," 861
- Margairaz, Michel, "L'état, les finances et l'économie: Histoire d'une conversion 1932-1952," 1211
- "The Margins of City Life," by Merriman, 1535
- Marietti, Marina, *et al.*, editors, "Quêtes d'une identité collective chez les Italiens de la Renaissance: Alberti, Guichardin, Speroni, Sienne au XVI^e siècle, Le Tasse" (E), 1648
- Marino, John A., and Antonio Calabria, editors and translators, "Good Government in Spanish Naples" (E), 327
- "Mario Alberto Rollier," by Vercelli, 1563
- Markowitz, Gerald, and David Rosner, "Deadly Dust: Silicosis and the Politics of Occupational Disease in Twentieth-Century America," 1600
- Marks, Sally (R), 186
- Marks, Steven G. (R), 1250
- Marks, Steven G., "Road to Power: The Trans-Siberian Railroad and the Colonization of Asian Russia, 1850-1917," 896
- Marks, Stuart A., "Southern Hunting in Black and White: Nature, History, and Ritual in a Carolina Community," 1613
- Markus, R. A., "The End of Ancient Christianity," 530
- Marling, Karal Ann, and John Wetenhall, "Two Jima: Monuments, Memories, and the American Hero," 1305
- "Marriage and Inequality in Chinese Society," edited by Watson and Ebrey (E), 1333
- Marrus, Michael R. (R), 882
- Marshall, D. Bruce (R), 864
- "The Marshall Plan and Germany," edited by Maier (E), 1647
- Martin, Albro (R), 284
- Martin, Albro, "Railroads Triumphant: The Growth, Rejection, and Rebirth of a Vital American Force," 1604
- Martin, Joel W., "Sacred Revolt: The Muskogees' Struggle for a New World," 615
- Martin, John (R), 885
- Martin, Marc, editor, "Histoire et médias: Journalisme et journalistes français 1950-1990" (E), 1646
- Martínez, Oscar J. (R), 626
- Marty, Martin E., "Modern American Religion." Volume 2, "The Noise of Conflict, 1919-1941," 632
- Martynov, Anatoly I., "The Ancient Art of Northern Asia," 907
- Marvel, William, "Burnside," 1285
- Marvick, Elizabeth (R), 858
- "Mary Grew," by Brown, 1280
- "Masks of Conquest," by Viswanathan, 272
- Mason, Emma, "St. Wulfstan of Worcester, c. 1008-1095," 1198
- Mass Culture, Mass Parliamentary Politics, and Modern Anti-Semitism*, by Fitch, 55-95
- Massaloux, Jean-Paul, "La régie de l'enregistrement et des domaines aux XVIII^e et XIX^e siècles: Étude historique," 563
- "Masters to Managers," edited by Jacoby (E), 1335
- Mathews, Thomas (R), 652
- Mathias, Peter, and Sidney Pollard, editors, "The Cambridge Economic History of Europe." Volume 8, "The Industrial Economies: The Development of Economic and Social Policies," 1513
- Matson, Cathy D., and Peter S. Onuf, "A Union of Interests: Political and Economic Thought in Revolutionary America," 610
- "Matter, Space, and Motion," by Sorabji, 168
- Matthews, Jean V., "Toward a New Society: American Thought and Culture, 1800-1830," 613
- Mattingly, Paul H. (R), 1296
- May, Glenn Anthony, "Battle for Batangas: A Philippine Province at War," 1183
- Mayer, Thomas F. (R), 1517
- Maynard, John Arthur, "Venice West: The Beat Generation in Southern California," 637
- Maynes, Mary Jo (R), 861
- "Mazarin," by Goubert, 214
- Mazlish, Bruce (R), 1176
- Mazlish, Bruce, "The Leader, the Led, and the Psyche: Essays in Psychohistory," 1177
- Mazon, Mauricio (R), 1307
- McBride, David, "From TB to AIDS: Epidemics among Urban Blacks since 1900," 948
- McBride, Lawrence W., "The Greening of Dublin Castle: The Transformation of Bureaucratic and Judicial Personnel in Ireland, 1892-1922," 1528
- McCalla, Douglas (R), 648
- McCarthy, Kathleen D., editor, "Lady Bountiful Revisited: Women, Philanthropy, and Power" (E), 323
- McClellan, James E. III (R), 215
- McClelland, Charles E. (R), 231
- McClelland, Charles E., "The German Experience of Professionalization: Modern Learned Professions and Their Organizations from the Early Nineteenth Century to the Hitler Era," 1554
- McColley, Robert (R), 1278
- McCracken, John (R), 261
- McDonnell, Janet A., "The Dispossession of the American Indian, 1887-1934," 923
- McDougall, Walter A. (R), 957
- McFeely, William S. (R), 1598
- McGibbon, Ian, "The Path to Gallipoli: Defending New Zealand 1840-1915," 916
- McGinn, Bernard, "The Presence of God: A History of Western Christian Mysticism." Volume 1, "The Foundations of Mysticism," 1497
- McGladdery, Christine, "James II," 1520
- McKean, Robert B., "St. Petersburg between the Revolutions: Workers and Revolutionaries, June 1907-February 1917," 256
- McKee, Christopher, "A Gentlemanly and Honorable Profession: The Creation of the U.S. Naval Officer Corps, 1794-1815," 612

- McKee, Christopher (R), 613
 McKibbin, Ross, "The Ideologies of Class: Social Relations in Britain, 1880–1950," 556
 McKitterick, Rosamond, editor, "The Uses of Literacy in Early Mediaeval Europe" (E), 975
 McLaren, Angus, "Our Own Master Race: Eugenics in Canada, 1885–1945," 318
 McLeod, Mark W., "The Vietnamese Response to French Intervention, 1862–1874," 1268
 McLoughlin, William G., "Champions of the Cherokees: Evan and John B. Jones," 922
 McMurry, Linda O. (R), 937
 McNall, Scott G., *et al.*, editors, "Bringing Class Back In: Contemporary and Historical Perspectives" (E), 1641
 McNamara, Dennis L., "The Colonial Origins of Korean Enterprises, 1910–1945," 601
 McNamara, Jo Ann (R), 831
 McNeill, William H. (R), 1182
 McQuaid, Kim (R), 1626
 McReynolds, Louise, "The News under Russia's Old Regime: The Development of a Mass-Circulation Press," 1567
 Meacham, Standish (R), 1219
 "The Meaning of South Carolina History," edited by Chesnut and Wilson (E), 1650
 "Meanings for Manhood," edited by Carnes and Griffen (E), 1650
 "The Medical Enlightenment of the Eighteenth Century," edited by Cunningham and French (E), 1641
 "Medical Malpractice in Nineteenth-Century America," by De Ville, 943
 "Medieval Canon Law and the Jews," by Pakter, 1500
 "The Medieval Castle in England and Wales," by Pounds, 836
 "Medieval Irish Saints' Lives," by Sharpe, 1198
 "Medieval Westminster, 1200–1540," by Rosser, 179
 "Medieval Women and the Sources of Medieval History," edited by Rosenthal (E), 664
 "Medievalia et humanistica," edited by Clogan (E), 1327
 "Medusa's Gaze," by Gallagher, 1519
 Megill, Allan (C), 1351; (R), 1486
 Mehl, Jean-Michel, "Les jeux au royaume de France du XIII^e au début du XVI^e siècle," 212
 Mehler, Barry (C), 682
 Mehrrens, Herbert, "Moderne—Sprache—Mathematik: Eine Geschichte des Streits um die Grundlagen der Disziplin und des Subjekts formaler Systeme," 157
 Meilinger, Phillip S. (R), 1304
Mein Krieg, directed by Harriet Eder and Thomas Kufus, 1155
 Meissner, Werner, "Philosophy and Politics in China: The Controversy over Dialectical Materialism in the 1930s," 267
 Melancon, Michael (R), 1252
 Melancon, Michael, "The Socialist Revolutionaries and the Russian Anti-War Movement, 1914–1917," 585
 Melhado, Evan M. (R), 842; (C), 1667
 Mellon, Stanley (R), 1535
 Melosh, Barbara, "Engendering Culture: Manhood and Womanhood in New Deal Public Art and Theater," 1302
 "Memory Offended," edited by Rittner and Roth (E), 1643
 Menache, Sophia, "The Vox Dei: Communication in the Middle Ages," 534
 Menard, Russell R. (R), 521
 Menning, Bruce W. (R), 584
 "Men of Modest Substance," by Faroghi, 589
 "Mercedes in Peace and War," by Bellon, 236
 "Merchant Capital and Islam," by Ibrahim, 257
 Merriman, John M., "The Margins of City Life: Explorations on the French Urban Frontier, 1815–1851," 1535
 Metcalf, Barbara D. (R), 913
 Metcalf, Michael F. (R), 1566
 Metcalf, Thomas R., "An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj," 602
 Metcalf, Thomas R. (R), 1581
 "Meteorology in America, 1800–1870," by Fleming, 947
 "Metternich and the German Question," by Billinger, 1235
 Meyerson, Mark D. (R), 567
 Meyerson, Mark D., "The Muslims of Valencia in the Age of Fernando and Isabel: Between Coexistence and Crusade," 539
 Michael R. Hyman, "The Anti-Redeemers," 285
 "Michel Foucault," by Eribon, 1485
 "Michel Foucault," by Visker, 542
 Michelson, Paul E. (R), 1246
 "Michigan's Lumbertowns," by Kilar, 287
 "The Middle Ground," by White, 1587
 Middlekauff, Robert (R), 1588
 Middleton, Charles R. (R), 849, 1514
 Miers, Suzanne (R), 262
 Miethke, Jürgen, and Ovidio Capitani, editors, "L'attesa della fine dei tempi nel Medioevo" (E), 325
 Mighetto, Lisa, "Wild Animals and American Environmental Ethics," 1614
A Mild Rejoinder, by Schroeder, 733–35
 "The Military Orders," by Forey, 1502
 "Militärischer Konservatismus," by Trox, 874
 Milkman, Ruth (R), 1609
 Millard, Andre (R), 1547
 Miller, Char, and Heywood T. Sanders, editors, "Urban Texas: Politics and Development" (E), 329
 Miller, David W. (R), 1528
 Miller, John, editor, "Absolutism in Seventeenth-Century Europe" (E), 1644
 Miller, Wilbur R. (R), 1291
 Miller, Wilbur R., "Revenuers and Moonshiners: Enforcing Federal Liquor Law in the Mountain South, 1865–1900," 924
 Miller, Ylana N. (R), 1571
 Mills, Allen, "Fool for Christ: The Political Thought of J. S. Woodsworth," 964
 Milner, Andrew, *et al.*, editors, "Postmodern Conditions" (E), 664
 Milner, Susan, "The Dilemmas of Internationalism: French Syndicalism and the International Labour Movement, 1900–1914," 860
 "Milton and the Rise of Russian Satanism," by Boss, 894
 Minter, William (R), 313
 Minton, Henry L., "Lewis M. Terman: Pioneer in Psychological Testing," 945
Mirch Masala [Spices], directed by Ketan Mehta, 1148
 Mironenko, S. V., "Stranitsy tainoi istorii samoderzhavii: Politicheskaiia istoriia Rossii pervoi poloviny XIX stoletiiia" [Pages from the Secret History of the Autocracy: A Political History of Russia in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century], 252
 Mironov, B. N., "Russkii gorod v 1740–1860-e gody: Demograficheskoe, sotsial'noe i ekonomicheskoe razvitiie" [The Russian City in the Years 1740–1860:

- Demographic, Social, and Economic Development], 893
- Mirovitskaia, R. A., "Sovetskii Soiuz v strategii Gomin'dana (20–30-e gody)" [The Soviet Union in Guomindang Strategy of the 1920s and 1930s], 897
- "La mise au pas," by Thalmann, 863
- Misra, B. B., "The Unification and Division of India," 1582
- Mitchell, Allan (R), 185
- Mitchell, Otis C. (R), 880
- Mitchell, Richard E., "Patricians and Plebeians: The Origin of the Roman State," 1189
- Mitchell, Robert D., editor, "Appalachian Frontiers: Settlement, Society, and Development in the Preindustrial Era" (E), 1335
- Mitchell, Thomas N., "Cicero, the Senior Statesman," 173
- Mitchell, William P., "Peasants on the Edge: Crop, Cult, and Crisis in the Andes," 1637
- Mixer, Timothy, and Esther Kingston-Mann, editors, "Peasant Economy, Culture, and Politics of European Russia, 1800–1921" (E), 1333
- "Mnemosyne," edited by Assmann and Harth (E), 1640
- Mockaitis, Thomas R., "British Counterinsurgency, 1919–60," 558
- "Modern American Religion." Volume 2, "The Noise of Conflict, 1919–1941," by Marty, 632
- "Moderne—Sprache—Mathematik," by Mehrtens, 157
- Moeller, Robert G. (R), 235
- Mohl, Raymond A., editor, "Searching for the Sunbelt: Historical Perspectives on a Region" (E), 983
- Mohl, Raymond A., *et al.*, "Essays on Sunbelt Cities and Recent Urban America" (E), 329
- Mokyr, Joel (R), 191
- Molho, Anthony (R), 885, 1506
- Mollenkopf, John Hull, and Manuel Castells, editors, "Dual City: Restructuring New York" (E), 1650
- Mollier, Jean-Yves, "Le scandale de Panama," 1319
- "Moltke, Schlieffen, and Prussian War Planning," by Bucholz, 874
- Mommsen, Wolfgang J., editor, "Das Ende der Kolonialreiche: Dekolonisation und die Politik der Grossmächte" (E), 323
- "Monarchs and Ministers," by Bartlett, 1263
- Money, John (R), 194
- Monfasani, John (R), 1510
- Monkkonen, Eric H., editor, "Crime and Justice in American History: Historical Articles on the Origins and Evolution of American Criminal Justice; The Colonies and Early Republic" (E), 1334
- Monod, Paul Kleber, "Jacobitism and the English People, 1688–1788," 195
- Monroy, Douglas, "Thrown among Strangers: The Making of Mexican Culture in Frontier California," 656
- Monter, William (R), 1233
- Monter, William, "Frontiers of Heresy: The Spanish Inquisition from the Basque Lands to Sicily," 866
- "Montjoie et saint Denis!" by Lombard-Jourdan, 533
- Moon, Penderel, "The British Conquest and Dominion of India," 912
- Moore, Deborah Dash (R), 1289
- "The Moral Frameworks of Public Life," by Baker, 623
- Moran, Daniel, "Toward the Century of Words: Johann Cotta and the Politics of the Public Realm in Germany, 1795–1832," 226
- Moran, Jo Ann Hoepfner (R), 179
- Morgan, Edward P., "The 60s Experience: Hard Lessons about Modern America," 1625
- Morgan, Kenneth O., "The People's Peace: British History, 1945–1989," 854
- Morgan, Philip D., and Bernard Bailyn, editors, "Strangers within the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire" (E), 1646
- "Mormons and Cowboys, Moonshiners and Klansmen," by Cresswell, 1291
- "Mormons and the Bible," by Barlow, 1585
- Morony, Michael G. (R), 1254
- Morris, Benny (C), 1350
- Morrison, Karl F., "History as a Visual Art in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance," 832
- Morrison, Karl F. (R), 512, 1497
- Morton, Fred, "Children of Ham: Freed Slaves and Fugitive Slaves on the Kenya Coast, 1873 to 1907," 595
- Morton, Patricia, "Disfigured Images: The Historical Assault on Afro-American Women," 1585
- "Moscow, Germany, and the West from Khrushchev to Gorbachev," by Sodaro, 844
- Moses, Wilson Jeremiah, "Alexander Crummell: A Study of Civilization and Discontent," 937
- Moskoff, William, "The Bread of Affliction: The Food Supply in the USSR during World War II," 587
- Moss, Alfred A., Jr., and Eric Anderson, editors, "The Facts of Reconstruction: Essays in Honor of John Hope Franklin" (E), 1651
- Moss, Bernard H. (R), 860
- Mosse, Werner E., *et al.*, editors, "Second Chance: Two Centuries of German-Speaking Jews in the United Kingdom" (E), 1645
- "Moving Pictures," by Hollander, 1205
- Mozzarelli, Cesare, editor, "Trento, principi e corpi: Nuove ricerche di storia regionale" (E), 1648
- Mucciaroni, Gary, "The Political Failure of Employment Policy, 1945–1982," 636
- Mudimbe, V. Y. (R), 903
- Muenger, Elizabeth A., "The British Military Dilemma in Ireland: Occupation Politics, 1886–1914," 1224
- Muhlack, Ulrich, "Geschichtswissenschaft im Humanismus und in der Aufklärung: Die Vorgeschichte des Historismus," 1202
- Muir, Edward, and Guido Ruggiero, editors, "Sex and Gender in Historical Perspective" (E), 980
- Mulder, John M. (R), 1289
- Mullins, William H., "The Depression and the Urban West Coast, 1929–1933: Los Angeles, San Francisco, Seattle, and Portland," 627
- The Multicultural Islands*, by Limerick, 121–35
- Mühlberger, Detlef, "Hitler's Followers: Studies in the Sociology of the Nazi Movement," 881
- Mühle, Eduard, "Die städtischen Handelszentren der nordwestlichen Rus': Anfänge und frühe Entwicklung altrussischer Städte (bis gegen Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts)," 540
- Müller, Josef, "Die Gesamtdeutsche Volkspartei: Entstehung und Politik unter dem Primat nationaler Wiedervereinigung 1950–1957," 239
- Müller, Jürgen, "Von der alten Stadt zur neuen Munizipalität: Die Auswirkungen der Französischen Revolution in den linksrheinischen Städten Speyer und Koblenz," 1234
- Muncy, Robyn, "Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform, 1890–1935," 297
- Muncy, Robyn (R), 623
- Munholland, Kim (R), 1543
- "The Munich Secession," by Makela, 233
- Munro, George E. (R), 251
- Murphy, Cliona, "The Women's Suffrage Movement

- and Irish Society in the Early Twentieth Century," 559
- Murphy, Lamar Riley, "Enter the Physician: The Transformation of Domestic Medicine, 1760–1860," 1275
- Murphy, Marjorie, "Blackboard Unions: The AFT and the NEA, 1900–1980," 291
- Murphy, Paul L., and Matthew B. Seltzer (R), 279
- Murphy, Terence R., and Michael MacDonald, "Sleepless Souls," 189
- Murray, Oswyn, editor, "Symptotica: A Symposium on the *Symposion*" (E), 975
- "The Muslim Conquest and Settlement of North Africa and Spain," by Tāha, 168
- "The Muslims of Valencia in the Age of Fernando and Isabel," by Meyerson, 539
- "Muslims under Latin Rule, 1100–1300," edited by Powell (E), 981
- Musser, Charles, "Before the Nickelodeon: Edwin S. Porter and the Edison Manufacturing Company," 1614
- Musser, Charles, "High-Class Moving Pictures: Lyman H. Howe and the Forgotten Era of Traveling Exhibition, 1880–1920," 1298
- Musser, Charles, "The Emergence of Cinema: The American Screen to 1907," 1298
- "My France," by Weber, 857
- Myllyntaus, Timo, "Electrifying Finland: The Transfer of a New Technology into a Late Industrialising Economy," 1547
- "Myopic Grandeur," by Dreifort, 1543
- "Myth, Ritual, and Kingship in Buganda," by Ray, 903
- "The Myths We Live By," edited by Samuel and Thompson (E), 1324
- "The NAACP Comes of Age," by Goings, 635
- Nanda, B. R., "Gandhi, Pan-Islamism, Imperialism, and Nationalism in India," 1583
- "Napoleon's Integration of Europe," by Woolf, 1206
- Nash, Gary B., and Jean R. Soderlund, "Freedom by Degrees: Emancipation in Pennsylvania and Its Aftermath," 611
- Nash, Roderick Frazier (R), 939
- Nassar, Jamal R., and Roger Heacock, editors, "Intifada: Palestine at the Crossroads" (E), 327
- Nasson, Bill, "Abraham Esau's War: A Black South African War in the Cape, 1899–1902," 1261
- "Native Society and Disease in Colonial Ecuador," by Alchon, 1636
- "NATO after Forty Years," edited by Kaplan *et al.* (E), 975
- "NATO and the United States," by Kaplan, 643
- "Nature Incorporated," by Steinberg, 938
- "Nature's Metropolis," by Cronon, 939
- "Navies and Armies," edited by Raven and Rodger (E), 325
- The Navigator: A Medieval Odyssey*, directed by Vincent Ward, 1152
- Naylor, John F. (R), 209, 853
- "Nazism, Liberalism, and Christianity," by Barnes, 548
- Nazzari, Muriel, "Disappearance of the Dowry: Women, Families, and Social Change in São Paulo, Brazil (1600–1900)," 1633
- Nedelsky, Jennifer, "Private Property and the Limits of American Constitutionalism: The Madisonian Framework and Its Legacy," 1589
- Neely, Mark E., Jr., "The Fate of Liberty: Abraham Lincoln and Civil Liberties," 619
- "Negative Intelligence," by Talbert, 1276
- "A Negotiated World," by Rosenberg, 561
- Neils, Patricia, editor, "United States Attitudes and Policies toward China: The Impact of American Missionaries" (E), 983
- Nekrich, Aleksandr M. (R), 1515
- Nelson, Anna Kasten (R), 641
- Nelson, Barbara J., and Sara M. Evans, "Wage Justice: Comparable Worth and the Paradox of Technocratic Reform," 953
- Nelson, Paul David (R), 610
- Nelson, Paula M. (R), 939
- Neu, Charles E., and John Milton Cooper, Jr., editors, "The Wilson Era: Essays in Honor of Arthur S. Link" (E), 1336
- Neville, Cynthia J. (R), 1507
- "The New American History," edited by Foner, 917
- "The New Cambridge History of India." Volume 2, part 3, "The Sikhs of the Punjab," by Grewal, 1581
- "The New Conservatism," by Habermas, 871
- "The New Historicism and Other Old-Fashioned Topics," by Thomas, 1484
- A New Intellectual History?* by Jacoby, 405–24
- "New Mexico's Buffalo Soldiers, 1866–1900," by Billington, 1287
- "The New Urban Frontier," by Frost, 825
- Newbould, Ian (R), 197
- Newbould, Ian, "Whiggery and Reform, 1830–41: The Politics of Government," 202
- Newbury, Colin, "The Diamond Ring: Business, Politics, and Precious Stones in South Africa, 1867–1947," 262
- Newman, Lucile F., *et al.*, editors, "Hunger in History: Food Shortage, Poverty, and Deprivation" (E), 662
- "Newman after a Hundred Years," edited by Ker and Hill (E), 978
- "The News under Russia's Old Regime," by McReynolds, 1567
- Ng, Vivien W., "Madness in Late Imperial China: From Illness to Deviance," 1262
- Ng, Vivien W. (R), 1576
- Niccoli, Ottavia, "Prophecy and People in Renaissance Italy," 244
- Nicholas, David, and Bernard S. Bachrach, editors, "Law, Custom, and the Social Fabric in Medieval Europe: Essays in Honor of Bryce Lyon" (E), 1327
- Nicholls, Mark, "Investigating Gunpowder Plot," 1214
- Nicosia, Francis R., and Lawrence D. Stokes, editors, "Germans against Nazism: Nonconformity, Opposition and Resistance in the Third Reich; Essays in Honour of Peter Hoffmann" (E), 1331
- Niebuhr, Christopher (C), 1357
- Nieman, Donald G., "Promises to Keep: African-Americans and the Constitutional Order, 1776 to the Present," 1277
- "Niemcy zagraniczni w polityce kolonizacji pruskich prowincji wschodnich (1886–1918)" [Germans from Abroad in the Colonization Policy of the Eastern Prussian Provinces (1886–1918)], by Brożek, 580
- Nieto Soria, José Manuel, "Fundamentos ideológicos del poder real en Castilla (siglos XIII–XVI)," 538
- "Nietzsche und der Nietzscheanismus," by Nolte, 233
- "1905 in St. Petersburg," by Surh, 1252
- "1939," edited by Hildebrand *et al.* (E), 1326
- Ninkovich, Frank (R), 958
- Nipperdey, Thomas, "Deutsche Geschichte 1866–1918." Volume 1, "Arbeitswelt und Bürgergeist," 230
- "No Crooked Death," by Downey and Hyser, 302
- Noble, Thomas F. X. (R), 175, 1195
- "The Noble Savage," by Cranston, 839

- Nolan, Alan T. (C), 1366
 Nolan, Alan T., "Lee Considered: General Robert E. Lee and Civil War History," 618
 Nolan, Janet A. (R), 1223
 Nolan, Mary (R), 228
 Nolte, Ernst, "Nietzsche und der Nietzscheanismus," 233
 Norberg, Kathryn (R), 859
 Nord, Philip (R), 1537
 Nordholt, Jan Willem Schulte, "Woodrow Wilson: A Life for World Peace," 1313
 Nore, Ellen (R), 307
 Norman, Gash, editor, "Wellington: Studies in the Military and Political Career of the First Duke of Wellington" (E), 325
 Norris, James D., "Advertising and the Transformation of American Society, 1865–1920," 293
 North, John, and Mary Beard, editors, "Pagan Priests: Religion and Power in the Ancient World" (E), 324
 North, Michael, "Geldumlauf und Wirtschaftskonjunktur im südlichen Ostseeraum an der Wende zur Neuzeit (1440–1570): Untersuchungen zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte am Beispiel der Grossen Lübecker Münzschatzes, der norddeutschen Münzfunde und der schriftlichen Überlieferung," 540
 Norton, Mary Beth (R), 1283
Notes on Deconstructing "The Folk", by Kelley, 1400–08
 Numbers, Ronald L. (R), 633
 "Den nya staten och den gamla" [The New State and the Old], by Kilander, 1546
 Nye, Robert A. (R), 1539
 Nygård, Toivo, "Suomen paluelusväki 1600-luvulla: Palkollisten määrä, työ, palkkaus ja suhteet isäntäväkeen" [Hired Labor in Seventeenth-Century Finland], 870
 O'Brien, David J., and Stephen S. Fugita, "Japanese American Ethnicity: The Persistence of Community," 1612
 O'Brien, David J., and Stephen S. Fugita, "The Japanese American Experience," 1612
 "Obrigkeit und Unterschichten," by Finzsch, 225
 O'Cathaoir, Brendan, "John Blake Dillon, Young Irishman," 212
 Ochsenwald, William (R), 1570
 O'Connor, John E., "Image as Artifact: The Historical Analysis of Film and Television," 630
 O'Connor, Timothy E. (R), 187
 O'Donnell, James H. III (R), 615
 Oelschlaeger, Max, "The Idea of Wilderness: From Prehistory to the Age of Ecology," 1179
 "Of Heretics and Martyrs in Meiji Japan," by Ketelaar, 1267
 "Of Mysticism and Mechanism," edited by Hutton (E), 666
 "Of Walls and Bridges," by Kovrig, 961
 Ofer, Dalia, "Escaping the Holocaust: Illegal Immigration to the Land of Israel, 1939–1944," 900
Official Xenophobia and Popular Cosmopolitanism in Early Soviet Russia, by Brooks, 1431–48
 Oh, Bonnie B. C. (R), 164
 Ohnuki-Tierney, Emiko, editor, "Culture through Time: Anthropological Approaches" (E), 1324
 Okihito, Gary Y., "Cane Fires: The Anti-Japanese Movement in Hawaii, 1865–1945," 942
 "The Old Dominion at War," by Titus, 610
 "Old Friends, New Enemies," by Marder *et al.*, 854
 "The Old Village and the Great House," by Armstrong, 319
 Oldson, William O., "A Providential Anti-Semitism: Nationalism and Polity in Nineteenth-Century Romania," 579
 "Oleander Odyssey," by Hyman, 287
 Olesko, Kathryn M., "Physics as a Calling: Discipline and Practice in the Königsberg Seminar for Physics," 1203
 "The Oligarchs in Colonial and Revolutionary Charleston," by Bull, 930
 Oliver, Peter (R), 648
 Oliver, Roland, "The African Experience," 1572
 Olney, Martha L., "Buy Now, Pay Later: Advertising, Credit, and Consumer Durables in the 1920s," 1300
 Olsen, Rodney D., "Dancing in Chains: The Youth of William Dean Howells," 621
 Olson, Richard (R), 819
 Olson, Richard, "Science Deified and Science Defied: The Historical Significance of Science in Western Culture," 820
 Omissi, David E., "Air Power and Colonial Control: The Royal Air Force 1919–1939," 557
 "On Roman Time," by Salzman, 1192
 "On the Man Question," by Kann, 1272
 "One Step Backwards, Two Steps Forward," by Pethybridge, 1253
 Onuf, Peter S., and Cathy D. Matson, "A Union of Interests: Political and Economic Thought in Revolutionary America," 610
 "Opening Doors," edited by Knopke *et al.* (E), 1651
 "Opium and Empire," by Trocki, 266
 Oppenheim, Janet, "'Shattered Nerves': Doctors, Patients, and Depression in Victorian England," 851
 "'Or Does It Explode?'" by Greenberg, 1618
 "Oracles of Empire," by Shields, 276
 Orbach, Alexander (R), 1249
 Orde, Anne, "British Policy and European Reconstruction after the First World War," 186
 "Order against Chaos," by Watts, 941
 "'Order and Progress,'" by Schneider, 1321
 "The Original Misunderstanding," by Presser, 1590
 "The Origins of American Social Science," by Ross, 299
 "The Origins of Federal Support for Higher Education," by Williams, 1296
 "The Origins of Modernism in Russian Architecture," by Brumfield, 584
 "The Origins of NATO," edited by Smith (E), 974
 "The Origins of Peasant Servitude in Medieval Catalonia," by Freedman, 1197
 "Origins of Terrorism," edited by Reich (E), 661
 "The Origins of the Korean War," by Cumings, 164
 Ormrod, W. M. (R), 835
 Ormrod, W. M., "The Reign of Edward III: Crown and Political Society in England, 1327–1377," 180
 "The Oromo of Ethiopia," by Hassen, 259
 Osborne, Brian S., and Donald Swainson, "Kingston: Building on the Past," 1318
 Osterbrock, Donald E. (R), 316
 "Österreich, Deutschland und die Mächte," edited by Stourzh and Zaar (E), 1331
 Osterud, Nancy Grey, "Bonds of Community: The Lives of Farm Women in Nineteenth-Century New York," 622
 Ostrower, Gary B. (R), 1313
 "Osvobozhdenie Rusi ot ordynskogo iga" [The Liberation of Rus' from the Yoke of the Golden Horde], by Alekseev, 181
 Ottanelli, Fraser M., "The Communist Party of the

- United States: From the Depression to World War II," 305
- Ottanelli, Fraser (R), 304
- Ovendale, Ritchie, "Britain, the United States, and the End of the Palestine Mandate, 1942–1948," 162
- "Overseas Migration from East-Central and Southeastern Europe, 1880–1940," edited by Puskás (E), 663
- Owens, Harry P., "Steamboats and the Cotton Economy: River Trade in the Yazoo-Mississippi Delta," 284
- Owens, J. B. (R), 538
- Owen, Thomas C., "The Corporation under Russian Law, 1800–1917: A Study in Tsarist Economic Policy," 1250
- "Own Master Race," by McLaren, 318
- Ownby, Ted (R), 1290
- "The Oxford History of Australia," by Macintyre, 915
- Pach, Chester J., Jr., "Arming the Free World: The Origins of the United States Military Assistance Program, 1945–1950," 640
- Pacifici, Vincenzo G., "Angelo Annaratone (1844–1922): La condizione dei Prefetti nell'Italia liberale," 1561
- "Pagan Priests," edited by Beard and North (E), 324
- Page, Melvin E. (R), 1261
- Painter, David S. (R), 1185
- "The Painting and Politics of George Caleb Bingham," by Rash, 616
- "Der Pakt," by Fleischhauer, 237
- Pakter, Walter, "Medieval Canon Law and the Jews," 1500
- "Palace Car Prince," by Leyendecker, 1604
- Paletschek, Sylvia, "Frauen und Dissens: Frauen im Deutschkatholizismus und in den freien Gemeinden, 1841–1852," 1551
- Palmegiano, E. M. (R), 553, 1527
- Palmer, Colin (R), 514
- Palmer, Sarah, "Politics, Shipping, and the Repeal of the Navigation Laws," 552
- Palmer, Stanley H. (R), 211
- "Palmerston and Liberalism, 1855–1865," by Steele, 1525
- Pancaldi, Giuliano, "Darwin in Italy: Science across Cultural Frontiers," 1562
- Pandey, Gyanendra, "The Construction of Communalism in Colonial North India," 913
- Papadakis, Aristides (R), 1503
- The Paradox of Women's Citizenship in the Early Republic*, by Kerber, 349–78
- "Paris and Its People under English Rule," by Thompson, 1201
- "Paris Sewers and Sewermen," by Reid, 1227
- Park, Marlene (R), 616, 1617
- Parker, David B., "Alias Bill Arp: Charles Henry Smith and the South's 'Goodly Heritage,'" 1290
- Parker, Geoffrey (R), 1488
- "Parliamentary Army Chaplains, 1642–1651," by Laurence, 847
- "The Parliaments of Elizabethan England," edited by Dean and Jones (E), 978
- Parmet, Herbert S., "Richard Nixon and His America," 1626
- Parrish, Thomas, "Roosevelt and Marshall: Partners in Politics and War," 1623
- "Das Parteienwesen Österreichs und Ungarns in der Zwischenkriegszeit," edited by Drabek *et al.* (E), 667
- Partner, Peter, "The Pope's Men: The Papal Civil Service in the Renaissance," 537
- "Partners in Science," by Kohler, 295
- "The Passing of Barchester," by Dewey, 1215
- Pastor, Peter (R), 843
- Patai, Daphne, and Sherna Berger Gluck, editors, "Women's Words: The Feminist Practice of Oral History" (E), 1641
- "The Path to Gallipoli," by McGibbon, 916
- "Paths in the Rainforests," by Vansina, 592
- "Patriarch and Folk," by Burns, 1631
- "Patricians and Plebeians," by Mitchell, 1189
- "Patriots and Paupers," by Lindemann, 570
- Patterson, Cynthia (R), 170
- Patterson, Graeme, "History and Communications: Harold Innis, Marshall McLuhan, the Interpretation of History," 965
- Patterson, K. David (R), 263
- Patterson, Orlando, "Freedom." Volume 1, "Freedom in the Making of Western Culture," 512
- Patton, Gerald W. (R), 1287
- Paul, Ellen Frankel, and Howard Dickman, editors, "Liberty, Property, and the Future of Constitutional Development" (E), 1334
- Paul, G. M. (R), 528
- Paul, Gerhard, "Aufstand der Bilder: Die NS-Propaganda vor 1933," 575
- Paul, Gerhard, and Klaus-Michael Mallmann, "Herrschaft und Alltag: Ein Industrieviertel im Dritten Reich," 1559
- "Paul Lafargue and the Founding of French Marxism, 1842–1882," by Derfler, 859
- "Paul Touvier et l'Église," by Rémond *et al.*, 1543
- "Pawnee Passage," by Blaine, 615
- Paxton, Frederick S., "Christianizing Death: The Creation of a Ritual Process in Early Medieval Europe," 530
- Paxton, Frederick S. (R), 830
- Paxton, Robert O. (R), 219, 1543
- Payling, Simon, "Political Society in Lancastrian England: The Greater Gentry of Nottinghamshire," 1507
- Payne, Harry C. (R), 1176
- Payne, Stephen, and Benjamin Kline, editors, "Imperialism and Its Legacy: Issues and Perspectives" (E), 973
- Pazos, Anton M., "El clero navarro (1900–1936): Origen social, procedencia geográfica y formación sacerdotal," 867
- "Peace, Faith, Nation," by Schlabach, 281
- Peacock, Sandra J. (R), 1526
- "Peasant Economy, Culture, and Politics of European Russia, 1800–1921," edited by Kingston-Mann and Mixer (E), 1333
- "The Peasant Family and Rural Development in the Yangzi Delta, 1350–1988," by Huang, 596
- "Peasant Intellectuals," by Feierman, 904
- "Peasant Russia," by Worobec, 254
- "Peasants and Protest," by Frader, 861
- "Peasants on the Edge," by Mitchell, 1637
- Pease, Jane H. (R), 1280
- Pease, William H. (R), 277
- Peck, Linda Levy, "Court Patronage and Corruption in Early Stuart England," 550
- Pedersen, Susan (R), 1209
- Pells, Richard (R), 955
- "Penal Discipline, Reformatory Projects and the English Prison Commission 1895–1939," by Forsythe, 204

- Pencak, William, *et al.*, editors, "Immigration to New York" (E), 1651
- "Penetration and Protest in Tanzania," by Kimambo, 904
- Pennington, Kenneth (R), 823
- Penslar, Derek J., "Zionism and Technocracy: The Engineering of Jewish Settlement in Palestine, 1870–1918," 1571
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- "A People's Charter," by Burns and Burns, 1584
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- Pereboom, Maarten L. (R), 1153
- "Perfect Cities," by Gilbert, 1605
- Perkin, Harold (R), 205
- Perkins, Kenneth J. (R), 1257
- Pernick, Martin S. (R), 943
- Perret, Geoffrey, "There's a War to Be Won: The United States Army in World War II," 1304
- Perrot, Michelle, and Georges Duby, editors, "Histoire des femmes en occident." Volume 2, "Le Moyen Age," 1193
- Perry, Elizabeth J. (R), 1265
- Perry, James R., "The Formation of a Society on Virginia's Eastern Shore, 1615–1655," 929
- Perry, Mary Elizabeth, "Gender and Disorder in Early Modern Seville," 1230
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- Peterson, Joyce Shaw (R), 1294
- Peterson, Willard J. (R), 1575
- Peterson, William S., "The Kelmscott Press: A History of William Morris's Typographical Adventure," 1221
- Pethybridge, Roger, "One Step Backwards, Two Steps Forward: Soviet Society and Politics in the New Economic Policy," 1253
- Petrin, Ronald A., "French Canadians in Massachusetts Politics, 1885–1915: Ethnicity and Political Pragmatism," 1294
- "Petrusnachfolge und Kaiserimitation," by Borgolte, 823
- Pfaff, Richard W. (R), 178
- Pfanze, Otto, "Bismarck and the Development of Germany," 229
- Phayer, Michael, "Protestant and Catholic Women in Nazi Germany," 241
- "Philhellenisme et imperialism," by Ferrary, 1495
- Phillips, Carla Rahn (R), 866
- Phillips, Carla Rahn, and William D. Phillips, Jr., "The Worlds of Christopher Columbus," 1486
- Phillips, H., "'Black October': The Impact of the Spanish Influenza Epidemic of 1918 on South Africa," 263
- Phillips, William D., Jr., and Carla Rahn Phillips, "The Worlds of Christopher Columbus," 1486
- "Philosophical Papers." Volume 1, "Objectivity, Relativism, and Truth"; volume 2, "Essays on Heidegger and Others," by Rorty, 1173
- "Philosophy and Politics in China," by Meissner, 267
- "The Physician-Legislators of France," by Ellis, 564
- "Physics and the Rise of Scientific Research in Canada," by Gingras, 1628
- "Physics as a Calling," by Olesko, 1203
- Pictures from a Revolution*, produced, directed, and edited by Susan Meiselas, Richard P. Rogers, and Alfred Guzzetti, 1166
- Pierard, Richard V. (R), 241
- "Piłsudski w Genewie" [Piłsudski in Geneva], by Sierpowski, 892
- Pinchuk, Ben-Cion, "Shtetl Jews under Soviet Rule: Eastern Poland on the Eve of the Holocaust," 1249
- Pinheiro, Paulo Sérgio, "Estratégias da ilusão: A revolução mundial e o Brasil, 1922–1935," 1635
- Pinsdorf, Marion K., "German-Speaking Entrepreneurs: Builders of Business in Brazil," 1322
- Pisani, Sallie, "The CIA and the Marshall Plan," 1624
- Pittock, Joan H., and Andrew Wear, editors, "Interpretation and Cultural History" (E), 1640
- Pittock, Murray G. H., "The Invention of Scotland: The Stuart Myth and the Scottish Identity, 1638 to the Present," 1521
- "Plato in the Italian Renaissance," by Hankins, 1559
- Platt, Anthony M., "E. Franklin Frazier Reconsidered," 950
- Platt, Harold L., "The Electric City: Energy and the Growth of the Chicago Area, 1880–1930," 626
- "Ein 'Platz an der Sonne'?" by Erbar, 903
- "Plausible Worlds," by Hawthorn, 1486
- "Plays of Persuasion," by Walker, 845
- Pletcher, David M. (R), 1185
- Pohl, Hans, editor, "The European Discovery of the World and Its Economic Effects on Pre-Industrial Society, 1500–1800" (E), 976
- Pohlman, H. L., "Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes: Free Speech and the Living Constitution," 926
- Polasky, Janet L. (R), 568
- Polcari, Stephen, "Abstract Expressionism and the Modern Experience," 1491
- Polenberg, Richard (R), 1310
- "The Political Economy of Brazil," edited by Graham and Wilson (E), 984
- "The Political Economy of Merchant Empires," edited by Tracy (E), 1644
- "The Political Failure of Employment Policy, 1945–1982," by Mucciaroni, 636
- "The Political Philosophy of Montaigne," by Schaefer, 515
- "Political Protest and Cultural Revolution," by Epstein, 637
- A Political Science Perspective on the Balance of Power and the Concert*, by Jervis, 716–24
- "Political Society in Lancastrian England," by Payling, 1507
- "Politics and the Sciences of Culture in Germany, 1840–1920," by Smith, 1236
- "Politics as Development," by Stokes, 1564
- "Politics in an Arabian Oasis," by Al Rasheed, 1570
- "The Politics of Aircraft," by Vander Meulen, 1622
- "The Politics of Being," by Wolin, 517
- "The Politics of Culture," edited by Williams (E), 1640
- "The Politics of Marginality," edited by Kushner and Lunn (E), 1330
- "The Politics of Military Rule in Brazil, 1964–85," by Skidmore, 1323
- "The Politics of Pan-Islam," by Landau, 1255
- "The Politics of Religion in Restoration England," edited by Harris *et al.* (E), 1329
- "The Politics of River Trade," by Whigham, 1321
- "The Politics of Social Solidarity," by Baldwin, 185
- "Politics, Shipping, and the Repeal of the Navigation Laws," by Palmer, 552
- "La politique à l'égard de la petite enfance sous la III^e République," by Rollet-Echalier, 1541
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- Pollard, Sidney, and Peter Mathias, editors, "The

- Cambridge Economic History of Europe." Volume 8, "The Industrial Economies: The Development of Economic and Social Policies," 1513
- Polsky, Andrew J., "The Rise of the Therapeutic State," 1296
- Pomper, Philip (C), 1010
- Pomper, Philip, "Lenin, Trotsky, and Stalin: The Intelligentsia and Power," 583
- Pope, Daniel (R), 293
- "The Pope's Men," by Partner, 537
- Poppino, Rollie E. (R), 1635
- Porat, Dina, "The Blue and the Yellow Stars of David: The Zionist Leadership in Palestine and the Holocaust, 1939-1945," 900
- "Il portello," by Bigazzi, 888
- Porter, Charlotte M. (R), 525
- Porter, Roy, and Mikuláš Teich, editors, "*Fin de siècle* and Its Legacy" (E), 1642
- Porter, Theodore M. (R), 157
- Postma, Johannes Menne, "The Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1600-1815," 183
- "Postmodern Conditions," edited by Milner *et al.* (E), 664
- Potter, David (R), 1192
- Potter, David S., "Prophecy and History in the Crisis of the Roman Empire: A Historical Commentary on the Thirteenth Sibylline Oracle," 529
- Pouchelle, Marie-Christine, "The Body and Surgery in the Middle Ages," 177
- Pounder, Robert L., *Black Athena 2: History without Rules*, 461-64
- Pounder, Robert L. (C), 1356
- Pounds, N. J., "The Medieval Castle in England and Wales: A Social and Political History," 836
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- "Poverty and Compassion," by Himmelfarb, 1219
- Powell, Barry B., "Homer and the Origin of the Greek Alphabet," 526
- Powell, James M., editor, "Muslims under Latin Rule, 1100-1300" (E), 981
- Powell, James M. (R), 1200
- "Power and Pleasure," by Young, 1542
- Poyo, Gerald E., and Gilberto M. Hinojosa, editors, "Tejano Origins in Eighteenth-Century San Antonio" (E), 1651
- "Practicing Law in Frontier California," by Bakken, 925
- Prados, John, "Keepers of the Keys: A History of the National Security Council from Truman to Bush," 962
- Prakash, Gyan, "Bonded Histories: Genealogies of Labor Servitude in Colonial India," 1269
- Prakash, Gyan (R), 601
- "*Pratiques et concepts de l'histoire en Europe XVI^e-XVIII^e siècles*," edited by Grell and Dufays (E), 665
- Pratt, Joseph, and Kenneth Lipartito, "Baker and Botts in the Development of Modern Houston," 1306
- "Pravoslavie i Reformatsiia" [Orthodoxy and the Reformation], by Dmitriev, 246
- Prażmowska, Anita, "Britain, Poland, and the Eastern Front, 1939," 1210
- "The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095-1270," by Cole, 176
- "Predators and Prizes," by Swanson, 1275
- "The Pre-Industrial Consumer in England and America," by Shammas, 521
- "Prelude to the Mahdiyya," by Bjørkelo, 258
- "The Presbyterian Controversy," by Longfield, 633
- "The Presence of God: A History of Western Christian Mysticism," Volume 1, "The Foundations of Mysticism," by McGinn, 1497
- "The Presidency of Franklin Pierce," by Gara, 1284
- "The Presidency of Theodore Roosevelt," by Gould, 629
- "Press Gallery," by Ritchie, 1273
- Presser, Stephen B., "The Original Misunderstanding: The English, the Americans, and the Dialectic of Federalist Jurisprudence," 1590
- Pressman, Jack (R), 525
- Preston, Howard L., and Joe P. Dunn, editors, "The Future South: A Historical Perspective for the Twenty-first Century" (E), 1336
- Preston, Howard Lawrence, "Dirt Roads to Dixie: Accessibility and Modernization in the South, 1885-1935," 625
- Preston, Laurence W. (R), 1582
- Preston Samuel H., and Michael R. Haines, "Fatal Years: Child Mortality in Late Nineteenth-Century America," 289
- Price, Richard (R), 556
- "Der Primat der Bürokratie," by Treichel, 1553
- "Princes and Territories in Medieval Germany," by Arnold, 831
- "Printed Poison," by Sawyer, 1530
- "The Prison Experience," by Spierenburg, 1511
- "Private Property and the Limits of American Constitutionalism," by Nedelsky, 1589
- "Problema iobăgiei în Transilvania 1700-1848" [The Problem of Serfdom in Transylvania, 1700-1848], by Prodan, 247
- "The Problem of Order in Changing Societies," edited by Johnson (E), 671
- "The Pro-Choice Movement," by Staggenborg, 1310
- Prodan, D., "Problema iobăgiei în Transilvania 1700-1848" [The Problem of Serfdom in Transylvania, 1700-1848], 247
- "Professions in Theory and History," edited by Burrage and Torstendahl (E), 973
- "The Proletarianizing of the Fonctionnaires," by Wishnia, 218
- "Proletarians and Politics," by Evans, 234
- "The Promised Land," by Lemann, 635
- "Promises Kept," by Bernstein, 314
- "Promises to Keep," by Nieman, 1277
- "A Propensity to Protect," by Heick, 649
- "Property, Production, and Family in Neckarhausen, 1700-1870," by Sabeian, 1233
- "Property Rules," by Einhorn, 1596
- "Prophecy and Gnosis," by Barnes, 222
- "Prophecy and History in the Crisis of the Roman Empire," by Potter, 529
- "Prophecy and People in Renaissance Italy," by Niccoli, 244
- "Prophecy and Reason," by Fix, 870
- Prost, Antoine, and Gérard Vincent, editors, "A History of Private Life." Volume 5, "Riddles of Identity in Modern Times," 1489
- "Protecting the Pub," by Gutzke, 203
- "Protectors of Privilege," by Donner, 307
- "Protestant and Catholic Women in Nazi Germany," by Phayer, 241
- "Protestant Evangelicalism," edited by Robbins (E), 1641
- "A Providential Anti-Semitism," by Oldson, 579
- "Provinces of the Revolution," edited by Benjamin and Wasserman (E), 671
- Provost, Foster (R), 1486

- "Public Life and the Propertied Englishman, 1689–1798," by Langford, 1214
 "Public Moralists," by Collini, 1524
 "Public Service Liberalism," by Stone, 1618
 "The Pursuit of Stability," by Archer, 846
 Puskás, Julianna, editor, "Overseas Migration from East-Central and Southeastern Europe, 1880–1940" (E), 663
- "The Quaker Peace Testimony, 1660–1914," by Brock, 840
 "Quêtes d'une identité collective chez les Italiens de la Renaissance," edited by Marietti *et al.* (E), 1648
 "A Quest for Security," by Gragg, 276
 "A Quest for Time," by Cross, 184
 "La questione meridionale prima dell'intervento straordinario," by Lepore, 886
Quilombo, written and directed by Carlos Diegues, 1162
- Raaflaub, Kurt A. (R), 171
 "Rabbis and Lawyers," by Auerbach, 280
 Rabe, Stephen G. (R), 1186
 Rabinbach, Anson (R), 879
 Rabinowitz, Paula, "Labor and Desire: Women's Revolutionary Fiction in Depression America," 1303
 Radcliff, Pamela (R), 1545
 Radding, Charles M. (R), 533, 832
 "Radicalism and Social Change in Jamaica, 1960–1972," by Gray, 970
 Raef, Marc (R), 252, 582
 Rafter, Nicole Hahn (R), 944
 "Railroads Triumphant," by Martin, 1604
 "Ralph Bunche," edited by Rivlin (E), 330
 Ramírez, Susan E. (R), 520, 1161
 Ramusack, Barbara N. (R), 603
 Randall, Adrian, "Before the Luddites: Custom, Community, and Machinery in the English Woollen Industry, 1776–1809," 199
 Randall, Willard Sterne (C), 348
 Rankin, Mary Backus (R), 1265
 Rankin, Mary Backus, and Joseph W. Esherick, editors, "Chinese Local Elites and Patterns of Dominance" (E), 668
 Ransom, Harry Howe (R), 1315
 Rash, Nancy, "The Painting and Politics of George Caleb Bingham," 616
 Raskin, Marcus (C), 1361
 Raskin, Marcus, JFK and the Culture of Violence, 487–99
 Ratcliffe, Barrie M. (R), 1227
 Rath, R. John (R), 543
 Rathbone, Richard (R), 262
 Ratzlaff, Robert K. (R), 610
 Raun, Toivo U. (R), 570
 Raven, G. J. A., and N. A. M. Rodger, editors, "Navies and Armies: The Anglo-Dutch Relationship in War and Peace, 1688–1988" (E), 325
 Rawley, James A. (R), 1523
 Ray, Arthur J., "The Canadian Fur Trade in the Industrial Age," 648
 Ray, Benjamin C., "Myth, Ritual, and Kingship in Buganda," 903
 Ray, Bharati, "Hyderabad and British Paramountcy, 1858–1883," 271
 Rea, Kenneth J. (R), 649
 Rea, Robert R., "Major Robert Farman of Mobile," 932
 Reagan, Patrick D. (R), 1309
 "Reagan and the World," edited by Kyvig (E), 669
 "La Real Hacienda en Puerto Rico," by Sonesson, 652
 "Reappraisals of the Scientific Revolution," edited by Lindberg and Westman (E), 973
 Reardon, Carol, "Soldiers and Scholars: The U.S. Army and the Uses of Military History, 1865–1920," 286
 Reardon-Anderson, James, "The Study of Change: Chemistry in China, 1840–1949," 1576
 "Rebellion against Victorianism," by Coben, 1301
 "Rebuilding Europe's Bombed Cities," edited by Diefendorf (E), 323
 "Recasting Women," edited by Sangari and Vaid (E), 668
 "Recent Historians of Great Britain," edited by Arnstein (E), 978
 "Das Recht des Papiermacherhandwerkes im deutschsprachigen Raum in der Zeit von 1400 bis 1800," by Halstrick, 1548
 "Reclaiming the Sacred," by Desan, 216
 "El reclutamiento militar por quintas en la España del siglo XVIII," by Borreguero Beltrán, 1544
 "Reconstructing the Criminal," by Wiener, 553
 "Recreating Japanese Women, 1600–1945," edited by Bernstein (E), 1648
 "Red Storm on the Reich," by Duffy, 1210
 Redworth, Glyn, "In Defence of the Church Catholic: The Life of Stephen Gardiner," 549
 Reece, Jack E. (R), 886
 Reed, James W. (R), 318
 Reed, Linda, "Simple Decency and Common Sense: The Southern Conference Movement, 1938–1963," 1620
 "Reform and Revolution," by Salzman, 1314
 "Reform the People," by Bailey, 599
 "Regents and Rebels," by Te Brake, 568
 "La régie de l'enregistrement et des domaines aux XVIII^e et XIX^e siècles," by Massaloux, 563
 "Regions of the Mind," by Star, 525
 "Regulating Danger," by Whiteside, 299
 Reher, David Sven, "Town and Country in Pre-Industrial Spain: Cuenca, 1550–1870," 1230
 Reich, Walter, editor, "Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind" (E), 661
 Reid, Donald, "Paris Sewers and Sewermen: Realities and Representations," 1227
 Reiff, Janice L. (R), 1604
 Reiger, John F. (R), 288
 "The Reign of Edward III," by Ormrod, 180
 "The Reign of Louis XIV," edited by Sonnino (E), 326
 Reilly, Philip R., "The Surgical Solution: A History of Involuntary Sterilization in the United States," 944
 Reimers, David M. (R), 1616
 Reinhard, Wolfgang, editor, "Imperialistische Kontinuität und nationale Ungeduld im 19. Jahrhundert" (E), 1642
 "Relaciones sobre el estado de las diócesis valencianas." Volume 1, "Orihuela"; volume 2, "Valencia"; volume 3, "Segorbe," edited by Cárcel Ortí, 567
 "Le relèvement 1944–1949," by Gerbet, 864
 "Religion and Literature in Western England, 600–800," by Sims-Williams, 178
 "Religion and the Life of the Nation," edited by Sherrill (E), 329
 "Religion, Revolution, and English Radicalism," by Bradley, 196
 "Religious Orthodoxy and Popular Faith in European Society," edited by Badone (E), 325
 "Reluctant Icon," by Saab, 1218

- Remini, Robert V., "Henry Clay: Statesman for the Union," 1283
- Remley, Mary Lou (R), 823
- Rémond, René, *et al.*, "Paul Touvier et l'Église," 1543
- "Renaissance Bodies," edited by Gent and Llewellyn (E), 977
- "Renaissance Feminism," by Jordan, 183
- "Renaissance Humanism," by Kelley, 1510
- Renna, Thomas (R), 177
- "Republicans and Reconstruction in Virginia, 1856–70," by Lowe, 933
- Requiem für Dominic*, directed by Robert Dornhelm, 1157
- "Resistance and Integration," by James, 659
- "The Restoration Church of England, 1646–1689," by Spurr, 1519
- Retallack, James (R), 875
- "Revenuers and Moonshiners," by Miller, 924
- "Revising Memory," by Beasley, 1225
- "Revoliutsiia i khleb" [Revolution and Bread], by Leiberov and Rudachenko, 587
- "Revolution and Counter-Revolution," edited by Rice (E), 1643
- "Revolution and Empire," by Bliss, 275
- "Revolution and Rebellion in the Early Modern World," by Goldstone, 1488
- "Revolution in the Factory," by Husband, 586
- "Revolutionary Antisemitism in Germany from Kant to Wagner," by Rose, 571
- "The Revolutionary Process in Mexico," edited by Rodríguez O. (E), 670
- "Revolutions and Revolutionary Movements," by DeFronzo, 1182
- "The Rhetoric of Historical Representation," by Rigney, 1535
- "Rhineland Radicals," by Sperber, 1551
- Riasanovsky, Nicholas V. (R), 894
- Ricard, Serge, editor, "An American Empire: Expansionist Cultures and Policies, 1881–1917" (E), 330
- Ricard, Serge, "Théodore Roosevelt: Principes et pratique d'une politique étrangère," 1312
- Ricard, Serge, and Hélène Christol, editors, "Anglo-Saxonism in U.S. Foreign Policy: The Diplomacy of Imperialism, 1899–1919" (E), 1652
- Rice, E. E., editor, "Revolution and Counter-Revolution" (E), 1643
- Rich, John, and Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, editors, "City and Country in the Ancient World" (E), 975
- Rich, Norman (R), 247
- "Richard B. Russell, Jr., Senator from Georgia," by Fite, 955
- "Richard Nixon and His America," by Parmet, 1626
- Richards, Jeffrey, "Sex, Dissidence and Damnation: Minority Groups in the Middle Ages," 836
- Richards, Thomas, "The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851–1914," 555
- Richardson, L., Jr. (R), 1191
- Richardson, William (R), 1634
- Rieber, Alfred J. (R), 896
- Riess, Steven A. (R), 634
- Rieu-Millan, Marie Laure, "Los diputados americanos en las Cortes de Cádiz (Igualdad o independencia)," 967
- "Righteous Realists," by Rosenthal, 312
- Rigney, Ann, "The Rhetoric of Historical Representation: Three Narrative Histories of the French Revolution," 1535
- Riley, Glenda, "Divorce: An American Tradition," 1272
- Riordan, James, "Sport, Politics, and Communism," 1569
- "The Rise and Decline of the English Working Classes 1918–1990," by Hopkins, 853
- "The Rise and Fall of Anti-Americanism," edited by Lacorne *et al.* (E), 666
- "The Rise and Fall of the Plantation Complex," by Curtin, 519
- "The Rise and Fall of the White Republic," by Saxton, 614
- "The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe," by Flint, 830
- "The Rise of Merchant Empires," edited by Tracy (E), 662
- "The Rise of Richelieu," by Bergin, 858
- "Rise of the Mexican-American Middle Class," by García, 626
- "The Rise of the Paris Red Belt," by Stovall, 219
- "The Rise of the Therapeutic State," by Polsky, 1296
- "Risk and Survival in Ancient Greece," by Gallant, 1189
- Ritchie, Donald A., "Press Gallery: Congress and the Washington Correspondents," 1273
- Rittersporn, Gábor Tamás, "Stalinist Simplifications and Soviet Complications: Social Tensions and Political Conflicts in the USSR, 1933–1953," 1253
- Rittner, Carol, and John K. Roth, editors, "Memory Offended: The Auschwitz Convent Controversy" (E), 1643
- "Ritual and Record," edited by Carter and Krüger (E), 1643
- Ritvo, Harriet (R), 1180
- Rivlin, Benjamin, editor, "Ralph Bunche: The Man and His Times" (E), 330
- "Road to Divorce," by Stone, 190
- "Road to Pakistan," edited by Said *et al.* (E), 982
- "Road to Power," by Marks, 896
- Robbins, Keith, editor, "Protestant Evangelicalism: Britain, Ireland, Germany and America, c. 1750–c. 1950; Essays in Honour of W. R. Ward" (E), 1641
- "Robert Hooke," edited by Hunter and Schaffer (E), 666
- "Robert M. Hutchins," by Dzuback, 1620
- Roberts, Phil (R), 1625
- Roberts, Richard, and Kristin Mann, editors, "Law in Colonial Africa" (E), 981
- Roberts, Warren (R), 1225
- Robertson, Merle Greene, and Virginia M. Fields, editors, "Sixth Palenque Round Table, 1986" (E), 1336
- Robinson, Paul (R), 1485
- Rock, William R. (R), 1516
- Rodes, Robert E., Jr., "Law and Modernization in the Church of England: Charles II to the Welfare State," 1518
- Rodger, N. A. M., and G. J. A. Raven, editors, "Navies and Armies: The Anglo-Dutch Relationship in War and Peace, 1688–1988" (E), 325
- Rodgers, Eugene, "Beyond the Barrier: The Story of Byrd's First Expedition to Antarctica," 525
- Rodnitzky, Jerry (R), 637
- Rodrigo D.: No Future*, directed by Víctor Gaviria, 1164
- Rodrigue, Aron, "French Jews, Turkish Jews: The Alliance Israélite Universelle and the Politics of Jewish Schooling in Turkey, 1860–1925," 898
- Rodríguez O., Jaime E., editor, "The Revolutionary Process in Mexico: Essays on Political and Social Change, 1880–1940" (E), 670

- Roediger, David R., "The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class," 1280
- Rogers, Nicholas (R), 552
- Rogers, Nicholas, "Whigs and Cities: Popular Politics in the Age of Walpole and Pitt," 848
- Rogers, William Warren, and Robert David Ward, "Convicts, Coal, and the Banner Mine Tragedy," 300
- Rogin, Michael, JFK: *The Movie*, 500–05
- Rogin, Michael (R), 614; (C) 1364
- "Rogues and Vagabonds," by Rose, 552
- Rohrbough, Malcolm J., "Aspen: The History of a Silver Mining Town, 1879–1893," 624
- Roland, Alex (R), 317
- Rollason, David, "Saints and Relics in Anglo-Saxon England," 531
- Rolle, Andrew, "John Charles Frémont: Character as Destiny," 1286
- Rollet-Echalier, Catherine, "La politique à l'égard de la petite enfance sous la III^e République," 1541
- "Roman Corinth," by Engels, 172
- "The Romanians," by Georgescu, 1246
- "The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism," by Campbell, 824
- "Romantic Longings," by Seidman, 621
- "Rome in Involution," by Macpherson, 174
- "Rome in the Age of Enlightenment," by Gross, 244
- Ronda, James P., "Astoria and Empire," 623
- "Roosevelt," by Savage, 954
- "Roosevelt and Marshall," by Parrish, 1623
- "The Roots of Solidarity," by Laba, 892
- Roper, Katherine, "German Encounters with Modernity: Novels of Imperial Berlin," 876
- Ropp, Paul S., editor, "Heritage of China: Contemporary Perspectives on Chinese Civilization" (E), 328
- Rorty, Richard, "Philosophical Papers." Volume 1, "Objectivity, Relativism, and Truth"; volume 2, "Essays on Heidegger and Others," 1173
- Rose, Leo E., and Richard Sisson, "War and Secession: Pakistan, India, and the Creation of Bangladesh," 1270
- Rose, Lionel, "'Rogues and Vagabonds': Vagrant Underworld in Britain, 1815–1985," 552
- Rose, Paul Lawrence, "Revolutionary Antisemitism in Germany from Kant to Wagner," 571
- Roseberry, J. Royal III (R), 1581
- Rosenberg, Charles M., editor, "Art and Politics in Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Italy, 1250–1500" (E), 976
- Rosenberg, David Alan (R), 1316
- Rosenberg, Harriet G., "A Negotiated World: Three Centuries of Change in a French Alpine Community," 561
- Rosenblit, Marsha (C), 344
- Rosenstone, Robert A., JFK: *Historical Fact/Historical Film*, 506–11
- Rosenstone, Robert A., *Introduction to Film Reviews*, 1138–41
- Rosenthal, Joel H., "Righteous Realists: Political Realism, Responsible Power, and American Culture in the Nuclear Age," 312
- Rosenthal, Joel T., editor, "Medieval Women and the Sources of Medieval History" (E), 664
- Rosenwein, Barbara H. (R), 532
- Roshwald, Aviel, "Estranged Bedfellows: Britain and France in the Middle East during the Second World War," 161
- Rosner, David, and Gerald Markowitz, "Deadly Dust: Silicosis and the Politics of Occupational Disease in Twentieth-Century America," 1600
- Ross, Dorothy (R), 608
- Ross, Dorothy, "The Origins of American Social Science," 299
- Ross, Steven J. (R), 1298
- Rossano, Geoffrey L., editor, "Creating a Dignified Past: Museums and the Colonial Revival" (E), 1649
- Rosser, Gervase, "Medieval Westminster, 1200–1540," 179
- Rossignol, Dominique, "Histoire de la propagande en France de 1940 à 1944: L'utopie Pétain," 863
- Rotella, Elyce J. (R), 953
- Roth, John K., and Carol Rittner, editors, "Memory Offended: The Auschwitz Convent Controversy" (E), 1643
- Roth, Ralf, "Gewerkschaftskartell und Sozialpolitik in Frankfurt am Main: Arbeiterbewegung vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg zwischen Restauration und liberaler Erneuerung," 1557
- Roth, Randolph (R), 1586
- Rothman, David J., "Strangers at the Bedside: A History of How Law and Bioethics Transformed Medical Decision Making," 633
- "The Rothschild Canticles," by Hamburger, 537
- "The Rough Road to Renaissance," by Teaford, 308
- Rousso, Henry, "The Vichy Syndrome: History and Memory in France since 1944," 1229
- Rowan, Steven (R), 1548
- Rowe, Elizabeth Ashman (R), 1501
- Rowney, Don Karl, editor, "Imperial Power and Development: Papers on Pre-Revolutionary Russian History" (E), 667
- Royster, Charles (R), 1286
- Royster, Charles, "The Destructive War: William Tecumseh Sherman, Stonewall Jackson, and the Americans," 1598
- Rozbicki, Michal, editor, "European and American Constitutionalism in the Eighteenth Century" (E), 662
- Rozenblit, Marsha (R), 572
- Rozman, Gilbert, editor, "The East Asian Region: Confucian Heritage and Its Modern Adaptation" (E), 982
- Rubenstein, Diane, "What's Left? The École Normale Supérieure and the Right," 865
- Rubenstein, Sondra M. (R), 591
- Rubin, Joan Shelley (R), 294, 1302
- Rudachenko, S. D., and I. P. Leiberov, "Revoliutsiia i khleb" [Revolution and Bread], 587
- "The Rude Hand of Innovation," by Hackett, 1586
- Ruggiero, Guido, and Edward Muir, editors, "Sex and Gender in Historical Perspective" (E), 980
- Ruiz, Vicki L., and Ellen Carol DuBois, editors, "Unequal Sisters: A Multicultural Reader in U.S. Women's History" (E), 330
- "Rule of Darkness," by Brantlinger, 554
- The Rulerships of China*, by Crossley, 1468–83
- Runte, Alfred (R), 624
- "Rural Communities in the Medieval West," by Genicot, 174
- Russell, Conrad, "The Causes of the English Civil War," 192
- Russell, Greg, "Hans J. Morgenthau and the Ethics of American Statecraft," 640
- Russett, Cynthia (R), 1272
- "Russia and Denmark, 1856–1864," by Halicz, 1566
- "Russia and Italy against Hitler," by Clarke, 187
- "The Russian City between Tradition and Modernity, 1850–1900," by Brower, 254

- "Russian Lindbergh," by Baidukov, 1569
 "Russkii gorod v 1740–1860-e gody" [The Russian City in the Years 1740–1860], by Mironov, 893
 Russo, David, "Keepers of Our Past: Local Historical Writing in the United States, 1820s–1930s," 921
 Ruud, Charles A. (R), 1567
 Rystad, Göran, editor, "The Uprooted: Forced Migration as an International Problem in the Post-War Era" (E), 663
- Saab, Ann Pottinger, "Reluctant Icon: Gladstone, Bulgaria, and the Working Classes, 1856–1878," 1218
 Sabato, Hilda, "Agrarian Capitalism and the World Market: Buenos Aires in the Pastoral Age, 1840–1890," 659
 Sabean, David Warren, "Property, Production, and Family in Neckarhausen, 1700–1870," 1233
 "Sacco and Vanzetti," by Avrich, 303
 Sackett, R. E. (R), 876
 Sacks, Kenneth S., "Diodorus Siculus and the First Century," 528
 "Sacred Revolt," by Martin, 615
 Saddlemyer, Ann, editor, "Early Stages: Theatre in Ontario, 1800–1914" (E), 984
 Sadoun, Marc, *et al.*, editors, "La politique sociale du général de Gaulle" (E), 1646
 Said, Hakim Mohammed, *et al.*, editors, "Road to Pakistan: A Comprehensive History of the Pakistan Movement—1947." Volume 1, "712–1858" (E), 982
 "St. Petersburg between the Revolutions," by McKean, 256
 "St. Wulfstan of Worcester, c. 1008–1095," by Mason, 1198
 "Saints and Relics in Anglo-Saxon England," by Rollason, 531
 "Saints, Goddesses, and Kings," by Bayly, 911
 Salas, Elizabeth, "Soldaderas in the Mexican Military: Myth and History," 969
 Sale, Kirkpatrick, "The Conquest of Paradise: Christopher Columbus and the Columbian Legacy," 156
 Salisbury, Joyce E., "Church Fathers, Independent Virgins," 1498
 Sallares, Robert, "The Ecology of the Ancient Greek World," 826
 Saller, Richard (R), 527
 Salzman, Michele Renee, "On Roman Time: The Codex-Calendar of 354 and the Rhythms of Urban Life in Late Antiquity," 1192
 Salzman, Neil V., "Reform and Revolution: The Life and Times of Raymond Robins," 1314
 Samarin, William J., "The Black Man's Burden: African Colonial Labor on the Congo and Ubangi Rivers, 1880–1900," 260
 "Samoderzhavie i dvorianstvo v 1907–1914 gg." [The Autocracy and the Nobility in the Years 1907–1914], by Solov'ev, 1568
 Samper, Mario, "Generations of Settlers: Rural Households and Markets on the Costa Rican Frontier, 1850–1935," 653
 Samuel, Raphael, and Paul Thompson, editors, "The Myths We Live By" (E), 1324
 "Samuel Joseph May and the Dilemmas of the Liberal Persuasion, 1797–1871," by Yacovone, 1279
 "Sanctioned Violence in Early China," by Lewis, 907
 Sandberg, Lars G. (R), 569, 1232
- Sanders, Heywood T., and Char Miller, editors, "Urban Texas: Politics and Development" (E), 329
 Sanderson, Stephen K., "Social Evolutionism: A Critical History," 516
 Sandler, Stanley (C), 346
 Sandoz, Ellis, editor, "Eric Voegelin's Significance for the Modern Mind" (E), 1324
 Sangari, Kumkum, and Sudesh Vaid, editors, "Recasting Women: Essays in Indian Colonial History" (E), 668
 Sanneh, Lamin, "The Jakhanké Muslim Clerics: A Religious and Historical Study of Islam in Senegambia," 1573
 Sarty, Roger (R), 1628
 Sater, William F., "Chile and the United States: Empires in Conflict," 646
 Satz, Ronald N. (R), 922
 Saul, Norman E., "Distant Friends: The United States and Russia, 1763–1867," 638
 Savage, Sean J., "Roosevelt: The Party Leader, 1932–1945," 954
 Savage, William W., Jr. (R), 623
 Sawyer, Jeffrey K., "Printed Poison: Pamphlet Propaganda, Faction Politics, and the Public Sphere in Early Seventeenth-Century France," 1530
 Saxton, Alexander, "The Rise and Fall of the White Republic: Class Politics and Mass Culture in Nineteenth-Century America," 614
 Sbacchi, Alberto (R), 887
 "Le scandale de Panama," by Mollier, 1319
 Schaefer, David Lewis, "The Political Philosophy of Montaigne," 515
 Schaffer, Simon, and Michael Hunter, editors, "Robert Hooke: New Studies" (E), 666
 Schalk, David J., "War and the Ivory Tower: Algeria and Vietnam," 1491
 Schamiloglu, Uli (R), 181
 Scharff, Virginia, "Taking the Wheel: Women and the Coming of the Motor Age," 1607
 "Die Schatten der Vergangenheit," edited by Backes *et al.* (E), 979
 Scheiber, Harry N. (R), 282
 Schein, Sylvia, "Fideles Crucis: The Papacy, the West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land, 1274–1314," 536
 Schiffman, Zachary S. (R), 515
 Schlabach, Theron F., "Peace, Faith, Nation: Mennonites and Amish in Nineteenth-Century America," 281
 Schmidt, Albert J. (R), 584
 Schmidt, Elizabeth (R), 1259
 Schmidt, Vivien A., "Democratizing France: The Political and Administrative History of Decentralization," 1226
 Schmokel, Wolfe W. (R), 903
 Schneer, Jonathan, "George Lansbury," 209
 Schneider, Ronald M., "Order and Progress: A Political History of Brazil," 1321
 Schnurmann, Claudia, "Kommerz und Klüngel: Der Englandhandel Kölner Kaufleute im 16. Jahrhundert," 1549
 Schödl, Günter, "Kroatische Nationalpolitik und 'Jugoslavenstvo': Studien zu nationaler Integration und regionaler Politik in Kroatien-Dalmatien am Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts," 889
 Schöllgen, Gregor, editor, "Escape into War? The Foreign Policy of Imperial Germany" (E), 1331
 "Schools as Sorters," by Chapman, 945
 Schormann, Gerhard, "Der Krieg gegen die Hexen:

- Das Ausrottungsprogramm des Kurfürsten von Köln," 1233
- Schrecker, John (C), 1006
- Schrecker, John E., "The Chinese Revolution in Historical Perspective," 264
- Schriber, Carolyn Poling, "The Dilemma of Arnulf of Lisieux: New Ideas versus Old Ideals," 178
- Schröder, Hans-Jürgen, editor, "Die deutsche Frage als internationales Problem" (E), 666
- Schroeder, Paul W., *A Mild Rejoinder*, 733–35
- Schroeder, Paul W., *Did the Vienna Settlement Rest on a Balance of Power?* 683–706
- Schroeder, Paul W. (R), 1235
- Schroeter, Daniel J. (R), 899
- Schuchman, John S. (R), 1298
- Schuker, Stephen A. (R), 1222
- Schulman, Bruce J., "From Cotton Belt to Sunbelt: Federal Policy, Economic Development, and the Transformation of the South, 1938–1980," 951
- Schulman, Bruce J. (R), 625
- Schulze, Winfried, and Karl Acham, editors, "Teil und Ganzes: Zum Verhältnis von Einzel- und Gesamtanalyse in Geschichts- und Sozialwissenschaften" (E), 979
- Schulzinger, Robert D. (R), 640
- Schumann, Reinhold (R), 534, 1503
- Schutte, Anne Jacobson (R), 1230
- Schutte, G. J., and M. van Os, editors, "Bunyan in England and Abroad: Papers Delivered at the John Bunyan Tercentenary Symposium, Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam, 1988" (E), 1329
- Schwartz, Shuly Rubin, "The Emergence of Jewish Scholarship in America: The Publication of the *Jewish Encyclopedia*," 927
- Schwartz, Thomas Alan, "America's Germany: John J. McCloy and the Federal Republic of Germany," 958
- Schwartz, Thomas Alan (R), 1624
- Schweikart, Larry (R), 619
- Schweikart, Larry, and Lynne Pierson Doti, "Banking in the American West: From the Gold Rush to Deregulation," 1603
- Schweizer, Karl W., "Frederick the Great, William Pitt, and Lord Bute: The Anglo-Prussian Alliance, 1756–1763," 1514
- Schwoerer, Lois G. (R), 193
- "Science and Cultural Crisis," by Walter, 947
- "Science and Technology in History," by Inkster, 822
- "Science and the Soviet Social Order," edited by Graham (E), 981
- "Science Deified and Science Defied," by Olson, 820
- "A Science of Impurity," by Hamlin, 204
- "Scientist of Empire," by Stafford, 199
- "Scotland and America in the Age of Enlightenment," edited by Sher and Smitten (E), 974
- Scott, H. M., "British Foreign Policy in the Age of the American Revolution," 849
- Scott, H. M., editor, "Enlightened Absolutism: Reform and Reformers in Later Eighteenth-Century Europe" (E), 665
- Scott, William B. (R), 306
- Scranton, Philip (R), 628
- Sealey, Raphael, "Women and Law in Classical Greece," 170
- "Searching for the Sunbelt," edited by Mohl (E), 983
- Sears, John F., editor, "Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Future of Liberalism" (E), 669
- "Seasons of Grace," by Crawford, 931
- "Second Chance," edited by Mosse *et al.* (E), 1645
- "The Secret History of the Convict Colony," by King, 604
- Seed, Patricia (R), 967
- Segalen, Martine, "Fifteen Generations of Bretons: Kinship and Society in Lower Brittany, 1720–1980," 1532
- Seidman, Michael, "Workers against Work: Labor in Paris and Barcelona during the Popular Fronts," 185
- Seidman, Steven, "Romantic Longings: Love in America, 1830–1980," 621
- Sellen, Robert W. (R), 1312
- Seller, Maxine Schwartz (R), 1612
- "The Selling of the Constitutional Convention," by Alexander, 611
- Seltzer, Matthew B., and Paul L. Murphy (R), 279
- Senn, Alfred Erich (R), 892, 1569
- "Sephardi Entrepreneurs in Eretz Israel," by Glass and Kark, 1570
- Serjeant, R. B., and R. L. Bidwell, editors, "Arabian Studies" (E), 668
- Service, Robert, "Lenin: A Political Life." Volume 2, "Worlds in Collision," 583
- Sessions, Kyle C. (R), 1549
- Setton, Kenneth M., "Venice, Austria, and the Turks in the Seventeenth Century," 1512
- "Sex and Gender in Historical Perspective," edited by Muir and Ruggiero (E), 980
- "Sex, Dissidence and Damnation," by Richards, 836
- "Sexual Anarchy," by Showalter, 545
- "Sexual Visions," by Jordanova, 821
- "Shadow of Heaven." Volume 1, "1897–1948," by English, 648
- Shafer, D. Michael, editor, "The Legacy: The Vietnam War in the American Imagination" (E), 669
- "Shahjahanabad," by Blake, 1581
- Shammas, Carole, "The Pre-Industrial Consumer in England and America," 521
- "Shanghai 1927–1937," by Henriot, 1265
- Shannon, Catherine B. (R), 559, 855
- "Shaping Invention," by Cooper, 1593
- "Shaping the Political Arena," by Collier and Collier, 1630
- Shapiro, Henry D. (R), 924
- Sharp, James Roger (R), 627
- Sharpe, Richard, "Medieval Irish Saints' Lives: An Introduction to *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*," 1198
- "Shattered Nerves," by Oppenheim, 851
- Shavit, Yaacov (R), 900
- Shaw, Brent D. (R), 1190
- Shaw, Stephanie J. (R), 301
- Sheingorn, Pamela (R), 531, 1198
- Shemesh, Moshe, and Selwyn Ilan Troen, editors, "The Suez-Sinai Crisis, 1956: Retrospective and Reappraisal" (E), 663
- Sher, Richard B., and Jeffrey R. Smitten, editors, "Scotland and America in the Age of Enlightenment" (E), 974
- Sheridan, George J., Jr. (R), 1228
- Sherman, Daniel J., "Worthy Monuments: Art Museums and the Politics of Culture in Nineteenth-Century France," 1536
- Sherow, James Earl, "Watering the Valley: Development along the High Plains Arkansas River, 1870–1950," 289
- Sherrill, Rowland A., editor, "Religion and the Life of the Nation: American Recoveries" (E), 329
- Shi, David E. (R), 1301
- Shields, David S., "Oracles of Empire: Poetry, Politics, and Commerce in British America, 1690–1750," 276
- Shields, Johanna Nicol (R), 617
- Shifflett, Crandall A., "Coal Towns: Life, Work, and

- Culture in Company Towns of Southern Appalachia, 1880–1960,” 1292
- Shinn, Ridgway F., Jr., “Arthur Berriedale Keith, 1879–1944: The Chief Ornament of Scottish Learning,” 856
- “Shipbuilders of the Venetian Arsenal,” by Davis, 885
- “Ships, Money and Politics,” by Andrews, 1213
- Shorrock, William I. (R), 161
- Shortt, S. E. D. (R), 851
- “Shoulder to Shoulder?” by Andrews, 1615
- Showalter, D. E. (R), 1555
- Showalter, Elaine, “Sexual Anarchy: Gender and Culture at the Fin de Siècle,” 545
- Shrimpton, Gordon S., “Theopompus the Historian,” 827
- “Shtetl Jews under Soviet Rule,” by Pinchuk, 1249
- Shubert, Adrian, “A Social History of Modern Spain,” 1545
- Shubert, Adrian (R), 568
- Shulman, Holly Cowan, “The Voice of America: Propaganda and Democracy, 1941–1945,” 311
- Shumway, Nicolas, “The Invention of Argentina,” 971
- Shurbutt, T. Ray, editor, “United States–Latin American Relations, 1800–1850: The Formative Generations” (E), 984
- Sibley, Marilyn McAdams (R), 287
- “Sicily under the Roman Empire,” by Wilson, 1191
- “Siena and the Sieneze in the Thirteenth Century,” by Waley, 1503
- Sierpowski, Stanisław, “Piłsudski w Genewie: Dyplomatyczne spory o Wilno w roku 1927” [Piłsudski in Geneva: Diplomatic Disputes over Vilnius in 1927], 892
- Sikainga, Ahmad Alawad (R), 258
- “Sikorski,” edited by Sword (E), 327
- Silbey, Joel H. (R), 1283
- Silbey, Joel H., “The American Political Nation, 1838–1893,” 1594
- Silver, Larry (R), 223
- Silverstein, Mark (R), 1621
- Simmons, Harvey G. (R), 1538
- “Simone Weil,” by Fiori, 218
- Simons, Thomas W., Jr., “Eastern Europe in the Postwar World,” 1250
- “Simple Decency and Common Sense,” by Reed, 1620
- Simpson, A. W. Brian (R), 522
- Simpson, Brooks D., “Let Us Have Peace: Ulysses S. Grant and the Politics of War and Reconstruction, 1861–1868,” 934
- Sims, Harold Dana, “The Expulsion of Mexico’s Spaniards, 1821–1836,” 657
- Sims-Williams, Patrick, “Religion and Literature in Western England, 600–800,” 178
- Sindall, Rob, “Street Violence in the Nineteenth Century: Media Panic or Real Danger?” 203
- Singer, Wendy (R), 1148
- Sinor, Denis, editor, “The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia” (E), 328
- Sirks, Boudewijn, “Food for Rome: The Legal Structure of the Transportation and Processing of Supplies for the Imperial Distributions in Rome and Constantinople,” 1496
- Sissa, Giulia, “Greek Virginity,” 169
- Sisson, Richard, and Leo E. Rose, “War and Secession: Pakistan, India, and the Creation of Bangladesh,” 1270
- Sivéry, Gérard, “Terroirs et communautés rurales dans l’Europe occidentale au Moyen Age,” 833
- Sivin, N. (R), 1262
- “The Six National Histories of Japan,” by Tarō, 1266
- “Sixth Palenque Round Table, 1986,” edited by Robertson and Fields (E), 1336
- “The 60s Experience,” by Morgan, 1625
- “Själhvushåll eller arbetsdelning?” [Self-Sufficiency or Division of Labor?], by Gadd, 1232
- Skaggs, David Curtis, and William Jeffrey Welsh, editors, “War on the Great Lakes: Essays Commemorating the 175th Anniversary of the Battle of Lake Erie” (E), 1334
- Skemp, Sheila L. (R), 1585
- Skidmore, Thomas E. (R), 658
- Skidmore, Thomas E., “The Politics of Military Rule in Brazil, 1964–85,” 1323
- “Slave Law in the Americas,” by Watson, 514
- “The Slave Question,” by Watson, 262
- “Slavery and the Rise of the Atlantic System,” edited by Solow (E), 1644
- “Slavery Attacked,” by Dillon, 277
- Slavery in Africa and the Slave Trades from Africa*, by Ewald, 465–85
- “Slavery in the Circuit of Sugar,” by Tomich, 320
- “Sleepless Souls,” by MacDonald and Murphy, 189
- Slights, Camille Wells (R), 1519
- Sloan, John W., “Eisenhower and the Management of Prosperity,” 1309
- Sloan, John W. (R), 1308
- Sloane, David Charles, “The Last Great Necessity: Cemeteries in American History,” 274
- “Slums,” edited by Gaskell (E), 1330
- Smith, Alan K., “Creating a World Economy: Merchant Capital, Colonialism, and World Trade, 1400–1825,” 1182
- Smith, Gavin, “Livelihood and Resistance: Peasants and the Politics of Land in Peru,” 1637
- Smith, Joseph, editor, “The Origins of NATO” (E), 974
- Smith, Joseph, “Unequal Giants: Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Brazil, 1889–1930,” 1185
- Smith, Richard M. (R), 834
- Smith, Sherry L. (R), 1282
- Smith, Steven T., and Walter Werner, “Wall Street,” 627
- Smith, Woodruff D., “Politics and the Sciences of Culture in Germany, 1840–1920,” 1236
- Smith-Rosenberg, Carroll (R), 545
- Smitten, Jeffrey R., and Richard B. Sher, editors, “Scotland and America in the Age of Enlightenment” (E), 974
- Snakes and Ladders*, produced and directed by Mitzi Goldman and Trish FitzSimons, 1150
- Snell, Charles W. (C), 347
- “Snowbelt Cities,” edited by Richard M. Bernard (E), 329
- “La Société Lyonnaise pour le Sauvetage de l’Enfance (1890–1960),” by Dessertine, 565
- “Social Assistance and Bureaucratic Politics,” by Chandler, 1320
- “Social Evolutionism,” by Sanderson, 516
- “A Social History of Modern Spain,” by Shubert, 1545
- Social Insurance and Public Assistance*, by Gordon, 19–54
- “Socialist Cities,” by Judd, 304
- “The Socialist Revolutionaries and the Russian Anti-War Movement, 1914–1917,” by Melancon, 585
- “Society and Institutions in Early Modern France,” edited by Holt (E), 1646
- “Society and Politics in Snorri Sturluson’s *Heimskringla*,” by Bagge, 1501
- Sodaro, Michael J., “Moscow, Germany, and the West from Khrushchev to Gorbachev,” 844

- "The Soderini and the Medici," by Clarke, 1506
 Soderlund, Jean R., and Gary B. Nash, "Freedom by Degrees: Emancipation in Pennsylvania and Its Aftermath," 611
 Soffer, Reba N. (R), 1220, 1524
 "Soldaderas in the Mexican Military," by Salas, 969
 "Soldiers and Scholars," by Reardon, 286
 "Soldiers, Traders, and Slaves," by Ewald, 593
 Solomon, Martha M., editor, "A Voice of Their Own: The Woman Suffrage Press, 1840–1910" (E), 1651
 Solomon, Susan Gross, and John F. Hutchinson, editors, "Health and Society in Revolutionary Russia" (E), 327
 Solov'ev, Iu. B., "Samoderzhavie i dvorianstvo v 1907–1914 gg." [The Autocracy and the Nobility in the Years 1907–1914], 1568
 Solow, Barbara L., editor, "Slavery and the Rise of the Atlantic System" (E), 1644
 Solt, Leo F., "Church and State in Early Modern England, 1509–1640," 190
 Solt, Leo F. (R), 847
 Soltow, James H. (R), 1300
 "Somewhat More Independent," by White, 1278
 Sommerville, C. John (R), 1521
 Sonbol, Amira El Azhary (R), 902; (C), 1665
 Sondhaus, Lawrence, "In the Service of the Emperor: Italians in the Austrian Armed Forces, 1814–1918," 543
 Sonesson, Birgit, "La Real Hacienda en Puerto Rico: Administración, política, y grupos de presión (1815–1868)," 652
 Sonnino, Paul, editor, "The Reign of Louis XIV: Essays in Celebration of Andrew Lossky" (E), 326
 "Sophia, Regent of Russia, 1657–1704," by Hughes, 250
 Sorabji, Richard, "Matter, Space, and Motion: Theories in Antiquity and Their Sequel," 168
 Sorkin, David, and Frances Malino, editors, "From East and West: Jews in a Changing Europe, 1750–1870" (E), 1329
 Sorlin, Pierre, "European Cinemas, European Societies, 1939–1990," 843
 Sosin, J. M. (R), 930
 Soto, Shirlene, "Emergence of the Modern Mexican Woman: Her Participation in Revolution and Struggle for Equality, 1910–1940," 969
 "Soulstealers," by Kuhn, 597
 "South Africa's Labor Empire," by Crush *et al.*, 1574
 "South Asia and World Capitalism," edited by Bose (E), 1333
 "South Slav Nationalisms," by Jelavich, 1247
 "Southern Hunting in Black and White," by Marks, 1613
 "Sovereignty or Security? Government Policy in the Canadian North, 1936–1950," by Grant, 318
 "Sovetskii Soiuz v strategii Gomin'dana (20–30-e gody)" [The Soviet Union in Guomindang Strategy of the 1920s and 1930s], by Mirovitskaia, 897
 "Soviet Policies in the Middle East from World War Two to Gorbachev," by Golan, 588
 "The Soviet Takeover of the Polish Eastern Provinces, 1939–41," edited by Sword (E), 1648
 "Sozialistische Gesundheits- und Lebensreformverbände," by Walter *et al.* (E), 1647
 "Space Technology and Planetary Astronomy," by Tatarewicz, 316
 "A Spacefaring Nation," edited by Collins and Fries (E), 1652
 Spadafora, David (R), 1522
 Spalding, Hobart A. (R), 1630
 "The Spanish Civil War," by Bolloten, 568
 "The Spanish Civil War and the British Labour Movement," by Buchanan, 1209
 "Spanish Fighters," by MacMaster, 867
 "The Spanish-American Homeland," by Carlson, 1632
 Spaulding, Jay (R), 1572
 Spear, Thomas (R), 904
 Spencer, Elaine Glovka (R), 236, 1237
 Sperber, Jonathan (R), 841
 Sperber, Jonathan, "Rhineland Radicals: The Democratic Movement and the Revolution of 1848–1849," 1551
 Spierenburg, Pieter, "The Prison Experience: Disciplinary Institutions and Their Inmates in Early Modern Europe," 1511
 Spitzer, Leo, "Lives in Between: Assimilation and Marginality in Austria, Brazil, West Africa, 1780–1945," 521
 "Splintered Classes," edited by Koshar (E), 977
 "Spoilt Children of Empire," by Clifford, 1578
 "Sport, Politics, and Communism," by Riordan, 1569
 Sprunger, Keith L. (R), 869
 Spurr, John, "The Restoration Church of England, 1646–1689," 1519
 "The Sputniks Crisis and Early United States Space Policy," by Bulkeley, 957
 "Staat und Staatlichkeit in der frühen römischen Republik," edited by Eder (E), 324
 Stacey, Robert C. (R), 836
 Stackelberg, Rod (R), 573
 "Eine Stadt am seidenen Faden," by Kriedte, 1552
 "Die städtischen Handelszentren der nordwestlichen Rus'," by Mühle, 540
 Stafford, Robert A., "Scientist of Empire: Sir Roderick Murchison, Scientific Exploration and Victorian Imperialism," 199
 Staggenborg, Suzanne, "The Pro-Choice Movement: Organization and Activism in the Abortion Conflict," 1310
 "A Stagnating Metropolis," by Söderberg *et al.*, 569
 Stahl, Michael, "Aristokraten und Tyrannen im archaischen Athen: Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung, zur Sozialstruktur und zur Entstehung des Staates," 171
 "Stalinist Simplifications and Soviet Complications," by Rittersporn, 1253
 Stančić, Nikša, "Gajeva 'Još Hrvatska ni propala' iz 1832–33: Ideologija Ljudevita Gaja u pripremnom razdoblju hrvatskog narodnog preporoda" [Gaj's "Croatia is Not Yet Lost," 1832–33: The Ideology of Ljudevit Gaj in the Preparatory Period of the Croatian National Revival], 580
 Staniland, Martin, "American Intellectuals and African Nationalists, 1955–1970," 644
 Stansky, Peter (R), 852
 Star, Susan Leigh, "Regions of the Mind: Brain Research and the Quest for Scientific Certainty," 525
 Startt, James D., "Journalists for Empire: The Imperial Debate in the Edwardian Stately Press, 1903–1913," 1527
 "The State and Economic Knowledge," edited by Furner and Supple (E), 974
 "State and Society in Early Medieval China," edited by Dien (E), 328
 "State Capitalism and Working-Class Radicalism in the French Aircraft Industry," by Chapman, 566
 Staudenmaier, John M., S.J. (R), 158, 1593
 Staves, Susan (R), 190
 Stayer, James M., "The German Peasants' War and Anabaptist Community of Goods," 1549

- "Steamboats and the Cotton Economy," by Owens, 284
 Steele, E. D., "Palmerston and Liberalism, 1855-1865," 1525
 Steenson, Gary P., "After Marx, Before Lenin: Marxism and Socialist Working-Class Parties in Europe, 1884-1914," 1207
 Stein, George H. (R), 1242
 Stein, Kenneth W. (C), 1350
 Steinberg, Theodore, "Nature Incorporated: Industrialization and the Waters of New England," 938
 Steiner, Barry H., "Bernard Brodie and the Foundations of American Nuclear Strategy," 1316
 Steinert, Marlis, "Hitler," 880
 Steinmetz, David C., editor, "The Bible in the Sixteenth Century" (E), 1328
 Stelter, Gilbert (R), 1318
 Stephenson, Charles, and Robert Asher, editors, "Labor Divided: Race and Ethnicity in United States Labor Struggles, 1835-1960" (E), 329
 Stern, Mark, "Calculating Visions: Kennedy, Johnson, and Civil Rights," 1624
 Stillman, Norman A. (R), 1570
 Stinger, Charles L. (R), 537, 883, 1511
 Stoianovich, Traian (R), 862
 Stokes, Gale, "Politics as Development: The Emergence of Political Parties in Nineteenth-Century Serbia," 1564
 Stokes, Lawrence D., and Francis R. Nicosia, editors, "Germans against Nazism: Nonconformity, Opposition and Resistance in the Third Reich; Essays in Honour of Peter Hoffmann" (E), 1331
 Stoler, Mark A. (R), 1623
 Stone, Alan, "Public Service Liberalism: Telecommunications and Transitions in Public Policy," 1618
 Stone, Judith F. (R), 184
 Stone, Lawrence, "Road to Divorce: England, 1530-1987," 190
 Stone, Samuel Z., "The Heritage of the Conquistadors: Ruling Classes in Central America from the Conquest to the Sandinistas," 653
 "Una storia dell'Azione cattolica," by Ferrari, 245
 "Storia delle origini del fascismo," by Vivarelli, 577
 "Stosunki polsko-niemieckie 1919-1932" [Polish-German Relations, 1919-32], edited by Czubiński and Kulak (E), 1648
 "Stosunki polsko-niemieckie w historiografii." Volume 3, "Studia z dziejów historiografii polskiej i niemieckiej" [Polish-German Relations in Historiography. Volume 3, Essays in Polish and German Historiography], edited by Krasuski *et al.* (E), 1648
 Stourzh, Gerald, and Birgitta Zaar, editors, "Österreich, Deutschland und die Mächte: Internationale und österreichische Aspekte des 'Anschlusses' vom März 1938" (E), 1331
 Stovall, Tyler, "The Rise of the Paris Red Belt," 219
 "Strangers at the Bedside," by Rothman, 633
 "Strangers within the Realm," edited by Bailyn and Morgan (E), 1646
 "Stranitsy тайной истории самодержавия" [Pages from the Secret History of the Autocracy], by Mironenko, 252
 Strasser, Susan (R), 293
 "Street Violence in the Nineteenth Century," by Sindall, 203
 Strobil, Margaret, "European Women and the Second British Empire," 1216
 Stroup, Alice, "A Company of Scientists: Botany, Patronage, and Community at the Seventeenth-Century Parisian Royal Academy of Sciences," 215
 Strum, Philippa (R), 926
 "Studenten und Politik," by Gehler, 243
 "The Study of Change," by Reardon-Anderson, 1576
 "Style and Society in Dark Age Greece," by Whitley, 1493
 "Subverting the System," by Coats, 561
 "Sud, debiti e gabelle," by Caracciolo, 884
 "Suez," by Kyle, 1184
 "The Suez-Sinai Crisis, 1956," edited by Troen and Shemesh (E), 663
 Sugar, Peter F., *et al.*, editors, "A History of Hungary" (E), 980
 Söderberg, Johan, *et al.*, "A Stagnating Metropolis: The Economy and Demography of Stockholm, 1750-1850," 569
 Sun, E-tu Zen (R), 1263
 Sundquist, Eric J., editor, "Frederick Douglass: New Literary and Historical Essays" (E), 982
 "Suomen paluelusväki 1600-luvulla" [Hired Labor in Seventeenth-Century Finland], by Nygård, 870
 Supple, Barry, and Mary O. Furner, editors, "The State and Economic Knowledge: The American and British Experiences" (E), 974
 "The Surgical Solution," by Reilly, 944
 Surh, Gerald D., "1905 in St. Petersburg: Labor, Society, and Revolution," 1252
 Surh, Gerald D. (R), 895
 Sussman, George D. (R), 564
 Svensson, Thommy, and Mats Lundahl, editors, "Agrarian Society in History: Essays in Honour of Magnus Mörner" (E), 1325
 Swainson, Donald, and Brian S. Osborne, "Kingston: Building on the Past," 1318
 Swanson, Carl E., "Predators and Prizes: American Privateering and Imperial Warfare, 1739-1748," 1275
 Swartz, Marvin (R), 1218
 Sweeney, Edwin R., "Cochise: Chiricahua Apache Chief," 922
 Sword, Keith, editor, "Sikorski: Soldier and Statesman" (E), 327
 Sword, Keith, editor, "The Soviet Takeover of the Polish Eastern Provinces, 1939-41" (E), 1648
 Sydorenko, Alexander (R), 246
 "Symptotica," edited by Murray (E), 975
 Tabuteau, Emily Zack (R), 178
 Tāha, Abdulwahid Dhanun, "The Muslim Conquest and Settlement of North Africa and Spain," 168
 "Taking the Wheel," by Scharff, 1607
 Talbert, Roy, Jr., "Negative Intelligence: The Army and the American Left, 1917-1941," 1276
 Talbert, Roy, Jr. (R), 1276
 Tamarin, David (R), 659, 1638
 "The Taming of Chance," by Hacking, 157
 Tandeter, Enrique, and Lyman L. Johnson, editors, "Essays on the Price History of Eighteenth-Century Latin America" (E), 331
 Tann, Jennifer (R), 198
 Tarō, Sakamoto, "The Six National Histories of Japan," 1266
 Tatarewicz, Joseph N., "Space Technology and Planetary Astronomy," 316
 Taylor, Olive A. (R), 315

- Taylor, Seth, "Left-Wing Nietzscheans: The Politics of German Expressionism, 1910–1920," 573
- "Taylorism Transformed," by Waring, 1308
- Teaford, Jon C., "The Rough Road to Renaissance: Urban Revitalization in America, 1940–1985," 308
- Te Brake, Wayne Ph., "Regents and Rebels: The Revolutionary World of an Eighteenth-Century Dutch City," 568
- Tec, Nechama, "In the Lion's Den: The Life of Oswald Rufeisen," 160
- Teeven, Kevin M., "A History of the Anglo-American Common Law of Contract," 522
- Teich, Mikuláš, and Roy Porter, editors, "*Fin de siècle* and Its Legacy" (E), 1642
- "Teil und Ganzes," edited by Acham and Schulze (E), 979
- "Tejano Origins in Eighteenth-Century San Antonio," edited by Poyo and Hinojosa (E), 1651
- "Het tekort" [The Deficit], by Dormans, 1232
- Temperley, Howard, "White Dreams, Black Africa: The Antislavery Expedition to the River Niger 1841–1842," 1258
- "Ten Days to Destiny," by Costello, 1516
- Tenenbaum, Barbara A. (R), 657
- "Terroirs et communautés rurales dans l'Europe occidentale au Moyen Age," by Sivéry, 833
- Terry, Janice J. (R), 590; (C) 1006
- Tester, Keith, "Animals and Society: The Humanity of Animal Rights," 1180
- Tetlock, Philip E., and George W. Breslauer, editors, "Learning in U.S. and Soviet Foreign Policy" (E), 1643
- "Texas through Time," edited by Buenger and Calvert (E), 1336
- "T. G. Masaryk (1850–1937)." Volume 1, "Thinker and Politician," edited by Winters (E), 667
- Thalmann, Rita, "La mise au pas: Idéologie et stratégie sécuritaire dans la France occupée," 863
- "Théodore Roosevelt," by Ricard, 1312
- "Theopompus the Historian," by Shrimpton, 827
- "There's a War to Be Won," by Perret, 1304
- Thomadsen, Nancy Sweet, and Martha Albertson Fineman, editors, "At the Boundaries of Law: Feminism and Legal Theory" (E), 1325
- Thomas, Brook, "The New Historicism and Other Old-Fashioned Topics," 1484
- Thomas, Carol G. (R), 827
- Thomas, David Hurst, editor, "Columbian Consequences." Volume 2, "Archaeological and Historical Perspectives on the Spanish Borderlands East" (E), 669
- Thomas, David Hurst, editor, "Columbian Consequences." Volume 3, "The Spanish Borderlands in Pan-American Perspective" (E), 670
- Thomas, Emory M. (R), 618
- Thompson, F. M. L., editor, "The Cambridge Social History of Britain, 1750–1950." Volume 1, "Regions and Communities" (E), 666
- Thompson, F. M. L., editor, "The Cambridge Social History of Britain, 1750–1950." Volume 2, "People and Their Environment" (E), 666
- Thompson, F. M. L., editor, "The Cambridge Social History of Britain, 1750–1950." Volume 3, "Social Agencies and Institutions" (E), 666
- Thompson, F. M. L., editor, "The University of London and the World of Learning, 1836–1986" (E), 1330
- Thompson, Guy Llewelyn, "Paris and Its People under English Rule: The Anglo-Burgundian Regime 1420–1436," 1201
- Thompson, John M. (R), 1314
- Thompson, Paul, and Raphael Samuel, editors, "The Myths We Live By" (E), 1324
- Thompson, Sally, "Women Religious: The Founding of English Nunneries after the Norman Conquest," 831
- Thorp, Daniel B. (R), 932
- Thorpe, Andrew, "The British General Election of 1931," 1223
- "The Thousand Generation Covenant," by Gerstner, 1260
- "Thrown among Strangers," by Monroy, 656
- Tilai*, directed by Idrissa Ouedraogo, 1143
- Tillotson, G. H. R., "The Tradition of Indian Architecture: Continuity, Controversy, and Change since 1850," 602
- Tilly, Charles (R), 857
- Tilly, Louise A. (R), 1175, 1562
- Tilly, Louise A., and Patricia Gurin, editors, "Women, Politics, and Change" (E), 668
- Tischler, Barbara L. (R), 928
- Titus, James, "The Old Dominion at War: Society, Politics, and Warfare in Late Colonial Virginia," 610
- "To Die for Germany," by Baird, 239
- "To Every Thing a Season," by Kuklick, 634
- "To Lead as Equals," by Gould, 654
- "To Western Woods," by Dicken-Garcia, 1282
- Tobey, Ronald C. (R), 947
- Todorova, Maria, *Historiography of the Countries of Eastern Europe: Bulgaria*, 1105–17
- Tomich, Dale (R), 519
- Tomich, Dale W., "Slavery in the Circuit of Sugar: Martinique and the World Economy, 1830–1848," 320
- Tønnesson, Stein, "The Vietnamese Revolution of 1945: Roosevelt, Ho Chi Minh and de Gaulle in a World at War," 1580
- "Tools of War," edited by Lynn (E), 323
- Torstendahl, Rolf, and Michael Burrage, editors, "Professions in Theory and History: Rethinking the Study of the Professions" (E), 973
- "Toward a Definition of Antisemitism," by Langmuir, 838
- "Toward a New Society," by Matthews, 613
- Toward Mixtures and Margins*, by Davis, 1409–16
- "Toward the Century of Words," by Moran, 226
- "Town and Country in Pre-Industrial Spain," by Reher, 1230
- "Towns in Medieval Hungary," edited by Gerevich (E), 1644
- "Towns in the Viking Age," by Clarke and Ambrosiani, 828
- Trachtenberg, Marc, "History and Strategy," 958
- Tracy, James D., editor, "The Political Economy of Merchant Empires: State Power and World Trade, 1350–1750" (E), 1644
- Tracy, James D., editor, "The Rise of Merchant Empires: Long-Distance Trade in the Early Modern World, 1350–1750" (E), 662
- Tracy, James D., "Holland under Habsburg Rule, 1506–1566: The Formation of a Body Politic," 222
- "The Tradition of Indian Architecture," by Tillotson, 602
- "Training God's Army," by Brereton, 282
- "The Transformation of Cinema, 1907–1915," by Bowser, 1298
- "The Transformation of Early American History," edited by Henretta *et al.* (E), 1650
- "The Transformation of Political Culture," edited by Hellmuth (E), 977

- "Transformations in American Medicine," by King, 943
- "Transforming Free Speech," by Graber, 926
- "Transforming Traditions in American Biology, 1880–1915," by Maienschein, 945
- "The Transmission of Culture in Early Modern Europe," edited by Grafton and Blair (E), 665
- Trask, David F. (R), 1183
- Treadgold, Donald W., "Freedom: A History," 512
- Treadgold, Warren (R), 829
- Treadway, John D. (R), 1564
- Trefousse, Hans L., "Andrew Johnson: A Biography," 285
- Treggiari, Susan (R), 1190
- Treichel, Eckhardt, "Der Primat der Bürokratie: Bürokratischer Staat und bürokratische Elite im Herzogtum Nassau 1806–1866," 1553
- "Trento, principi e corpi," edited by Mozzarelli (E), 1648
- Trexler, Richard C. (R), 244
- "Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East," edited by Khoury and Kostiner (E), 981
- Trocki, Carl A., "Opium and Empire: Chinese Society in Colonial Singapore, 1800–1910," 266
- Troen, Selwyn Ilan, and Moshe Shemesh, editors, "The Suez-Sinai Crisis, 1956: Retrospective and Reappraisal" (E), 663
- Trolander, Judith Ann (R), 956
- Trotter, Joe W. (R), 1618
- Trotter, Joe William, Jr., "Coal, Class, and Color: Blacks in Southern West Virginia, 1915–32," 301
- "Troubled Waters," by Aronson, 255
- Trox, Eckhard, "Militärischer Konservatismus: Kriegervereine und 'Militärpartei' in Preussen zwischen 1815 und 1848/49," 874
- Troyansky, David G., *et al.*, editors, "The French Revolution in Culture and Society" (E), 1330
- "The True and Only Heaven," by Lasch, 605
- "Truman and Israel," by Cohen, 642
- "Trygve Lie and the Cold War," by Barros, 163
- Trzeciakowski, Lech, "The Kulturkampf in Prussian Poland," 249
- Tsurumi, E. Patricia, "Factory Girls: Women in the Thread Mills of Meiji Japan," 269
- Tucker, Louis Leonard, "Clio's Consort: Jeremy Belknap and the Founding of the Massachusetts Historical Society," 1588
- Tunnell, Ted (R), 285
- "Turko-Persia in Historical Perspective," edited by Canfield (E), 1648
- Turley, David, "The Culture of English Antislavery, 1780–1860," 1523
- Turner, Steven (R), 1203
- Tushnet, Mark (R), 1624
- Tutino, John (R), 651
- "TVA's Public Planning," by Creese, 310
- Tweed, William C., and Lary M. Dilsaver, "Challenge of the Big Trees: A Resource History of Sequoia and Kings Canyon National Parks," 624
- Twinam, Ann (R), 1637
- Tyrrell, Ian, "Woman's World, Woman's Empire: The Woman's Christian Temperance Union in International Perspective, 1880–1930," 1608
- "The Ukrainian Americans," by Kuropas, 629
- "Ukrainian Economic History," edited by Koropecjy (E), 981
- Ulbricht, Otto, "Kindschmord und Aufklärung in Deutschland," 872
- Uldricks, Teddy J. (R), 825
- Ullman, Joan Connelly (R), 867
- "Der Umbau Europas," edited by Hoffmann and Kramer (E), 1647
- "Unequal Giants," by Smith, 1185
- "Unequal Sisters," edited by DuBois and Ruiz (E), 330
- "Ungodly Women," by DeBerg, 1607
- "The Unification and Division of India," by Misra, 1582
- "The Union as It Is," by Knupfer, 1592
- "A Union of Interests," by Matson and Onuf, 610
- "The United States and the Genocide Convention," by LeBlanc, 1317
- "The United States and the Making of Postwar France, 1945–1954," by Wall, 960
- "United States Attitudes and Policies toward China," edited by Neils (E), 983
- "The United States, Great Britain, and Egypt, 1945–1956," by Hahn, 642
- "United States Jewry, 1776–1985," by Marcus, 280
- "United States–Latin American Relations, 1800–1850," edited by Shurbutt (E), 984
- "United States Perceptions of Latin America, 1850–1930," by Fifer, 645
- "United We Win," by Garcia, 1308
- "The University of London and the World of Learning, 1836–1986," edited by Thompson (E), 1330
- Unrau, William E. (R), 615
- "The Unresolved Question," by Mansergh, 1528
- Unwin, Tim, "Wine and the Vine: An Historical Geography of Viticulture and the Wine Trade," 1204
- "The Unwritten Law," by Conley, 850
- "The Uprooted," edited by Rystad (E), 663
- Upton, Anthony F. (R), 870
- Urban, William (R), 1502
- "Urban Texas," edited by Miller and Sanders (E), 329
- Urofsky, Melvin I., "Felix Frankfurter: Judicial Restraint and Individual Liberties," 1621
- "U.S. Foreign Policy and the Shah," by Gasiorowski, 1627
- The Use and Abuse of Black Athena*, by M. Levine, 440–60
- "The Use of Abuse," by Griffiths, 1539
- "The Uses of Charity," edited by Mandler (E), 974
- "The Uses of Literacy in Early Mediaeval Europe," edited by McKitterick (E), 975
- "The Utopian Alternative," by Guarneri, 937
- Vaid, Sudesh, and Kumkum Sangari, editors, "Recasting Women: Essays in Indian Colonial History" (E), 668
- Vaillant, Janet G., "Black, French, and African: A Life of Léopold Sédar Senghor," 260
- Vale, Malcolm, "The Angevin Legacy and the Hundred Years War 1250–1340," 835
- Valensi, Lucette, and Nathan Wachtel, "Jewish Memories," 159
- Valenze, Deborah (R), 551
- Vandenbusche, Duane (R), 624
- Vander Meulen, Jacob A., "The Politics of Aircraft: Building an American Military Industry," 1622
- Van Die, Marguerite (R), 647
- van Keuren, David K., and JoAnne Brown, editors, "The Estate of Social Knowledge" (E), 1642

- Van Kley, Dale K. (R), 1530
 Van Kley, Edwin J. (R), 870
 Vann, Richard T. (R), 1173
 van Os, M., and G. J. Schutte, editors, "Bunyan in England and Abroad: Papers Delivered at the John Bunyan Tercentenary Symposium, Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam, 1988" (E), 1329
 van Pelt, Robert Jan, and Carroll William Westfall, "Architectural Principles in the Age of Historicism," 1490
 Vansina, Jan, "Paths in the Rainforests: Toward a History of Political Tradition in Equatorial Africa," 592
 Vaughan, Mary Kay (R), 969
 "Velikii russkii reformator" [The Great Russian Reformer], by Chibiriae, 582
 "Venice, Austria, and the Turks in the Seventeenth Century," by Setton, 1512
 "Venice West," by Maynard, 637
 Venohr, Wolfgang, editor, "Ein Deutschland wird es sein" (E), 327
 Vercelli, Cinzia Rognoni, "Mario Alberto Rollier: Un valdese federalista," 1563
 Verdon, Timothy, and John Henderson, editors, "Christianity and the Renaissance: Image and Religious Imagination in the Quattrocento" (E), 664
 Verney, Jack, "The Good Regiment: The Carignan-Salières Regiment in Canada, 1665-1668," 1319
 "The Vichy Syndrome," by Rousso, 1229
 Vicinus, Martha (R), 201
 "Victims and Values," by Amato, 518
 "Victorian Countrywomen," by Horn, 1526
 "Victorian Liberalism," edited by Bellamy (E), 978
 "Victorian West," by Haywood, 939
La vie et rien d'autre, directed by Bertrand Tavernier, 1153
The Vietnam War, by Kiernan, 1118-37
 "The Vietnamese Response to French Intervention, 1862-1874," by McLeod, 1268
 "The Vietnamese Revolution of 1945," by Tønnesson, 1580
 Vietor, Richard H. K. (R), 1618
 Vigueur, Jean-Claude Maire, and Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, editors, "Ars et ratio: Dalla torre di Babele al ponte di Rialto" (E), 325
 Vilanova, Mercedes, *Anarchism, Political Participation, and Illiteracy in Barcelona between 1934 and 1936*, 96-120
 "La ville et les métiers," by Cerutti, 576
 Vincent, Bernard, "1492: L'année admirable," 1487
 Vincent, Gérard, and Antoine Prost, editors, "A History of Private Life." Volume 5, "Riddles of Identity in Modern Times," 1489
 Vincent, K. Steven (R), 1207
 Vincenti, Walter G., "What Engineers Know and How They Know It: Analytical Studies from Aeronautical History," 317
 "Visions of the People," by Joyce, 1217
 Visker, Rudi, "Michel Foucault: Genealogie als Kritik," 542
 "Visperas del Leviatán," by Hespanha, 221
 Viswanathan, Gauri, "Masks of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in India," 272
 Vivarelli, Roberto, "Storia delle origini del fascismo: L'Italia dalla grande guerra alla marcia su Roma," 577
 Voeltz, Richard A. (R), 1558
 Vogel, Barbara, and Ulrike Weckel, editors, "Frauen in der Ständegesellschaft: Leben und Arbeiten in der Stadt vom späten Mittelalter bis zur Neuzeit" (E), 1647
 "The Voice of America," by Shulman, 311
 "A Voice of Their Own," edited by Solomon (E), 1651
 Voloshin, Beverly R., editor, "American Literature, Culture, and Ideology: Essays in Memory of Henry Nash Smith" (E), 668
 "Vom Wiener Kongress zur Pariser Konferenz," by Doering-Manteuffel, 1515
 "Von der alten Stadt zur neuen Munizipalität," by Müller, 1234
 "Von der Wohnungsfrage zur Wohnungspolitik," by Zimmermann, 875
 "The Vox Dei," by Menache, 534
 Wachtel, Nathan, and Lucette Valensi, "Jewish Memories," 159
 "Wage Justice," by Evans and Nelson, 953
 "The Wages of Whiteness," by Roediger, 1280
 Wagnleitner, Reinhold, "Coca-Colonisation und Kalter Krieg: Die Kulturmission der USA in Österreich nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg," 959
 Waite, Gary K., "David Joris and Dutch Anabaptism, 1524-1543," 869
 Waithe, Mary Ellen, editor, "A History of Women Philosophers." Volume 3, "Modern Women Philosophers, 1600-1900" (E), 1324
 Waldron, Arthur (R), 268
 Waley, Daniel, "Siena and the Sienese in the Thirteenth Century," 1503
 Waley-Cohen, Joanna, "Exile in Mid-Qing China: Banishment to Xinjiang, 1758-1820," 1576
 Walker, Greg, "Plays of Persuasion: Drama and Politics at the Court of Henry VIII," 845
 Walker, J. Samuel (R), 958
 Walker, Mack (R), 226
 Walker, P. W. L., "Holy City, Holy Places? Christian Attitudes to Jerusalem and the Holy Land in the Fourth Century," 167
 Wall, Bennett H. (R), 1619
 Wall, Irwin M. (R), 566; (C), 1619
 Wall, Irwin M., "The United States and the Making of Postwar France, 1945-1954," 960
 "Wall Street," by Werner and Smith, 627
 Wallace, Dewey D., Jr. (R), 931
 Wallace, James M., "Liberal Journalism and American Education, 1914-1941," 927
 Wallace-Hadrill, Andrew, and John Rich, editors, "City and Country in the Ancient World" (E), 975
 Walsh, Judith (R), 1583
 Walshe, Peter (R), 1260
 Walter, Franz, *et al.*, "Sozialistische Gesundheits- und Lebensreformverbände" (E), 1647
 Walter, Maila L., "Science and Cultural Crisis: An Intellectual Biography of Percy Williams Bridgman (1882-1961)," 947
 Waltner, Ann, "Getting an Heir: Adoption and the Construction of Kinship in Late Imperial China," 1261
 Waltner, Ann (R), 907, 1574
 Wandel, Lee Palmer, "Always among Us: Images of the Poor in Zwingli's Zurich," 242
 Wandersee, Winifred D. (R), 1611
 Wandycz, Piotr S., *Historiography of the Countries of Eastern Europe: Poland*, 1011-25
 Waquet, Jean-Claude, "Le Grand-duché de Toscane sous les derniers Médicis: Essai sur le système des

- finances et la stabilité des institutions dans les anciens états italiens," 1244
- "War and Secession," by Sisson and Rose, 1270
- "War and the Ivory Tower," by Schalk, 1491
- "War from the Top," by Wilt, 187
- "The War of 1812," by Hickey, 613
- "War on the Great Lakes," edited by Welsh and Skaggs (E), 1334
- "War, Women and Children in Ancient Rome," by Evans, 1190
- Ward, Robert David, and William Warren Rogers, "Convicts, Coal, and the Banner Mine Tragedy," 300
- Ward, Stephen R., "James Ramsay MacDonald: Low Born among the High Browns," 207
- Waring, Stephen (R), 1301
- Waring, Stephen P., "Taylorism Transformed: Scientific Management Theory since 1945," 1308
- Warner, John Harley (R), 204
- Warnicke, Retha M. (R), 845
- Was There a Reformed Balance of Power System or Cooperative Great Power Hegemony?* by Gruner, 725–32
- "Was the Red Flag Flying There? Marxist Politics and the Arab-Israeli Conflict in Egypt and Israel, 1948–1965," by Beinlin, 591
- Wasserman, Mark (R), 657
- Wasserman, Mark, and Thomas Benjamin, editors, "Provinces of the Revolution: Essays on Regional Mexican History, 1910–1929" (E), 671
- Wasserstein, David J. (R), 168
- Wasson, Ellis Archer, "Whig Renaissance: Lord Althorp and the Whig Party, 1782–1845," 197
- "Water from the Rock," by Frey, 1278
- "Watering the Valley," by Sherow, 289
- Waters, Chris, "British Socialists and the Politics of Popular Culture, 1884–1914," 852
- Watkins, Susan Cotts, "From Provinces into Nations: Demographic Integration in Western Europe, 1870–1960," 544
- Watson, Alan, "Slave Law in the Americas," 514
- Watson, R. L., "The Slave Question: Liberty and Property in South Africa," 262
- Watson, Rubie S., and Patricia Buckley Ebrey, editors, "Marriage and Inequality in Chinese Society" (E), 1333
- Watt, Tessa, "Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640," 1521
- Watts, Pauline Moffitt (R), 1181
- Watts, Sarah Lyons, "Order against Chaos: Business Culture and Labor Ideology in America, 1880–1915," 941
- Watts, Steven (R), 613
- "We Need Men," by Geary, 1598
- "Weakness Is a Crime," by Ernst, 295
- Wear, Andrew, and Joan H. Pittock, editors, "Interpretation and Cultural History" (E), 1640
- Weaver, John, and Michael Doucet, "Housing the North American City," 1317
- Webb, Barry, "Edmund Blunden: A Biography," 852
- Webb, George E. (R), 524
- Webb, R. K. (R), 1221
- Weber, Eugen, "My France: Politics, Culture, Myth," 857
- Weber, Eugen (R), 544, 1535
- Webster, Jill R. (R), 867
- Webster, Richard A. (R), 888
- Weckel, Ulrike, and Barbara Vogel, editors, "Frauen in der Ständegesellschaft: Leben und Arbeiten in der Stadt vom späten Mittelalter bis zur Neuzeit" (E), 1647
- "Weder Stand noch Klasse," by Kocka, 228
- "Der Weg aus dem Krieg," by Kolb, 1555
- Wegs, Robert (R), 243
- Wehler, Hans-Ulrich, editor, "Europäischer Adel, 1750–1950" (E), 1329
- Weiler, Peter (R), 188, 854
- "Weimar," edited by Kershaw (E), 327
- Weinberg, Gerhard L. (R), 237
- Weiss, Nancy J. (R), 635
- Weissbach, Lee Shai (R), 1540
- Welch, Cliff (R), 1162
- Wellbery, David E., and John Bender, editors, "Chronotypes: The Construction of Time" (E), 1640
- "Wellington," edited by Norman (E), 325
- Wells, Peter S. (R), 828
- Wells, Samuel F., Jr., (R), 643
- Welsh, William Jeffrey, and David Curtis Skaggs, editors, "War on the Great Lakes: Essays Commemorating the 175th Anniversary of the Battle of Lake Erie" (E), 1334
- Wend Kuuni*, produced and directed by Gaston Kabore, 1143
- Werner, Walter, and Steven T. Smith, "Wall Street," 627
- Wessley, Stephen E., "Joachim of Fiore and Monastic Reform," 832
- West, Mark I., "Children, Culture, and Controversy," 290
- West, William C. (R), 526
- "The West beyond the West," by Barman, 963
- Westbrook, Robert B., "John Dewey and American Democracy," 919
- "Western Rivermen, 1763–1861," by Allen, 283
- Westfall, Carroll William, and Robert Jan van Pelt, "Architectural Principles in the Age of Historicism," 1490
- Westman, Robert S., and David C. Lindberg, editors, "Reappraisals of the Scientific Revolution" (E), 973
- Wetenhall, John, and Karal Ann Marling, "Two Jima: Monuments, Memories, and the American Hero," 1305
- Wexler, Alice (R), 298
- Wharton, Annabel (R), 1195
- "What Engineers Know and How They Know It," by Vincenti, 317
- "What's Left?" by Rubenstein, 865
- Wheeler, Michael, "Death and the Future Life in Victorian Literature and Theology," 555
- Wheeler, William Bruce (R), 310
- "When I Can Read My Title Clear," by Cornelius, 1281
- "When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away," by Gutiérrez, 967
- Wherry, James D., and Laurence M. Hauptman, editors, "The Pequots in Southern New England: The Fall and Rise of an American Indian Nation" (E), 982
- "Whig Renaissance," by Wasson, 197
- "Whiggery and Reform, 1830–41," by Newbould, 202
- Whigham, Thomas, "The Politics of River Trade: Tradition and Development in the Upper Plata, 1780–1870," 1321
- "Whigs and Cities," by Rogers, 848
- White, Dan S. (R), 234
- White, G. Edward, "History of the Supreme Court of the United States." Volumes 3 and 4, "The Marshall Court and Cultural Change, 1815–35," 1590
- White, Joseph M., "The Diocesan Seminary in the United States: A History from the 1780s to the Present," 1288

- White, Luise, "The Comforts of Home: Prostitution in Colonial Nairobi," 1259
- White, Richard, "The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815," 1587
- White, Shane, "Somewhat More Independent: The End of Slavery in New York City, 1770–1810," 1278
- "White Dreams, Black Africa," by Temperley, 1258
- Whiteside, James, "Regulating Danger: The Struggle for Mine Safety in the Rocky Mountain Coal Industry," 299
- Whitley, James, "Style and Society in Dark Age Greece: The Changing Face of a Pre-Literate Society 1100–700 B.C.," 1493
- Whitman, James Q., "The Legacy of Roman Law in the German Romantic Era: Historical Vision and Legal Change," 226
- "Who Has the Youth, Has the Future," by Linton, 877
- Wickham, Chris, and Trevor Dean, editors, "City and Countryside in Late Medieval and Renaissance Italy: Essays Presented to Philip Jones" (E), 1327
- Wickwire, Franklin B. (R), 275
- Wiener, Martin J. (R), 204
- Wiener, Martin J., "Reconstructing the Criminal: Culture, Law, and Policy in England, 1830–1914," 553
- Wiesner, Merry E. (R), 183
- Wightman, Ann M., "Indigenous Migration and Social Change: The Forasteros of Cuzco, 1570–1720," 321
- "Wild Animals and American Environmental Ethics," by Mighetto, 1614
- Wilentz, Sean (R), 1594
- "Wilhelm II," by Gutsche, 1237
- "Wilhelm II and the Germans," by Kohut, 1238
- "William Merritt Chase," by Bryant, 950
- "William Wayne Justice," by Kemerer, 1625
- Williams, Brett, editor, "The Politics of Culture" (E), 1640
- Williams, C. Peter, "The Ideal of the Self-Governing Church: A Study in Victorian Missionary Strategy," 200
- Williams, John Hoyt (R), 1321
- Williams, Peter W. (R), 632
- Williams, Rhodri, "Defending the Empire: The Conservative Party and British Defence Policy, 1899–1915," 1527
- Williams, Roger L., "The Origins of Federal Support for Higher Education: George W. Atherton and the Land-Grant College Movement," 1296
- Williams-Myers, A. J. (C), 1353
- Williamson, Arthur (R), 1521
- Williamson, Samuel R., Jr., "Austria-Hungary and the Origins of the First World War," 247
- Willis, F. Roy (R), 1212
- Willis, John C., and Edward L. Ayers, editors, "The Edge of the South: Life in Nineteenth-Century Virginia" (E), 983
- Wilson, Clyde N., and David R. Chesnutt, editors, "The Meaning of South Carolina History: Essays in Honor of George C. Rogers, Jr." (E), 1650
- Wilson, George M. (R), 270
- Wilson, Mary C., "King Abdullah, Britain, and the Making of Jordan," 590
- Wilson, R. J. A., "Sicily under the Roman Empire: The Archaeology of a Roman Province, 36 B.C.–A.D. 535," 1191
- Wilson, Robert H., and Lawrence S. Graham, editors, "The Political Economy of Brazil: Public Policies in an Era of Transition" (E), 984
- "The Wilson Era," edited by Cooper and Neu (E), 1336
- "Wilsonian Statecraft," by Ambrosius, 1312
- Wilt, Alan F. (R), 1304
- Wilt, Alan F., "War from the Top: German and British Military Decision Making during World War II," 187
- Winch, Julie (R), 1278
- "Wine and the Vine," by Unwin, 1204
- Winfield, Betty Houchin, "FDR and the News Media," 309
- Wink, André, "Al-Hind: The Making of the Indo-Islamic World," 910
- Winn, Kenneth H. (R), 1585
- Winters, Stanley B., editor, "T. G. Masaryk (1850–1937)." Volume 1, "Thinker and Politician" (E), 667
- Winters, Stanley B. (R), 890
- Wirth, John D. (R), 1323
- Wirtschaftler, Elise Kimerling, "From Serf to Russian Soldier," 1251
- Wishnia, Judith, "The Proletarianizing of the Fonctionnaires: Civil Service Workers and the Labor Movement under the Third Republic," 218
- "Witchcraft in the Netherlands from the Fourteenth to the Twentieth Century," edited by Gijswijt-Hofstra and Frijhoff (E), 1645
- Witek, John W. (R), 1577
- Wittmer-Butsch, Maria Elisabeth, "Zur Bedeutung von Schlaf und Traum im Mittelalter," 531
- "W. J. Cash," by Clayton, 951
- Wlaschek, Rudolf M., "Juden in Böhmen: Beiträge zur Geschichte des europäischen Judentums im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert," 572
- Woggon, Helga, "Integrativer Sozialismus und nationale Befreiung: Politik und Wirkungsgeschichte James Connollys in Irland," 560
- Wohl, Robert (R), 556, 1569
- "Wolfe Tone," by Elliott, 211
- Wolin, Richard, "The Politics of Being: The Political Thought of Martin Heidegger," 517
- Woll, Allen L. (R), 971
- Wollenberg, Klaus, editor, "In Tal und Einsamkeit: 725 Jahre Kloster Fürstenfeld; Die Zisterzienser im alten Bayern." Volume 3, "Kolloquium: Die Zisterzienser in Bayern, Franken, und den benachbarten Regionen Südostmitteleuropas; Ihre Verbandsbildung sowie soziale und politische Integration. 29. 8.–2. 9. 1988" (E), 1327
- "Woman's World, Woman's Empire," by Tyrrell, 1608
- "Women and Law in Classical Greece," by Sealey, 170
- "Women and Revolution in Yugoslavia, 1941–1945," by Jancar-Webster, 250
- "Women and Social Action in Victorian and Edwardian England," by Lewis, 1220
- "Women as Mothers in Pre-Industrial England," edited by Fildes (E), 665
- "Women between Two Worlds," by Dinnerstein, 1611
- "Women in Athenian Law and Life," by Just, 170
- "Women in Seventeenth-Century France," by Gibson, 1531
- "Women of Science," edited by Kass-Simon and Farnes (E), 323
- "Women, Politics, and Change," edited by Tilly and Gurin (E), 668
- "Women Religious," by Thompson, 831
- "Women, Work, and Sexual Politics in Eighteenth-Century England," by Hill, 195
- "Women's Sports," by Guttmann, 823
- "The Women's Suffrage Movement and Irish Society in the Early Twentieth Century," by Murphy, 559

- "Women's Words," edited by Gluck and Patai (E), 1641
 Wood, Alan, editor, "The History of Siberia: From Russian Conquest to Revolution" (E), 1333
 Wood, Forrest G. (C), 346
 Wood, Ian, and Niels Lund, editors, "People and Places in Northern Europe, 500–1600: Essays in Honour of Peter Hayes Sawyer" (E), 1326
 "Woodrow Wilson," by Nordholt, 1313
 Woods, Randall B., and Howard Jones, "Dawning of the Cold War: The United States' Quest for Order," 312
 Woods, Randall Bennett, "A Changing of the Guard: Anglo-American Relations, 1941–1946," 161
 Woods, Thomas A., "Knights of the Plow: Oliver H. Kelley and the Origins of the Grange in Republican Ideology," 1599
 Woodward, C. Vann (R), 917
 Woodward, David R. (R), 208
 Woodward, Ralph Lee, Jr. (R), 1629
 Woodworth, Steven E. (R), 1597
 Woolf, Stuart, "Napoleon's Integration of Europe," 1206
 Worger, William H. (R), 1141
 "Work and Control in a Peasant Economy," by Mandala, 261
 "Work in Towns, 850–1850," edited by Corfield and Keene (E), 976
 "Workers against Work," by Seidman, 185
 "The World of the Russian Peasant," edited by Eklof and Frank (E), 667
 "The Worlds of Christopher Columbus," by Phillips and Phillips, 1486
 Worobec, Christine D., "Peasant Russia: Family and Community in the Post-Emancipation Period," 254
 Woronoff, Denis, editor, "Forges et forêts: Recherches sur la consommation proto-industrielle de bois" (E), 979
 Worrall, Arthur J. (R), 840
 "Worthy Monuments," by Sherman, 1536
 Wright, William E., and Kinley Brauer, editors, "Austria in the Age of the French Revolution, 1789–1815" (E), 980
 Wright, William J. (R), 1549
 Wright, Winthrop R., "Café con leche: Race, Class, and National Image in Venezuela," 658
 Wrigley, Chris, "Arthur Henderson," 210
 Wrigley, Chris, "Lloyd George and the Challenge of Labour: The Post-War Coalition, 1918–1922," 208
 Wylie, Laurence (R), 561

Yaaba, directed by Idrissa Ouedraogo, 1143
 Yacovone, Donald, "Samuel Joseph May and the Dilemmas of the Liberal Persuasion, 1797–1871," 1279
 Yaney, George (R), 587
 Yang, Anand A. (R), 912, 1146
 Yang, Anand A., "The Limited Raj: Agrarian Relations in Colonial India, Saran District, 1793–1920," 1269
 "Yankee Destinies," by Knights, 1293
 "Yankee Leviathan," by Bensel, 940
 "Yankee Merchants and the Making of the Urban West," by Adler, 1595
 Yans-McLaughlin, Virginia, editor, "Immigration Reconsidered: History, Sociology, and Politics" (E), 1325
 Yarak, Larry W., "Asante and the Dutch, 1744–1873," 594
 Yeh, Wen-hsing (R), 600
 Yerushalmi, Yosef Hayim, "Freud's Moses: Judaism Terminable and Interminable," 1178
 Yerxa, Donald A., "Admirals and Empire: The United States Navy and the Caribbean, 1898–1945," 1311
Yo, la peor de todas [I, the Worst of All], directed by Maria Luisa Bemberg, 1161
 Yongjin, Zhang, "China in the International System, 1918–20: The Middle Kingdom at the Periphery," 1264
 Young, Bailey K. (R), 833
 Young, James Harvey (R), 295
 Young, Robert J., "Power and Pleasure: Louis Barthou and the Third French Republic," 1542
 Yun, Bartolomé (R), 1230

 Zaar, Birgitta, and Gerald Stourzh, editors, "Österreich, Deutschland und die Mächte: Internationale und österreichische Aspekte des 'Anschlusses' vom März 1938" (E), 1331
Zan Boko, directed by Gaston Kabore, 1143
 Zapalac, Kristin Eldyss Sorenson, "In His Image and Likeness: Political Iconography and Religious Change in Regensburg, 1500–1600," 223
 Zappi, Elda Gentili, "If Eight Hours Seem Too Few: Mobilization of Women Workers in the Italian Rice Fields," 1245
 Zarefsky, David, "Lincoln, Douglas, and Slavery: In the Crucible of Public Debate," 617
 Zarrow, Peter, "Anarchism and Chinese Political Culture," 600
 Zelnik, Reginald E. (R), 256
 "Zerbrochene Geschichte," edited by Blasius and Diner (E), 1646
 Zhu Weizheng, "Coming Out of the Middle Ages: Comparative Reflections on China and the West," 1577
 Zieger, Robert H. (C), 1001
 Zieger, Robert H., "John L. Lewis: Labor Leader," 1295
 Ziemke, Earl F. (R), 238, 1210
 Zimmermann, Clemens, "Von der Wohnungsfrage zur Wohnungspolitik: Die Reformbewegung in Deutschland 1845–1914," 875
 Zinn, Howard (R), 307
 "Zionism and Technocracy," by Penslar, 1571
 Zipperstein, Steven J. (R), 546
 Zivie-Coche, Christiane, and Françoise Dunand, "Dieux et hommes en Égypte, 3000 av. J.-C.–395 apr. J.-C.: Anthropologie religieuse," 1492
 Zonis, Marvin, "Majestic Failure: The Fall of the Shah," 1256
 Zophy, Jonathan W. (R), 1512
 Zunz, Olivier, "Making America Corporate, 1870–1920," 293
 "Zur Bedeutung von Schlaf und Traum im Mittelalter," by Wittmer-Butsch, 531
 "Zwischen Godesberg und Grosser Koalition," by Bouvier, 240

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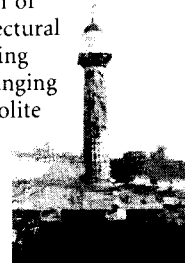
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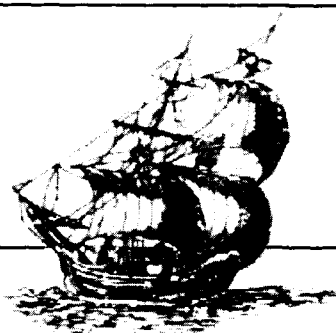
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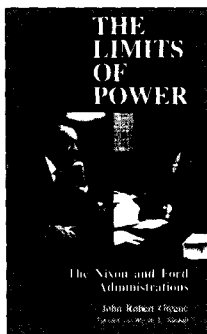
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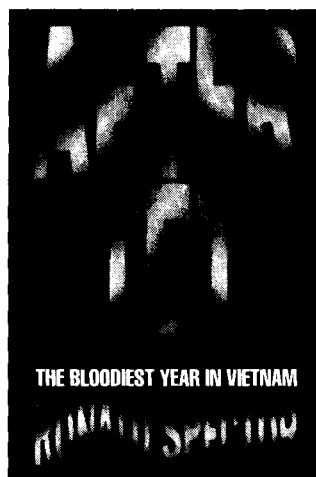
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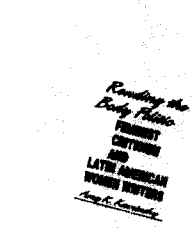
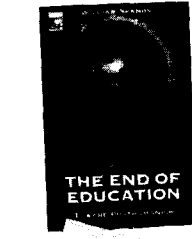
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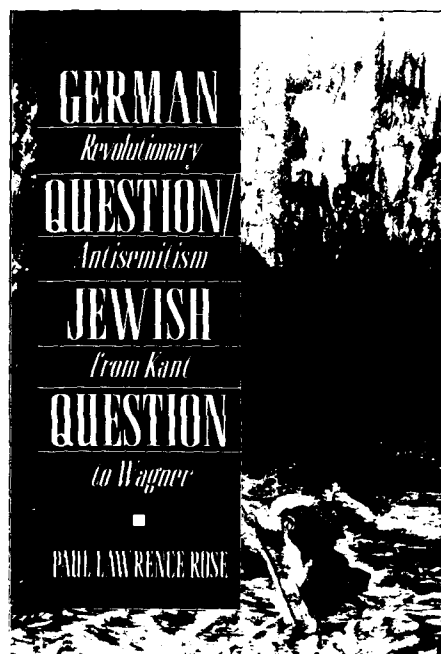
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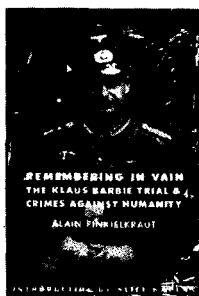
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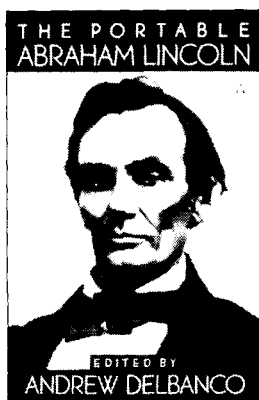
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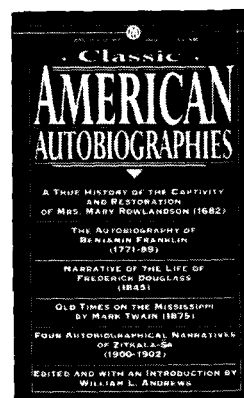
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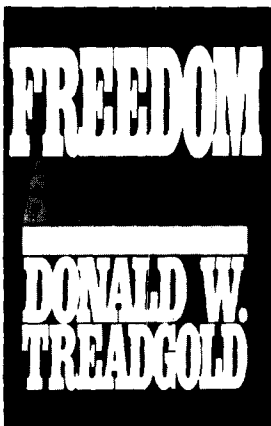
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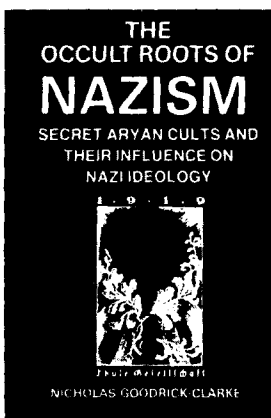
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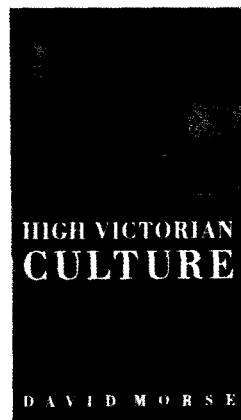
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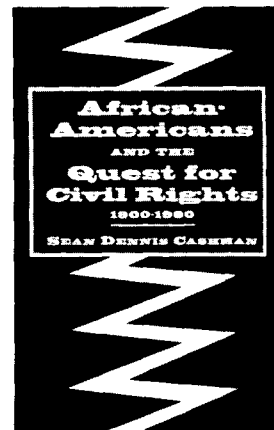
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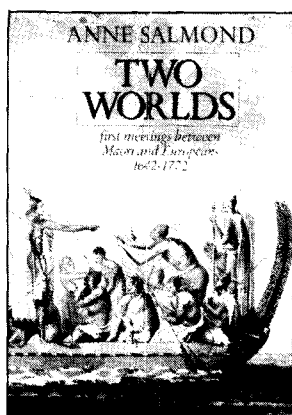
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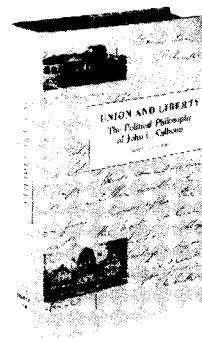
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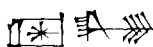
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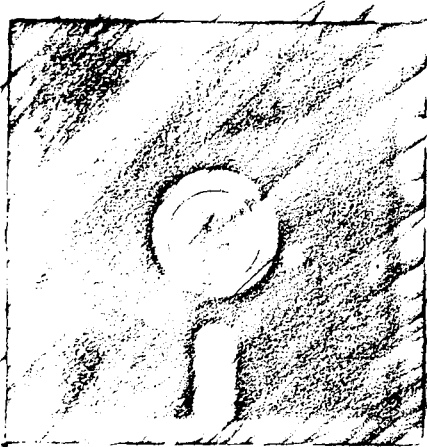
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Index of Advertisers

American Historical Association	40–45, Cover 3	Oxford University Press	30–31
Bedford Books of St. Martin's	Cover 2	Penguin USA	33
Cambridge University Press	7–9, 11	Princeton University Press	22–23, Cover 4
Columbia University Press	28	Routledge	26
Cornell University Press	24–25	University of California Press	18–19
W.B. Eerdmans	21	University of Chicago Press	27
Free Press	14–15	University of Hawaii Press	38
Indiana University Press	13	University of Minnesota Press	16
Johns Hopkins University Press	12, 29	University of North Carolina Press	17
Louisiana State University Press	10	University of Oklahoma Press	32
Liberty Fund	39	University of Pennsylvania Press	20
McGill-Queen's University Press	6	Yale University Press	3
New York University Press	34–37		
Knopf	4–5		

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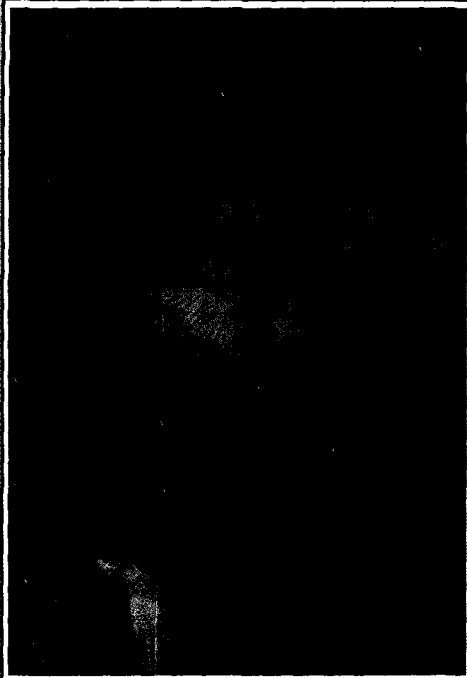
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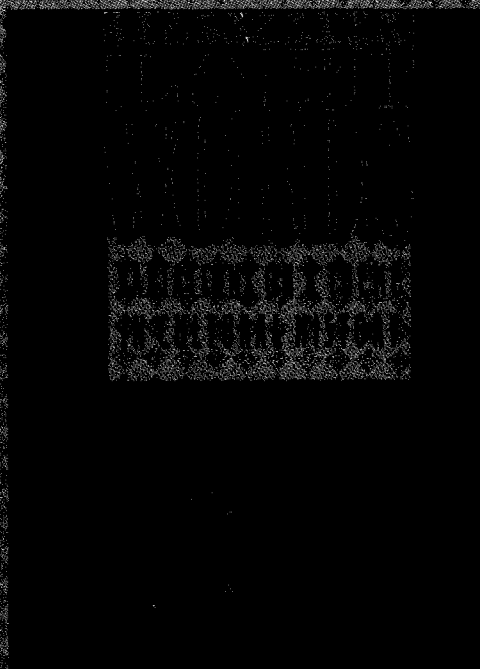
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